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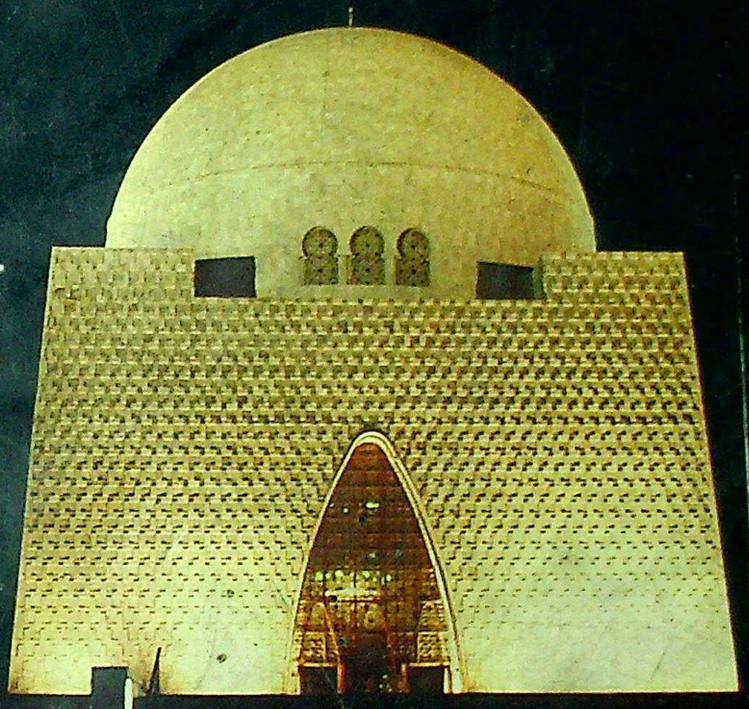

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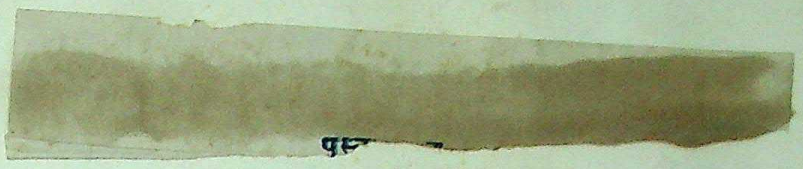

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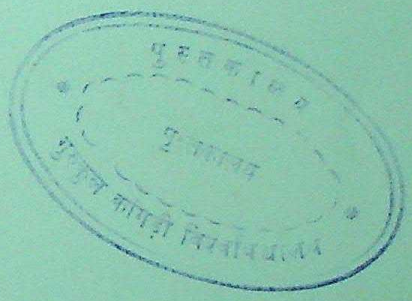

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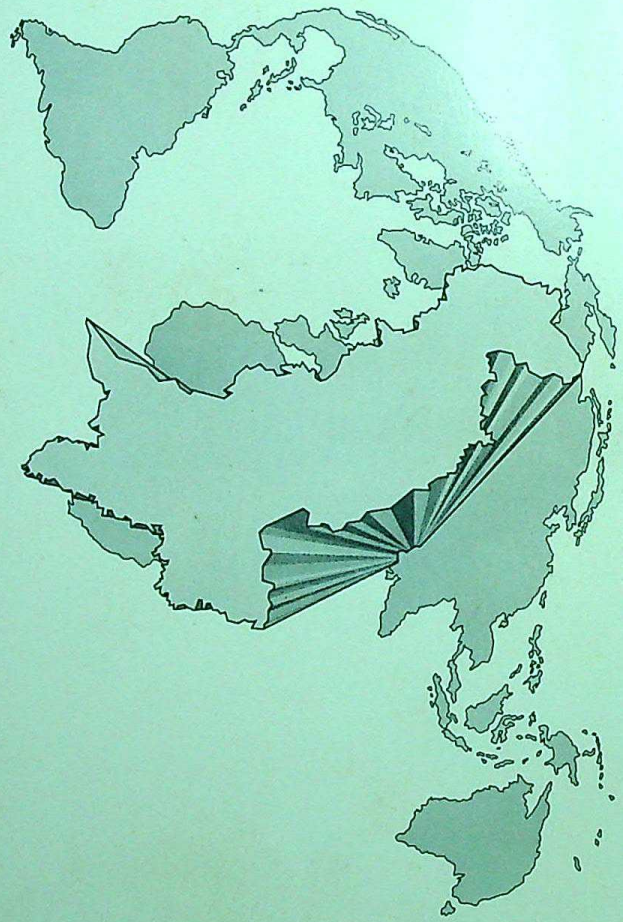

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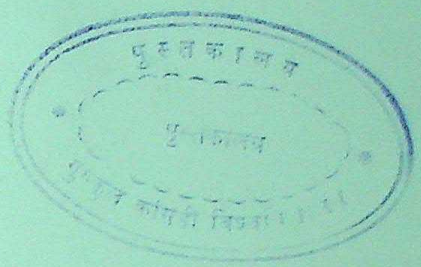

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PAST & PRESENT

A comprehensive study published in Commemoration of the centenary of the birth of the Founder of Pakistan

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Muhammad Yusuf Buch
Muhammad Ajmal
N. A. Baloch
Karrar Husain
Hamid Jalal
Q. U. Shahab

Editors
Hamid Jalal
Aimée Merriam
Abdul Qayyum
Tom Stacey

Assisted by
Michael Bywater, John Eppstein, Agha Ghazanfar, Ann Hatch, Irfan Husain, Anthony Lejeune, Jean Maund, Phyllis McDougall, Charlotte Odgers and Jane Rawlinson.

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Principal Contributors

A.A.H. **Agha Abdul Hamid.** Former Cabinet Secretary, Government of Pakistan, and former Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations. Art critic.

A.G. **Agha Ghazanfar.** A civil servant, an executive of the Afro-Asian Book Club, and student at the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University, New York. An occasional broadcaster and film critic.

A.H.D. **Ahmad Hasan Dani, M.A., PhD.** Former Professor of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar, and Reader in History at the University of Dacca. Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Islamabad. His publications include: *Gandhara Grave Culture, Muslim Architecture of Bengal,* and *Excavations in the Gomal Valley.*

A.H.K. **A. H. Kardar.** President of the Board of Cricket Control of Pakistan and Member of the Punjab Provincial Assembly. Former Education Minister, Punjab; Captain of the Pakistan Cricket XI (1959–59) and member of the MCC. Author of several books and articles on cricket.

Ak.R. **Akhtar Riazuddin, M.A.** Former lecturer, and columnist for *Pakistan Times* (1962–72). Travelogue writer and Chairman of the All Pakistan Craft Show, Lahore (1965). Founder and President of the Behbood Association which runs a number of craft centres. Presently engaged in writing a history of handicrafts in the subcontinent.

A.Ma. **Aban Marker** is a micro-biologist, and an active member of women's organisations who has studied in depth the social problems of women and related issues.

A.Me. **Aimée Merriam.** Former correspondent, Chicago *Daily News* foreign news service. Contributor to *Newsday, Architecture Today, Architectural Forum* and W.C.B.S. Radio, New York. Writer of film documentary scripts relating to Asia and Africa.

A.N. **Akbar Naqvi, Ph.D.** Art critic for the *Daily Sun.*

A.Q. **Abdul Qayyum.** Journalist, author and diplomat, war and foreign correspondent. Former Head of the Department of Journalism, University of Punjab. Specialist in English literature and history. Author of *The Working Journalist,* and *A New History of India and Pakistan.*

A.R. **Sheikh Abdur Rashid.** Former Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Professor of the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University. Director of the Historical Research Institute. Author of *History of Muslims of India and Pakistan.*

A.S. **Annemarie Schimmel, D.Phil., M.A., D. Litt.** Professor of Indo-Muslim Culture, Harvard University. Her many publications in German, English and Turkish include: *Pakistan: Einschloss mit Tausend Toren, Islamic Calligraphy, Islamic Literatures of India,* and *Mystical Dimensions of Islam.*

B.A.K. **B. A. Kureshi.** Chairman of the Board of Governors, Lahore Museum, Vice-President of the Research Society of Pakistan, and member of the Board of Governors of the Punjab Arts Council.

C.E.B. **Clifford Edmund Bosworth.** Professor of Arabic Studies, Manchester University. His publications include: *The Ghazanavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran,* and *The Islamic Dynasties, a Chronological and Genealogical Handbook.*

D.W. **Mrs. Dina Wadia.** Only child of Mr. Jinnah; presently residing in New York.

E.N. **Eugene Nasir.** Former Professor of Botany and Dean of Sciences, Gordon College, Rawalpindi. Director of the National Herbarium, Rawalpindi. Editor of *Flora of Pakistan.*

F.A.F. **Faiz Ahmad Faiz** has had a varied career as a teacher, army officer, journalist, trade union leader, broadcaster and script writer. Former Principal of the Haji Abdullah Haroon College, Vice-President of the Pakistan Arts Council, and a member of the Executive Board of the World Peace Council. Awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1962, he is the author of many collections of poetry.

F.A.K. **F. A. Khan, Ph.D.** Archaeologist, who has visited sites in China, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, with particular emphasis on comparative studies of the Indus Civilizations. Professor of Archaeology at the University of Karachi. His publications include *Indus Valley and Early Iran,* and *Architecture and Art in Pakistan.*

F.J. **Fatima Jinnah** (d. 1967). Younger sister of Quaid-e-Azam; candidate of the Combined Opposition Parties against Ayub Khan in the 1965 elections.

F.K.K. **F. K. Khilji.** Chairman of the Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation.

F.M. **Fayyaz Mahmood.** Former Professor of English, Islamia College, Lahore. Editor of Encyclopaedia of Urdu Literature, and well-known literary critic and short-story writer.

F.M.K. **Fazal Muqeem Khan, General.** An authority on Defence in Pakistan, and author of *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership.*

F.S.A. **F. S. Aijazuddin** Author of *Mughal Paintings and Related. Miniatures, Pahari paintings and Sikh portraits in the Lahore Museum,* and *Sikh portraiture by European artists.*

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F.S.H. **Ferida Sher Husain.** Lecturer in Social Work at Kinnaird College, Lahore, and author of *Social Characteristics of Drug Addicts.*

F.-u-R. **Fazl-ur-Rahman, Ph.D.** Associate Professor of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal (1958–61); Director, Central Institute of Islamic Studies, Pakistan (1962–68). Professor of Islamic Studies, University of Chicago (since 1969) His publications include: *Avicenna's Psychology, Prophecy in Islam* and *Islamic Methodology in History.*

G.H. **George Hutchinson, C.B.E.** Deputy Editor of *The Spectator,* and writer of a weekly political column in *The Times.* Author of *Edward Heath: A Personal and Political Biography.*

H.J. **Hamid Jalal.** A former news editor of All India Radio (1944–47), Radio Pakistan (1947–56), United Nations Radio (1957). Member of Kissinger Harvard International Seminar (1957). Founder editor of *Indus* (1960–64). Executive director of The Pakistan Council (1964). Principal Information Officer, and Press Counsellor. Author of *Here is the News* (1956), and *Black Milk* (1956).

H.K. **Hamida Khuhro, M.A., Ph.D.** Former lecturer at the University of Karachi, and Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford (1970–73). Professor of History at the University of Sind, and Director of Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind.

H.M.S. **Hakim Mohammad Saeed.** Chairman of both the Hamdard Dawakhana Trust and Hamdard Pharmaceutical Products for Indigenous Medicines.

H.T.L. **Hugh Trevor Lambrick.** As an officer of the Indian Civil Service, he served in Sind between 1927 and 1946. His publications include: *Sir Charles Napier and Sind, History of Sind, Vol. I,* and *Sind before the Muslim Conquest.*

H.T.-R. **Hugh Trevor-Roper.** Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University since 1957. His many publications include: *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change, The Age of Expansion, The Philby Affair,* and *Hitler's Table Talk.*

H.V.H. **Henry Vincent Hodson, M.A.** Former Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Reforms Commissioner (Constitutional adviser to the Viceroy) in India (1941–42). Became Editor of *The Sunday Times* (1950–61), and now Editor of *The Annual Register of World Events.* His many publications include: *Economics of a Changing World, Twentieth-Century Empire,* and *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan.*

I.H. **Irfan Husain.** Former free-lance journalist.

I.H.K. **Ijaz Hussain Khan.** Former Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads, NWFP. Joint Secretary in Ministry of Communications.

I.S. **Ian Stephens, C.I.E.** Former Director of the Bureau of Public Information (1932–37). Editor of *The Statesman,* Calcutta and Delhi, and historian, Pakistan Government, G.H.Q. Rawalpindi. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. His publications include: *Horned Moon, Monsoon Morning, Pakistan,* and *The Pakistanis.*

J.E.L.L. **J.E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, Ph.D.** Former Docent for Sanskrit, University of Groningen. Since 1959 Professor of Archaeology, Prehistory, History of Art and Ancient History of South and South-East Asia at the University of Amsterdam. Author and lecturer.

J.F. **Jean Fairley, M.A., F.R.G.S.** Worked for many years in the UN Agencies (ICAO, UNESCO, FAO). Author of *The Lion River.*

J.K.A.M. **Jamsheed K. A. Marker.** Pakistan's Ambassador to Japan; formerly represented Pakistan in Ghana, Rumania, USSR, Canada and the Democratic Republic of Germany.

J.W.S. **James W. Spain, M.A., Ph.D.** American Ambassador to Dar-es-Salaam. His publications include *The Way of the Pathans,* and *The Pathan Borderland.*

K.A. **Khwaja Khurshid Anwar, M.A., D.Phil.** Director of music programmes, All India Radio (1939). Member of the Federal Advisory Committee for Broadcasting, and Governor of the Pakistan National Council of Arts.

K.H. **Karrar Husain, M.A., Ph.D.** Former Principal of Government College, Quetta, and Professor of Urdu and English at Jama Millia, Karachi. Vice-Chancellor, University of Baluchistan.

K.K.A. **K. K. Aziz, Ph.D.** Chairman, National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad. His publications include: *The Making of Pakistan, The Historical Background of Pakistan,* and *Party Politics in Pakistan* 1947–1958.

K.M.A. **K. Manzur Ahmad.** Former adviser to the Ministry of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources and to the Ministry of Science and Technology. Member of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission.

K.M.As. **K. M. Asaf.** Chairman of the National Press Trust and former Editor of the *Pakistan Times.*

K.U.K. **K. U. Kureshy, Colonel (Retd.), Ph.D., M.A.** President of Pakistan Geographical Association. Author of *Geography of Pakistan,* and Editor of *Pakistan Geographical Review.*

L.M. **Admiral of the Fleet The Earl Mountbatten of Burma, K.G., P.C., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., F.R.S.** Last Viceroy of India (March to August 1947).

Md.A. **Muhammad Ajmal, Ph.D.** Former Professor and Head of Psychology Department, and Principal of Government College, Lahore. Former Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University College, Lahore. Secretary, Ministry of Education. Author of numerous papers in national and international seminars on psychology.

M.H.A. **M. H. Askari.** Literary critic for the *Morning News,* and founder member of the Pakistan Writers' Guild.

M.L.Q. **M. L. Qureshi.** Former Vice-President of the Planning Commission of Somalia (1961–3), and UN chief adviser to African Development Bank. Director of Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, and President of the Association of Development Research and Training Institutes in Asia and the Pacific.

M.N.M. **Mehr Nigar Masroor.** Former Director of the PIA Arts Academy. Choreographer, composer and playwright.

M.S.K. **M. S. Kakli, Ph.D.** Chief of Agriculture and Food Section in the Planning Commission, and Vice-President of the Pakistan Association of Agricultural Economists.

M.S.M. **Muhammad Safdar Mir.** Documentary film script writer, commentator, actor, theatrical director, author, producer, columnist and critic – better known as "Zeno". Journalist and playwright.

M.T.K. **M. T. Khan.** Senator for Baluchistan. Former advocate (1973) of the High Court, and Deputy Chairman of the Senate. Now engaged in research in Persian language and literature in Quetta and Karachi.

Mu.A. **Muneer Ahmad, M.A.** Assistant Professor in the Department of Administrative Science, Punjab University, Lahore. His publications include *Aspects of Pakistan's Politics and Administrations, Five Papers; The Civil Servant in Pakistan; Legislatures in Pakistan,* etc.

M.Y.B. **Muhammad Yusuf Buch** Contributor to US magazines, *Worldmark Encyclopaedia of the Nations: Asia and Australasia;* compiler of *Counsels of Peace,* 1967; author of *Kashmir: A Brief Study,* 1962 and director of Kashmir Centre, New York, 1967–72.

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N.A.B. **N. A. Baloch, M.A.** Former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sind, Hyderabad (1973–1976); presently in the Ministry of Education and Provincial Coordination. Author and editor of many publications.

N.A.K. **N. A. Kureshi** has worked in industry and commerce since 1942, organising and planning public and private sector large industries, supplies and investment.

N.H.H. **N. H. Hashmey.** Formerly with All India Radio, and later Radio Pakistan. Led the Public Relations team for the Warsak Dam project, and long-time resident in NWF.

P.M. **Philip Mason, M.A., D.Litt., Hon. D. Sc., C.I.E., O.B.E., F.R.S.L.** Formerly with the Indian Civil Service (1928–47), and Director of the Institute of Race Relations (1952–69). His publications (as Philip Woodruff) include *Call the Next Witness*, and *The Men Who Ruled India*, and (as Philip Mason) *Patterns of Dominance, A Matter of Honour*, and *Kipling: The Glass, the Shadow and the Fire*.

P.S. **Percival Spear, M.A., Ph.D., O.B.E.** Former Head of the University Department of History, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Delhi. Leverhulme Research Fellow (1937–39); later with the Information and Broadcasting Department of the Government of India. Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and former Chairman of the Committee of the Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge. His many publications include: *The Nabobs, India, Pakistan and the West, Twilight of the Mughals* and *Master of Bengal: Clive and his India*.

Q.U.S. **Q. U. Shahab.** Former Secretary-General of the Pakistan Writers' Guild, and of the Pakistan Branch of International PEN. Author of several books and articles.

R.A. **Rashid Ahmad, Rear Admiral (Retd.)** First Director General, Ports & Shipping and first Managing Director, National Shipping Corporation.

R.L. **Robert Laporte, Jr., Ph.D.** Professor of Public Administration, Institute of Public Administration, Pennsylvania State University. His publications include: *Power and Privilege: Influence and Decision Making in Pakistan*, etc.

R.R.S. **Ralph Randle Stewart, Ph.D.** Formerly Principal, later Emeritus Professor of Gordon College, Rawalpindi. Research associate at Ann Arbor University of Michigan. His papers and publications include *Flora of West Pakistan*, and *Annotated Catalogue of Vascular Plants of West Pakistan and Kashmir*.

R-uz-Z **Rafe-uz-Zaman, M.A., M.S.** Former Head of the Information Service of the International Universities Bureau, Paris, and Assistant Director for the UNESCO-International Association of Universities' (Paris) Study on the Role of Higher Education in the Development of Countries in South-East Asia. Presently Director of Educational Television, Pakistan Television Corporation. Former Editor of *Pakistan Year Book*.

S.B.A. **Syed Babar Ali.** Founder Member, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of Pakistan Wildlife Appeal. Trustee of International Wildlife Fund.

S.G. **Shahina Ghazanfar.** Former research assistant at the Institute of Genetics, Pakistan Medical Research Centre. Lecturer at Kinnaird College, Lahore, and the State University of New York, Syracuse. Toxologist at the National Herbarium, Rawalpindi, and author of several papers on the flora of Pakistan.

S.H. **Khawaja Shahid Hosain.** Former Director of Programmes, Pakistan Television, and Director General of Radio Pakistan. Managing Director of the National Film Development Corporation. Editor of *First Voices*, an anthology of Pakistani poetry.

S.J. **Shahwar Junaid.** Member of several international seminars on communications, and the All Pakistan Writers' Guild. Columnist for the *Pakistan Times*.

S.M. **Satnam Mahmood.** Educationalist and authority on Punjabi literature. Member of committees concerned with social problems and the affairs of minority communities. Contributor to several literary works and journals.

S.M.B. **Samuel Martin Burke, M.A., F.R.S.A.** Former Ambassador of Pakistan to a number of countries. Professor and Consultant in South Asian Studies at the University of Minnesota (1961–75), and founder of Burke Library, South Asia Collection, Hamline University, Minnesota. His publications include *Pakistan's Foreign Policy – An Historical Analysis, Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies*, etc.

S.M.H. **S. Motaher Hossein.** Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Formerly Pakistan's envoy to Japan and Kuwait.

S.P. **Stuart Piggott, C.B.E., F.B.A.** Researcher on Oriental history in India (1942–45), Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Edinburgh (since 1946). His many publications include: *Some Ancient Cities of India, Prehistoric India, Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*, and *Ancient Europe*.

S.R.W. **Syed Razi Wasti, M.A., Ph.D.** Professor and Head of the Department of History, Government College, Lahore, and Director of the Historical Research Institute, Punjab University (1965–69). Has travelled, as a visiting Asian Professor, to universities in America and Canada. His publications include *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement 1905–1910*, and *The Political Triangle in India 1858–1924*.

S.W.H. **Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch, Ph.D.** Curator at the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin. She has undertaken extensive field research in many countries, and her publications include *Jat of Pakistan* and *Zur Geschichte und Kultur der Jat*.

T.J.R. **T. J. Roberts.** Specialist adviser to FAO. Founder Member of Pakistan Wildlife Appeal.

T.R. **Raja Tridiv Roy.** Minister for Minorities Affairs and Tourism (1971). Former Adviser on Tourism.

V.G.K. **V. G. Kiernan, M.A., Ph.D.** Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Before Partition, he began his two collections of translations of Urdu poems by Muhammad Iqbal and Faiz Ahmad Faiz. Since 1948, he has been a Professor of the History Department of London Uhiversity, and is at present completing a book on the outlines of Muslim-Indian history.

W.-uz-Z. **Waheed-uz-Zaman, Ph.D.** Former lecturer at Gordon College, Rawalpindi, and University of Peshawar. Professor of History, University of Islamabad. His publications include: *Towards Pakistan; A Short History of Pakistan, Pakistan Studies*, and *The Quest for Identity*.

Y.M.S. **Yunus M. Said.** Former Chairman of the National Press Trust. Chairman of the National Book Foundation. Founder editor of *Combat* and *Vision*, author of *Death by Hanging*.

Z.A.T. **Z. A. Tammanai.** Director of the Pakistan Typographical Research Centre.

Z.M. **Zia Mohyeddin.** Career actor and director when he played in the West End and on Broadway. Director of PIA Arts Academy in 1972, and organised research into classical and folk music and dances of Pakistan.

Z.-ud-D. **Khwaja Zahir-ud-Deen, M.R.T.P.I., F.I.A.P., F.P.I.C.R.P.** Former member of the Royal Town Planning Institute, London. Later President of the Institute of Architects, Pakistan. Held senior posts as an architect, and is now Chairman of Pakistan Environmental Planning and Architectural Consultants Ltd., Lahore.

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Art director Anthony Nelthorpe MSIAD
Assisted by Roy Campen and Bob Brett

Principal photographer: **Robert Harding**

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Arka Cartographics Limited, London
Designer Le Roy-Chen
Cartographers Allan Rees, Roger Bourne,
Peter Arnold, Lee Brooks, Kevin Diaper

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Some of the contributions included in this book are based on material received from:
Aslam Azhar, Ijlal H. Zaidi, M. Aziz, Miriam Habib, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Mohyddin, M. S. Jilani, Lt.-Col. Masood Ahmad, Zakir Husain, Brigadier G. Powell, the Research Section of PIA , Ayesha Jalal, Mrs Saadat Hasan Manto, H. U. Shahab, Athar Mahmud and Dr. David Pilbeam.

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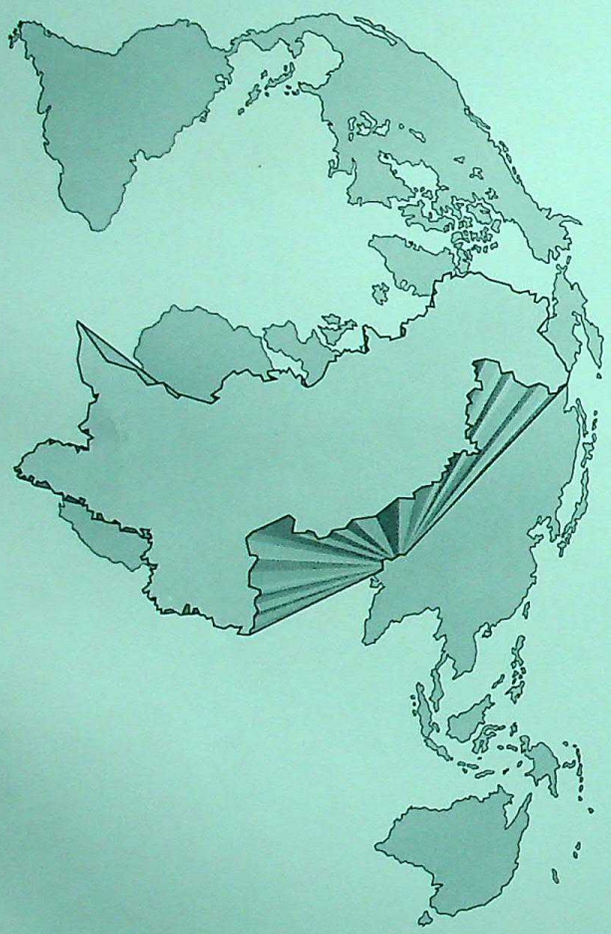

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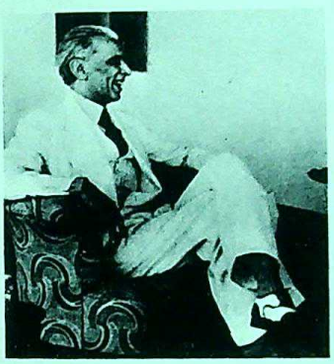
1
Mohamed Ali Jinnah

Quaid-e-Azam
Father of the Nation



Of Mohamed Ali Jinnah it can be said, as of very few other men in modern history, that without him — him alone — the map of the world, the destiny of a nation, could not have been as they became. Had there been no Mahatma Gandhi, there would still have been Indian independence; had there been no Lenin or Mao Tse-tung, the Russian and Chinese revolutions would still have happened, though differently. But had there been no Jinnah there would have been no Pakistan, certainly not in 1947, though it conceivably might have emerged much later by bloody revolt from an Indian republic. His life and character are therefore of the highest interest to every historian and student of mankind.

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A Political Biography

HIS life after he entered the political arena at an early age divides into three distinct phases. In the first, he shone as a leading light of the Indian National Congress as well as the All-India Muslim League, speaking for the Muslims, but primarily devoted to the pursuit of inter-communal unity as a condition of national advance within the British Commonwealth. The second phase was one of increasing identification with sharpened Muslim political demands, coupled with strenuous efforts to gain their acceptance by the majority, efforts whose failure ushered in a period of disillusionment and withdrawal from the battle. In the third phase, his purpose and actions turned more and more towards the creation of an independent Muslim nation state. Alas! yet a fourth phase, as its triumphant head, was all too short and troubled. Distinct as they are, however, each of these three main phases merged into the next, and the transitions between them are as important as the contents of each in assessing Jinnah's life-span. Indeed it is imperative for an understanding of him to recognize the continuity of his political progression. Many people have wondered how it came about that "the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity", the eminent Congress figure and *Swarajist*, became the champion of partition of the subcontinent. The answer lies, not in any sudden illumination or *volte face,* but in a long process of reinterpretation of basic concepts in the light of changing circumstances and revelations of fact.

Early Years

Mohamed Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December, Christmas Day, 1876 (according to his own testimony, the records being defective) in Karachi, the elder son of Jinnah Poonja, partner in a family export business. His ancestors were of the merchant clan of Khojahs, from Rajkot. "A keen jealous spirit of competition is the chief trait in the Khojah character," pronounced the *Bombay Gazeteer* many years ago: "the Khojahs have a great regard for their religion, the tenets of which they observe faithfully. They are neat, clean, sober, thrifty, ambitious, and in trade enterprising and cool and resourceful." Mohamed Ali Jinnah was an outstanding exemplar of that inheritance – keenly competitive, sober, thrifty, enterprising, cool and resourceful in all emergencies, whether professional, political or physical – and ambitious? "At the root of Jinnah's activities is ambition" wrote Edwin Montagu in his diary in 1914 when Secretary of State for India; but the word needs careful definition. Jinnah was certainly ambitious in his personal career, always ambitious to lead rather than follow in politics, but he never trimmed his ideals for personal advantage. His supreme political ambition was to lead the Muslims of India to securing their proper place and rights in an increasingly democratic society and in doing so to help lead all India to national freedom. Neither friend nor foe ever questioned his personal integrity: throughout his life it was his greatest asset, whether in the courts, in political assemblies or in his influence with the masses.

During his lifetime, Mohamed Ali Jinnah's critics sometimes whispered that he was an unfit embodiment of the Muslim spirit because he neither spoke Urdu nor observed the more conspicuous rituals of Islam. Certainly he was no religious bigot. Gopal Krishna Gokhale said of him: "He has true stuff in him, and that freedom from sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" – a phrase adopted by Mrs Sarojini Naidu in a famous book adulating Jinnah. But absence of "sectarian prejudice" need not mean lack of religious feeling. A Hindu born and bred is not less a Hindu in faith and attitude to life because he neglects some purification laws or never worships in temples. So Jinnah's faith and attitude to life were no less those of Islam because he pursued a secular and Western mode of conduct. It is significant that at the age of twenty-one he quit the Ismaili sect for that of the (Shia) Isna Asharis on characteristically thoughtful grounds: that was not the act of an irreligious man. There seems, indeed, to be a peculiar affinity between the man and his faith. To a non-Muslim, the faith of Islam, born in the desert, appears austere, impacable, militant, shunning hierarchies, dedicated to reverence of one God, one Prophet, one Book. To all this there is a close parallel in Jinnah's attitudes and actions: austere, often harsh and unyielding, single-minded, never fearing battle, concerned more with fundamentals and with prophetic leadership than with diffused deliberation through a party hierarchy, and concentrating upon one goal. That he absorbed none of this from the faith of his ancestors is unbelievable.

It is true that in his service of the Muslim cause he never stressed the purely religious element – monotheism, revelation, ritual. The English journalist Beverley Nichols asked him in 1943: "How would you define the 'vital principles' of Pakistan?" He answered: "In five words, the Muslims are a Nation. If you grant this . . . you must grant the principle of Pakistan . . . I am thinking in terms of *life,* of everything important in life . . . of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence." No mention of religious creed or observance. "In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus."[1] Addressing the Jamiat-ul-Ulema conference in Delhi in 1936 he described the communal problem as not a religious problem but a purely political one. In a letter of 1st January 1940 to Mahatma Gandhi he wrote: "I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics . . . I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities."

As to his lack of Urdu, it is well to recall that the Muslims of undivided India spoke many tongues, from Pushto to Bengali, the vernaculars of countless regions. The *lingua franca* of their leaders was that tongue which Jinnah knew best and used with assurance, English. It was in fact a great advantage to him both that he was no fervent sectarian and that he came from none of the great aggregations of the Indian Muslim community; for had he been born and brought up in the Punjab or Bengal, for instance, he would have been identified with the interests of Muslim groups in those provinces and probably have been caught up in their rivalries. Born in Sind, making his home in Bombay, he could rise above the narrower interests of Punjabi *zamindars* or Bengali *ryots,* and stand untainted as a national leader.

The young Mohamed Ali Jinnah went to primary

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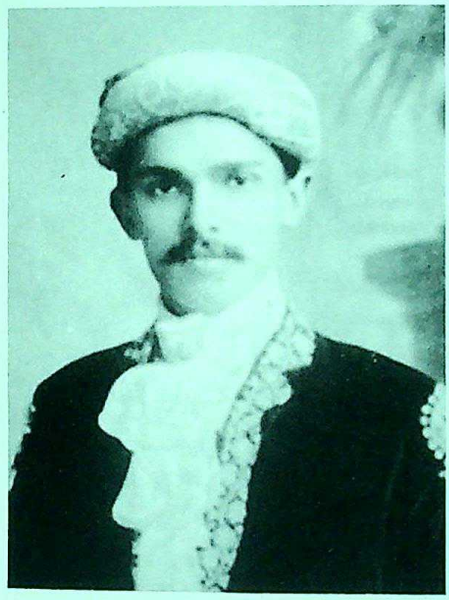
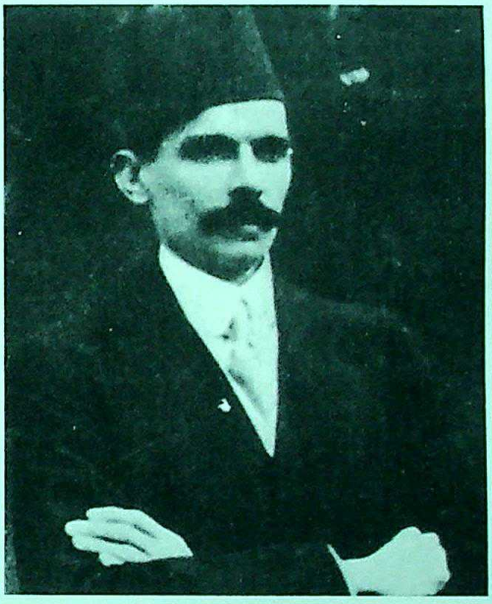
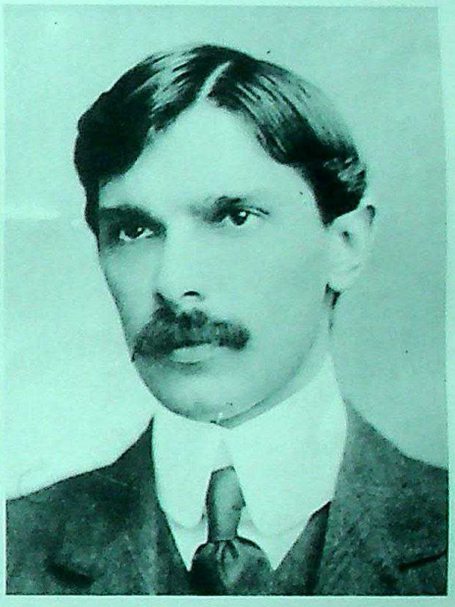
school in Bombay and then to the Sind Madrasah High School in Karachi. A brilliant student, he was marked out for a legal career, and in 1892, not yet sixteen, he sailed for England to read for the Bar at Lincolns Inn, returning four years later. In London he found his first political hero, Dadabhai Naoroji, who at that time became the first Indian to sit in the Westminster House of Commons. His second and still more distinguished political hero, back in India, was Gopal Krishna Gokhale; of whom, after his death in 1915, Jinnah said that, although a fearless critic of measures which he thought not in the interest of the people of India, he was always guided by reason and moderation. One of the greatest lessons that Gokhale's life had taught, declared the future Quaid-e-Azam, was the example he set of how much a single man could do, how powerfully he could help his country and his people, and how millions could derive from him true leadership and inspiration. We can see in those words Jinnah's own ideal of a national leader – fearlessness combined with reason and moderation, and the power of personal leadership.



Jinnah at 19 – a photograph he sent his father during his law studies London.



Jinnah was one of the youngest Asians to be called to the Bar, by-passing – by diligence – university.



By 1910, at the Bar in Bombay, Jinnah had already made his mark as an outstanding advocate.

The budding lawyer, called to the Indian Bar in 1897, trod a stony path, for his father's business was in difficulties and he had to fend for himself. Rejecting offers of subordinate work in Karachi, he set out to make his own fortune in Bombay, living sparingly and reading hard in the chambers of Mr MacPherson, Advocate General of Bombay, the first Indian to be so admitted. It was MacPherson's recommendation of him to Sir Charles Ollivant, Law Member of the Bombay Executive Council, coupled with his own initiative, that won him a temporary tenure as a Presidency Magistrate in 1900. After a six-months' term, so successful was he that Sir Charles begged him to accept a permanent post at what was then a sumptuous salary of Rs1500 per month. Jinnah declined, saying that he aimed at earning that sum in a day. Two years later he was already earning Rs2000 per month, a very handsome income for a young man of twenty-six. An equal reason was that, always craving independence, he wanted no salaried post. As a practising lawyer Jinnah became outstanding, from the Bombay High Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, commanding fees which put him far beyond not only financial anxiety but also any temptation by the material fruits of office or place. That friendly helping hand by senior British legal administrators must have fortified bis lifelong admiration, growing out of the study of British parliamentary debate and the life of the younger Pitt, for the best of British institutions and British character and his deep-seated desire to keep independent India, and eventually independent Pakistan, within the family of Commonwealth nations that sprang from the British Empire.

Jinnah's legal training and his practice of the law deeply affected his political views and conduct. He was always a constitutionalist, believing in the supremacy of the law and deploring both revolutionary methods against lawful government and the suppression by Government of lawful rights. His approach to politics was forensic and candidly intellectual. A leading counsel stands and fights on his own, not as a member of a team or committee: Jinnah was essentially an individualist. Counsel, however, takes instructions from his client, whom he also advises: in the arena of public affairs Jinnah acted as spokesman for those whom he represented, and often refused an answer until he had referred to them.

> "Although Jinnah himself was the undisputed leader of the Muslims and enjoyed wide powers as President of the Muslim League, he never overstepped his authority and insisted on prior approval by the Working Committee of the Muslim League Council whenever this was constitutionally necessary. Mountbatten, and others, were often infuriated by what appeared to them as excessive formalism, and they suspected that it covered a deep strategy of non-commitment and was meant to gain time. In actual fact, it was wholly sincere."[2]

The counterpart was his insistence upon group solidarity and discipline to give a spokesman assured backing. He was often accused of being dictatorial. But

> "arbitrariness did not suit his temper. He believed in putting his whole case before anyone who cared to hear and, of course, stuck fast to his arguments, but conceding that others could legitimately hold an alternative view. He was not of the stuff of which dictators are made."[3]

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Congress Leader and Legislator

Jinnah's first appearance in active politics was in 1906, when he acted as private secretary to the President of the Indian National Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji, at its Calcutta session. Naoroji, with Gokhale and other leaders, was on that wing of the Congress which stood for constitutional progress through peaceful demonstration. Exposed to them were militant social reformers like Lokmania Tilak and Lala Rajpat Rai. Earlier, (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan, founder of Aligarh University, had ceaselessly called for educational uplift of the Muslims – who had fallen far behind the Hindus in modern ideas, Western education and political consciousness – coupled with loyalty to the British Crown, which he viewed as their ultimate defence against the Hindu majority.

> "He thought and spoke of Hindus and Muslims as two nations, with separate cultures and religions. If his theory is accepted, his rhetorical question becomes unanswerable. He asked: 'Is it possible in these circumstances for two nations – Mohammedans and Hindus – to sit on the same throne and remain in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary for one of them to conquer the other and throttle it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and inconceivable' . . . Jinnah did not openly subscribe to Sir Syed's theory until 1940, although he gradually gravitated towards it."[4]

To those objectives and methods, for his people, Jinnah persisently adhered. The main events of that Calcutta session were the adoption of Home Rule *(Swaraj)* as the goal of Congress and the defeat of the moderates over the campaign against the partition of Bengal, which took on an increasingly revolutionary character. Immediately after the Congress meeting, on 30 December, 1906, the All-India Muslim League was founded. Its declared objects were:

> 1 To promote among the Mussulmans of India the feeling of loyalty to the British Government . . .
>
> 2 To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Mussulmans of India.
>
> 3 To prevent the rise among the Mussulmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

Two years later the Indian National Congress, in which Jinnah was already prominent, adopted a constitution of which Article 1 read:

> The objects of the INC are attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform in the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

In 1909 he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council of India from the Muslim constituency of Bombay Presidency. Towards the system of separate communal electorates, Jinnah's attitude was for long equivocal. They had entered India's political system by a side door. The authors of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 had no thought of introducing parliamentary government into India: they regarded the new legislative councils not as embryo parliaments but rather as *durbars*, means whereby the rulers could hear the pleas of their subjects and draw upon the experience of leading citizens. It was natural, therefore, to provide that the members should be chosen as spokesmen for different groups and interests, particularly the less strong or sophisticated. However, once the Muslim communal electorates were thus created they became a vested interest for the community and were regarded by most politically-minded Muslims as indispensable to their representation in due strength and by men who truly spoke for them. At the same time, communal electorates were a symbol of India's national disunity, anathema to nationalists who thought that they were bound to perpetuate divisions which must be healed if India was to become free.

The latter was Jinnah's personal view. As late as 1927 he declared: "I am personally not wedded to separate electorates, although I must say that the overwhelming majority of Mussulmans firmly and honestly believe that it is the only method by which they can be secure." In a proper counsel-client relationship he accepted a mandate from his people on this subject despite his own qualms. Indeed he had used that very word "mandate" when speaking in October 1916. "Rightly or wrongly," he then said, "the Muslim community is absolutely determined *for the present*" – author's italics – "to insist upon separate electorates. To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument, as it has become a mandate of the community."

In the Legislative Assembly, Jinnah quickly made his mark as an acute parliamentarian. Among his important early interventions, he supported Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill, directed against illegal and violent resistance to the authority of Government. "Those men," he proclaimed, "who have a desire to disturb law and order are, in my opinion, the biggest enemies of my country and my people", a belief which became one of the root causes of his eventual break with the Congress. Jinnah had the distinction of introducing and piloting the first Private Member's Bill ever to be passed by the Indian Legislature – significantly the *Waqf* Validating Bill pertaining to Muslim religious or charitable trusts.

In 1913 the All-India Muslim League stated its objects afresh:

> "Attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, amongst other things, a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit, and by cooperation with other communities for the said purpose."

The hand of Mohamed Ali Jinnah is to be distinctly seen in this: not only in the emphasis on national unity and constitutional method and in the deliberate echo of the objects of the Indian National Congress, but equally in the prescription, not of parliamentary self-government, but of "a system of government suitable to India" – which might be one devised to share power between majority and minority communities – and possibly in the words "under the aegis", which implied that India's relationship to the British Crown, though unbroken, would not be one of subordination.

Jinnah's political efforts were now powerfully pursuing two interwoven lines, towards Indian national advance and Hindu-Muslim concord as its necessary condition. Re-elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in the autumn of 1916, he joined 18 other members in presenting to the Viceroy a memorandum, known thereafter as the Memorandum of Nineteen, on constitutional reforms to be applied after what we now call the First World War, a war in which he gave consistent if critical

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support to the Government, urging the Muslims of India, "notwithstanding their religious sentiments and feelings", to show "due control, restraint and moderation".

In 1915 he had invited the All-India Muslim League to hold its annual session in Bombay simultaneously with that of the Indian National Congress. This move, deliberately aimed at mutual understanding and a common front, was opposed by the League's more militant wing, but Jinnah carried the day by his personal authority, and annual sessions of the two bodies in the same place became the practice for some years. The most important occasion of all was at Lucknow in 1916, for it produced the famous Lucknow Pact recognising Muslim claims in a post-war democratic constitution. It had been preceded by a joint meeting of the League Council, led by Jinnah, and the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme for Indian self-government. In his Lucknow presidential address to the League, one of his most revealing utterances, Jinnah said: "In the affairs of our common secular existence, we have to deal

In 1916, Jinnah was the principal conciliator between the Muslim League and the Congress.

not with angels but with men, with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncrasies, innumerable cross-currents of motive, of desire, hope, fear and hate. The Indian problem has all such formidable complications in its texture." For the Muslims, he said: "We want no favours, and crave for no partial treatment. That is demoralising to the community and injurious to the State. The Muslims must learn to have self-respect. What we want is a healthy and fair impetus to be given to our aspirations and ideals as a community." Self-respect was the clue to Jinnah's own character.

The conclusion of the Lucknow Pact was a triumph for his leadership and diplomacy. Its special provisions for Muslim representation included separate electorates, weightage in Muslim-minority provinces, fifty per cent of the elected members in the Punjab, forty per cent in Bengal, and one-third of those in the Central Legislative Council. But the Pact was much more than a bargain about Muslim claims; it was an agreement between League and Congress on a whole scheme of constitutional reform, moderate in character and practical in content. Had it remained, as it was intended to be, the cornerstone of Hindu-Muslim understanding on the road to *Swaraj*, the whole history of India, and Jinnah's life-story, might have taken a very different course. But, for a complex of reasons, it gradually faded and eventually vanished from the centre of Congress thinking, try as Jinnah might to keep it there.

Two key events in India happened shortly after Lucknow. In 1916 Mrs Annie Besant had founded the Home Rule League. Jinnah joined the League as its Bombay president. Explaining why, he said: "When representations were made and resolutions passed year after year by the National Congress, it was said that that was only the demand of a few educated agitators and lawyers, but that the masses were not ready for any such reforms. It was to meet that attack . . . to remove the misrepresentation, that they resolved that there would be an educational propaganda and that they should reach the masses and put the verdict of the masses not only before the bureaucracy but before the democracy of Great Britain."

This marks a fresh stage in the evolution of Jinnah's political philosophy. From early days his attitude had been essentially intellectual and elitist. This was partly an expression of his own nature – strongly individualist, proud, and conscious of his own forensic and political superiority. But he also feared mass propaganda as liable to excite mob hysteria and as chaining its leaders to crude popular slogans. Thus in method as well as ideology he found himself poles apart from Mahatma Gandhi, who was now beginning to be the dominant voice in the Congress. In his adherence to the Home Rule League he attempted a synthesis of the two approaches: the whole people must be enlisted, but not as mere sepoys and cannon-fodder in a cause; they must be educated to understand and share the ideas of their leaders. The Pakistan movement was later to bear the stamp of this conclusion.

Jinnah and Gandhi Opposed

In October 1920 Gandhi took over the presidency of the All-India Home Rule League and at once set about moulding it to his own policies and aims. When he proposed to change its creed, directing it, by continuous propaganda, to "organise the people for peaceful and effective action to achieve 'complete *Swaraj*', and to take such action whenever necessary," Jinnah opposed the resolution as unconstitutional, moving that the purpose should be to "secure *Swaraj* for India in conformity with Article 1 of the constitution of the Indian National Congress" (quoted above). His amendment was defeated, whereupon he resigned from the Home Rule League. He had no intention of lending his support to a militant organisation serving Mr. Gandhi's policies and methods. The late Lord Linlithgow, when Viceroy of India, once said to the present author: "If there had been no Gandhi there would have been no Jinnah." Like most neat aphorisms, it was an exaggeration; for Jinnah was a very bright star before Gandhi appeared on the Indian political stage. But it had a certain truth, in that Indian politics became more and more a process of action and reaction between Gandhism and Jinnah's constitutionalism, and eventually between a Gandhi-inspired Congress and a Jinnah-inspired Muslim League. Into the Home Rule League itself, not only Gandhi (and Mrs Besant) but also other Hindu leaders imported a religious atmosphere which was bound to excite communal fervour among the Hindus and increasing alarm among the Muslims.

The second major event was the announcement made by the new Liberal Secretary of State for India, Mr Edwin Montagu, in the House of Commons on 20 August 1917: "The policy of His Majesty's Government," he said, "is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction shall be taken as soon as possible." The Secretary of State would go to India to confer with the Viceroy and others

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Jinnah was among those who promptly welcomed the statement. At a joint session of their executives, the Congress and the League together called off passive resistance.

When Montagu came to India he lost little time in meeting the chief political leaders. A famous passage in his diary records:

> "We were face to face now with the real giants of the Indian political world. . . They" (Surendranath Bannerjee and others) "were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the whole of his scheme. All its shortcomings, all its drawbacks . . . were defended as the best makeshifts they could devise short of responsible government. Nothing else would satisfy them. They would rather have nothing if they could not get the whole lot. I was rather tired and funked him. Chelmsford" (the Viceroy) "tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country."

The Muslim League passed a resolution welcoming Mr Montagu's statement and calling for immediate introduction of a Bill embodying the Lucknow terms and a statutory time-limit within which complete responsible self-government should be established in India, "provided always that the principle of adequate and effective representation of the Muslim Community is made a *sine qua non* in any scheme of reforms". Jinnah backed a similar resolution in the Congress, and particularly stressed the need for a statutory time-limit.

Addressing the League he strove to allay his co-religionists' fears of Hindu domination under *Swaraj*. "It is said that we are a minority and that it might afterwards become a Hindu Government. I want to give an answer to that. . . Do you think that because the Hindus are in the majority they could carry a measure in the legislative assembly and there is an end of it? If seventy millions of Muslims do not approve of a measure which is carried by a ballot box, do you think that it could be enforced and administered in this country? Do you think that the Hindu statesmen, with their intellect, with their past history, would ever think of – when they get self-government – enforcing a measure by ballot box? Then what is there to fear?"

What, readers may ask, accounted for the later reversal of such trust of majority rule? The answer is, experience – experience, not only of actual happenings under provincial governments after 1937, but also of the whole working of the governmental order. Observe the emphasis upon legislative measures, and upon Hindu "statesmen". Jinnah's experience of the Government of India had been in the legislature, with an imperial Executive, and his experience of Hindu leaders had been among those distinguished men, like Gokhale, Bannerjee, Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, who shone in the all-India firmament and took a wide, tolerant and historical view of politics. His thoughts were evidently not on administration, where much could be done to injure communal feelings and assail communal culture without any partial legislation, nor on the lesser men, with narrower interests, who might come to hold the reins of power in the provinces or even at the centre.

The Indian political scene was now confused by two memorable developments. The first was the Khilafat movement, directed against the British Government for its complicity in the post-war threats to the Ottoman Caliphate and in the handing-over of former Turkish territory to non-Muslim rule in the shape of League of Nations Mandates. The movement was soon espoused by Gandhi, out of genuine or calculated sympathy with the Muslim cause, and became a national rather than a communal agitation. The second development was the setting-up of the Rowlatt Committee on measures to deal with "criminal conspiracies", followed by the so-called Rowlatt Bills creating new offences, providing for detention without trial, and restricting civil liberties.

Both these events must have raised altercation within Jinnah's mind. A good Mussulman and dedicated leader of the Indian Muslims, he could not deny the righteousness of their anger at seeing the ancient Caliphate degraded and Holy Places of Islam pass into infidel control; but he was far too realistic to imagine that the victorious Allies would forsake their Middle Eastern ambitions at the behest of agitators, however many, in India, or that the defeated, decadent Turkish Empire could be salvaged. And whereas he deplored crime and violence whether for political or other ends, he equally abominated fractures of the rule of law by the law-makers themselves.

In Council debate on the Rowlatt Bills, Jinnah solemnly warned the Government: "If these measures are passed you will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation the like of which you have not witnessed." After the first Rowlatt Bill had been passed by official votes he resigned from the Legislative Council, because, he said, "under prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor, consistently with one's self-respect, is cooperation possible with a Government that shows such disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the council chamber, and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside." Again the emphasis on self-respect.

The Montagu-Chelmsford constitutional reform proposals, published on 8 July 1918, were met by Jinnah with faintly approving criticism. "I for one," he said, "look more to the principles and essentials of a scheme rather than to its framework" – an attitude so markedly repeated in the claim for Pakistan between 1940 and 1947. The Lucknow Pact, Jinnah continued, "is the crystallisation of Indian national opinion." The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, he said, were weighty, well-considered and could not be rejected summarily, but needed important modifications before they became acceptable to the people. When they were debated by a Select Committee of Parliament at Westminster, Jinnah gave evidence on behalf of the Muslim League, displaying "a knowledge of constitutional law and parliamentary institutions which has seldom been equalled by any Hindu or Muslim scholar or political leader."[5] The new Government of India Act, large parts of which survived in the Act of 1935 and thus in the interim Constitutions of both Pakistan and India, was passed in December 1919.

Gandhi had earlier launched a campaign of *satyagraha*, linked both with the Khilafat movement and with the cause of *Swaraj*, which had resulted in many riots and other disturbances, particularly in the Punjab. On 13 April 1919 there occurred the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh near Amritsar, an event which did much to change the course of Indian history. Soon afterwards the Mahatma suspended his campaign, because, he said, the people were not yet ready for *satyagraha*, but he continued to whip up Hindu support for the Khilafat agitation, which was led by Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali and backed by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the body of Indian Islamic scholars. In December 1919, meeting at Amritsar, the Muslim League passed a resolution calling for non-cooperation on the

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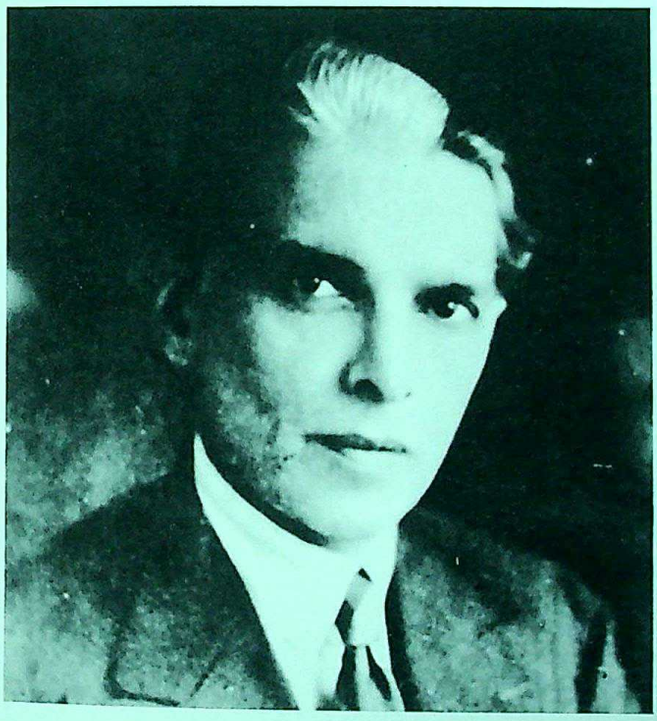
Khilafat issue; in September 1920 it met in special session at Calcutta, alongside the Congress, with Jinnah as President. He denounced the "outrageous" terms imposed upon Turkey, and the "plunder" of the Ottoman Empire under the guise of Mandates. But he was not ready to call for non-cooperation, whose dangers he well perceived. In committee of the Congress, he opposed Gandhi's non-cooperation resolution, which was supported by Shaukat Ali, Fazlul Haq and other prominent Muslims and carried by a small margin. If the Muslims were in two minds, so too were the Congress leaders, but the death of Lokmania Tilak, who had led a movement for "working the Reforms for what they are worth", left Gandhi and his programme in the ascendant, and when the Congress met in full session at Nagpur in December 1920 (again alongside the League) a resolution on non-cooperation was carried by almost unanimous acclaim. Amid the tumult one man "stood up to be counted" in opposition – Mohamed Ali Jinnah. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote:

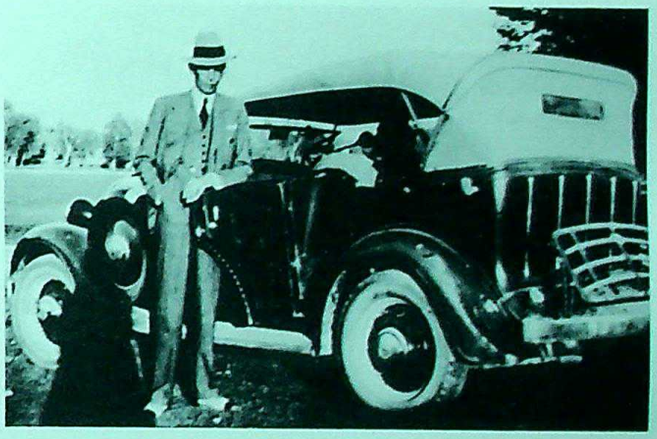
> "A few old leaders dropped out of the Congress after Calcutta, and among these a popular and well-known figure was Mr. M. A. Jinnah . . . He had been largely responsible in the past for bringing the Muslim League nearer to the Congress. But the new developments in the Congress – non-cooperation and the new constitution which made it more of a popular and mass organisation – were thoroughly disapproved of by him. He disagreed on political grounds, but it was not politics in the main that kept him away . . . Temperamentally he did not fit in at all with the new Congress. He felt completely out of his element in the *khadi*-clad crowd demanding speeches in Hindustani . . . So he drifted away from the Congress and became a rather solitary figure in Indian politics."[6]

Pandit Nehru was not quite right in his facts – Jinnah remained active in the Congress for some years – and his judgement was biased. But there is substance in his assessment of Jinnah's early distaste for mass politics.

He used the occasion of a meeting in Bombay, held to mourn the sixth anniversary of the death of Gokhale, to explain his attitude. He was convinced, he said, that the programme of Mahatma Gandhi – for whom he had the greatest respect and admiration – was taking them to a wrong channel. What was needed was a real political movement based on real political principles. Mr Gandhi's programme was presented as essentially a spiritual movement, employing destructive methods which took no account of human nature. If non-violent non-cooperation were accomplished it would be a miracle. The Government should think less of Mr Gandhi's programme and more of what the intellectual opinion of India felt. The contrast between Jinnah's "political principles" and Gandhi's emotional appeal was underlined by the Mahatma himself when he wrote in February 1922: "The vast majority of Hindus and Muslims have joined the struggle believing it to be religious. The masses have come in because they want to save the Khilafat and the Cow."

Jinnah's disbelief in non-violent non-cooperation proved all too well founded. Without a uniting cause – the Hindus seeking *Swaraj*, the Muslims revival of the Khilafat – anti-government demonstrations often became communal riots. A rebellion of the Moplahs in Malabar in 1921 cost many lives. Finally came the horror of Chuari Chaura on 5 February 1922, when twenty-two policemen were immolated by a mob in a burning police station. Gandhi called off civil disobedience, an act already demanded by an All Parties Conference in Bombay of which Jinnah was one of three secretaries.





In Jinnah, immaculate dress went with precision of movement and mind. He took care of the figure he cut: long before air-conditioning, he would never allow himself to appear rumpled.

Both Hindus and Muslims were now split over the issue of taking part in the new constitution. C. R. Das resigned as President of the Congress because it would not rescind its boycott of the Councils. In a manifesto of September 1923 for his election to the Central Legislative Assembly Jinnah declared he was more than ever convinced that the right course was to send representatives to the Assembly. "I have no desire," he said, and no one doubted him, "to seek any post or position from the Government. My sole object is to serve the cause of the country as best as I can." In a remarkable eulogy of him and his candidature, the *Bombay Chronicle* wrote of

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"his brilliant past record, his sterling patriotism, his rare independence which no favour can buy nor any frown diminish, above all his uncompromising fighting spirit", and, in a memorable phrase, "his timely and patriotic reticence." Jinnah's silences were often as trenchant as his words. He was returned unopposed, as an Independent, and in the ensuing session took a leading and constructive part in debates, especially on Indianisation of the Army, civil service reform, and the Penal and Criminal Codes. In the popular view of him, his powers as a parliamentarian have been overlooked in the shadow of his public stature.

The Muslims were at that time in political disarray. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Khilafat Committee were bitterly opposed to Jinnah's line of cooperation with the Councils, Maulana Muhammad Ali, then President of the Indian National Congress, denied the representative status of the Muslim League, and Jinnah openly attacked what he called "Muhammad Ali's antics". The Punjab being the centre both of public disturbance and of Muslim divisions, with characteristic courage Jinnah put his head in the lion's mouth by deciding to hold a session of the League in Lahore in May 1924, aimed at bringing about, "through and by means of the All-India Muslim League", a complete settlement between the two main communities, as in the Lucknow Pact. Only when the League became a well-organised body with branches all over the country, he said, could the leaders speak with authority and be able to effect a settlement acceptable to the Muslim people.

One obstacle to the organised solidarity of the Muslims had been removed when in March 1924 Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Kemal Ataturk) abolished the Ottoman Caliphate, and the Khilafat agitation thereafter faded away. Again the Indian political leaders pursued the will-o'-the-wisp of Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah took part in abortive All-Parties Conferences in November 1924 and January 1925. Charged, after the latter, by Srinivasa Sastri with being a communalist, he reiterated his adherence to the Lucknow Pact and the Memorandum of Nineteen.

When the eminent Hindu, Lala Lajpat Rai, invited the champions of separate communal electorates – naming Jinnah specifically – honestly to confess that they did not believe in a united India, and added: "Under my scheme the Muslims will have four Muslim States: 1) Pathan Province or North-West Frontier, 2) Western Punjab, 3) Sind, and 4) Eastern Bengal. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not a united India. It means a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India," Jinnah did not welcome this herald of both the ideology and the substance of Pakistan. He merely commented that Lala Rajpat Rai's pronouncements "make the work of those who try to bring about a settlement more difficult."

In 1925 Jinnah was a member of the Skeen Committee on the establishment of a military college in India to train Indian officers for the commissioned ranks, and travelled with other members in Europe to see what was done there. This was a subject close to his heart as a Legislative Councillor, and the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, owed much to his labours.

At the 1925 session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi he moved a long resolution defining the Muslim attitude towards reform of the constitution. It included these words:

"The following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, namely,

1 All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies be constituted on the definite principles of an adequate and effective representation of the minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to equality;

2 Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of a joint electorate;

3 Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province;

4 Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities;

5 No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose (it) on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such a case.

The proviso to the second point hinted at the possibility of a compromise on separate electorates, and in March 1927 a conference of Muslim leaders including Jinnah made what seemed a sacrificial offer on this issue. Provided that Sind was made a province separate from Bombay and the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan were given full provincial status,"

"Muslims are prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted, and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the N-W Frontier the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Muslim minorities . . . In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall be not less than a third, and that also by a mixed electorate."

Jinnah's feat in securing this resolution was the high-water mark of his concessions in the search for Hindu-Muslim accord. In a press statement he declared: "The question of separate electorates is after all a method and a means to an end. The end in view is that Muslims should be made to feel that they are secured and safeguarded against any act of oppression on the part of the majority."

The Muslim formula was unanimously accepted by the All-India Congress Committee, meeting in Bombay in May 1927. But, as had happened before in India, political attention was distracted by a new event. In November of that year the Simon Commission on Indian constitutional reform was appointed. Jinnah instantly led a move among Indian leaders of all persuasions to boycott the Commission because it included no single Indian member, drafting a manifesto which was signed, at his invitation, by almost all the most prominent of them.

The boycott was virtually complete, and in May 1928, "as if," writes his political biographer M. H. Saiyid, "out of spite to the Simon Commission", Jinnah sailed for England. Among those on board his ship was Dewan Chaman Lal, who recorded an account of the voyage and the conversation of "two of the best talkers in India – Mohamed Ali Jinnah and Srinivasa Iyengar". In it he wrote: "Jinnah is frankly in a despondent mood. He is one of the few men who have no personal motives to nurse or personal aims to advance. His integrity is beyond question. And yet he has been the loneliest of men. He has never belonged to a party unless he himself was the party. Not that he has ever refused to work shoulder to shoulder with others, but he has never allowed any man to compromise his sense of integrity."

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Last Efforts for Unity

That year was a fatal one for Hindu-Muslim unity and marked a turning-point in Jinnah's political life-story. An All-Parties Conference appointed a committee under Pandit Motilal Nehru "to consider the principles of a constitution for India". Its report was published when Jinnah was abroad. On two vital points it rejected the claims of the Muslims – to one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature and to reposing residuary powers with the provinces. Nevertheless Jinnah, on his return, appealed for calm, and saved his fire for the All-Parties Convention which was to be held in Calcutta in December to consider the Nehru Report.

There, a sub-committee first rejected all three amendments put up by the League emissaries. Nevertheless Jinnah moved them again in general session on 28 December. The sagacious if sometimes cynical old Liberal leader Tej Bahadur Sapru followed him. There was no reason, he said, why the Muslim demand for thirty-three per cent at the Centre instead of the existing twenty-seven per cent should be resisted. If Jinnah, whom he had known intimately for fifteen years, was "a spoilt child", he was prepared to say "give him what he wants and be finished with it. I am going to ask him to be reasonable, but we must, as practical statesmen, try to solve the problem." M. R. Jayakar latched on to Sapru's half-disdainful phrase about Jinnah: "I can assure you that he comes before us today neither as a naughty boy nor as a spoilt child but as a fearless and lucid advocate of the small minority of Muslims whose claims he has put forward": his proposals would only revive the "violent and arrogant claims" of Jayakar's Hindu Mahasabha friends. After Jinnah had replied to the debate in measured terms, calling Jayakar's warning an ultimatum by the Mahasabha, his amendments were put to the vote and all rejected. "If we do not settle this question today," Jinnah had said in his peroration, "we shall have to settle it tomorrow. . . Let us part as friends."

Jinnah had been in a despondent mood in the previous May: how much more despondent must he have been now! Not only had his bid for unity failed, but his own Muslims were divided – some for the Nehru Report, some for Jinnah's position, others intransigent. In an effort to rally them he formulated his famous Fourteen Points. The first two called for a federal form of constitution with residuary powers vested in the provinces, and for a uniform measure of autonomy for all provinces. The next six repeated the language of the League's resolution of 1925, recorded above, with the addition of a demand that in the Central Legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third. Points 9 and 10 dealt with the separation of Sind and provincial status for the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan, points 11 and 12 with safeguarding the Muslim share in state services and Muslim culture. The last two points were:

> 13 No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.
>
> 14 No change shall be made in the constitution of the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

The reason for using the word "States" instead of "provinces" in the last point can only be guessed at. Perhaps it revealed a sub-conscious shift in Jinnah's mind towards heightened independence for the units of an Indian confederation. At the Calcutta conference he had described the question of residuary powers as "by far the most important from the constitutional point of view".

Now yet another external development altered the background of India's internal conflict. A Labour Government replaced the Conservatives in office in London, and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin (later Earl of Halifax), went home for consultation with the new Secretary of State. Jinnah seized the opportunity to write a long letter to Ramsay MacDonald, the incoming Prime Minister, urging him, first, to persuade his Government to affirm without delay that Britain was unequivocally pledged to grant India full responsible government with Dominion Status; and secondly to invite representatives of political India to confer with His Majesty's Government after the Simon Commission had reported. What impact Jinnah's letter had on Mr MacDonald's mind we do not know, but the fact was that on Lord Irwin's return to India he issued an historic declaration: "I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgement it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status." The Viceroy went on to announce that in due course the Imperial and Indian Government would invite representatives of British India and the Indian States to meet them in conference. Thus it is more than possible that the idea of a Round Table Conference, as it came to be called, originated with Jinnah.

Naturally he welcomed both parts of the Viceroy's statement, and he successfully urged the Muslim League Council to do likewise. The Congress, however, under Gandhi's influence, was now on a totally different tack. Its All-India Committee had laid down four conditions for cooperation with the Government: the Round Table Conference must be on the basis of full Dominion Status for India, the Indian representation must be predominantly from the Congress, there must be a general amnesty for political prisoners, and the Government of India must forthwith be converted into a virtual Dominion Government. Jinnah, seeing that these conditions would never be accepted, tried personally to dissuade Gandhi, and joined him in a delegation to the Viceroy along with Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and Tej Bahadur Sapru. Of all the conditions, Lord Irwin could offer only the amnesty. A few days afterwards, at the Lahore session of the Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the time-limit of one year for the Government's acceptance of the Nehru Report had expired and called for a programme of civil disobedience. This was launched in March 1930 by Gandhi's famous Salt March. Jinnah's estrangement from the Congress and its policies was now virtually complete.

During his absence at the Round Table Conference, the 1930 session of the Muslim League was held in Allahabad under the presidency of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the world-famed thinker and poet. If, he said in his presidential address, the principle that the Indian Muslim was entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland was recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he would be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. "I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. . . The formation of a consolidated North-West independent Muslim state

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appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India." This concept, however, was somehow to be realised "within the body-politic of India". Thus Iqbal was not nailing his colours to the mast of separation.

Talks between the Viceroy and Gandhi early in 1931 led to the Irwin-Gandhi pact of 5 March. Civil disobedience – which had achieved nothing, as Jinnah had prophesied – was called off, and the Congress agreed to be represented at the Round Table Conference. Its Working Committee decided in June that Gandhi would be its sole representative. Three months later he joined Jinnah and the other Indian spokesmen in London. Very soon he announced "with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation . . . the utter failure on my part to secure an agreed solution of the communal question through informal conversations" – which was hardly surprising when Jinnah's minimal claims on behalf of the Muslims were so incompatible with Gandhi's own ideas and those of the Mahasabha and Liberal representatives. At Ramsay MacDonald's invitation, all the Indian members of the conference agreed to abide by the Prime Minister's arbitral decision. The fact that the ensuing Communal Award went most of the way to granting the Muslim demands – in particular, one-third representation at the Centre – was surely a tribute to the skill with which Jinnah had presented his case at the conference, in which he was from the start one of three or four outstanding figures.

An Interval of Disillusionment

At the end of its first session he had decided to remain in London, making his home there, practising his profession of law and "fighting India's battle in England"; he hoped to enter Parliament. Years afterwards, speaking at Aligarh University in February 1938, he explained his reasons thus:

> "Many efforts had been made since 1924 to settle the Hindu-Muslim question. At that time, I knew no pride and used to beg from the Congress. I worked incessantly to bring about a rapprochement. But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The Mussulmans were led either by the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organise the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand, and traitors in the Congress camp in the other, frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality, nor could I make the Mussulmans realise their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India, but I felt utterly hopeless."

Jinnah's feeling was understandable. He had risked the solidarity of the Muslims and his own political neck in attempts to seek a Hindu-Muslim compact. Whenever he seemed to have secured it, it was snatched from him. For long he had proclaimed the vital need for Hindu-Muslim solidarity in face of the British *raj*; the same reasoning had revealed the vital need for Muslim solidarity in face of the Hindu majority. He had achieved neither purpose.

There were, however, other reasons, of which he never spoke. For the first time in this narrative, Jinnah's private life becomes a key to his public career. In 1918, at the age of forty-one, he had married a beautiful, gay, social Parsi girl, Rattenbai (Ruttie), daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit. So far as one can use the words of one so rational and self-possessed, he was deeply in love. But the incompatibility of temperaments was too great. Ruttie was extravagant and wilful, her husband austere and single-minded. His political ambitions could have meant no more to her than her social pleasures meant to him. "It is my fault," he told a friend: "we both need some sort of understanding we cannot give." After ten years of marriage, the two separated, and in the following year she died. (They had had one child, a daughter, who married a Christian Parsi and so forsook Islam.) Between his wife's departure and her death, Jinnah had suffered, with the passage of the Nehru Report, not only the greatest political setback of his life but also a blow to his private pride and contentment. The "spoilt child" was in truth a sad and weary man. If we recall the unflinching courage and determination that Jinnah displayed throughout his life, we cannot believe that he would have forsaken the task of leading and organising the Indian Muslims in 1930 if he had not suffered also that personal trauma.

It was not until October 1935 that he returned to India for good, but three short visits in September 1931, April 1934 and early 1935 were not without importance in the development of his mind and actions. He said in Bombay in 1931: "I am an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards. But . . . no Indian can ever serve his country if he neglects the interests of the Muslims." The present age, he said, was an age of organisation, and unless the Muslims organised themselves there was no salvation for them. Presiding over the Council of the Muslim League in 1934, he claimed that the League was the only organisation capable of defending the interests of the Muslims. While condemning the British Government's constitutional proposals, the Council resolved to accept the Communal Award "until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities and parties". In 1935 Jinnah held earnest talks with Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, in yet another effort to reach agreement, but though they were marked by mutual goodwill the effort failed. It was the last that Jinnah made on the old lines. Meanwhile in the Legislative Assembly to which he had been re-elected in his absence, he formed and led an Independent Party of twenty-two members, of whom eighteen were Muslims.

The Road to Pakistan

Among Jinnah's visitors in London had been Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who was destined to become his right-hand man and first Prime Minister of Pakistan, and his wife, who was also to play a valuable part. They and others pleaded with him to return and rescue his community, and the Muslim League, which in the Begum's words was "in a degraded state". Jinnah was also influenced by realising his inability to help India and the Muslims when isolated from his power base, and undoubtedly by reflecting on the need for far stronger organisation of his community, which he alone had the authority to inspire. But let him tell the story in his own words, again in 1938 at Aligarh:

> "I kept in touch with India. At the end of four years I found that the Muslims were in the greatest danger. I made up my mind to come back to India, as I could not do them any good from London . . . Then in 1935 I entered into negotiations with the President of the Congress. A formula was evolved but the Hindus wouldn't look at it. When I felt I had exploited every method of bringing about unity I turned round to see what the

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> actual situation demanded. I saw that the new constitution was coming... We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British parliamentary democracy. The constitution foisted on us is also modelled more or less on the British pattern. But there is an essential difference between the body politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are alterable . . . But such is not the case with India. Here we have a permanent Hindu majority and the rest are minorities which cannot within any conceivable period of time hope to become majorities. . . The only hope for minorities is to organise themselves and receive definite and statutory safeguards for their rights and interests. . . If Muslims are united the settlement will come sooner than you think."

He was not afraid of being called a communalist, he told a Jamiat-ul-Ulema conference in April 1936, because he helped his community. "The Hindus and Muslims must be organised separately and once they are better organised they will understand each other better." Again the emphasis on organisation. Later that year, at a session of the Muslim League at Bombay, Jinnah moved a resolution protesting against the imposition of the new constitution upon the Indian people, declaring that

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a morning star of Muslim political awakening in the subcontinent. Unless Muslims, he recognized, acquired Western education, they must forego power. His Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, founded in 1877, grew into Aligarh University.

nevertheless the provincial scheme should "be utilised for what it is worth" and denouncing the Federal scheme. In his speech he deplored the lack of a united Indian front. The Mussulmans and the Hindus were equally divided. Was there any community in India which followed one leader? A pregnant phrase!

Now, with the Government of India Act 1935 about to go into force, the leader toured the provinces to study how Muslim political unity could be won. The task was formidable. In the strongholds of Punjab and Bengal, Muslims were participating in non-communal majority parties, the Unionist Party created by Sir Fazl-i-Husain and afterwards headed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and the Krishak Proja Party led by Fazlul Haq. In the North-West Frontier Province the Khan brothers were leading the majority of the Muslims into the Congress. In Sind they were split into many factions. The Muslim League everywhere was largely a party of few leaders rather than many electors. Nevertheless, in the provincial elections of 1937, League candidates had more success overall than might have been expected. Of the 450 Muslim seats, only twenty-six were won by the Congress, though a minority of the other successful candidates fought under the banner of the League.

At this juncture, with Congress Governments being formed in seven out of the eleven provinces, two strategic errors committed by the Congress leadership played into Jinnah's hands. First, Jawaharlal Nehru, then President of the Congress, claiming that the only parties which mattered in India were the Congress and the British, launched a "Muslim Mass Contact" movement to enlist the Mussulmans into its ranks. Such action produced an opposite reaction. Every non-Congress Muslim group was incensed. Jinnah's response fell on ready ears. "There is a third party," he declared, "namely, the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody. We are not going to be camp followers of any party. We are ready to work *as equal partners* for the welfare of India." (The italics are the present author's.) Those words mark a new stage in the Quaid-e-Azam's thinking. Equality between Muslims and Hindus in politics had clear implications. Majorities and minorities can never be equal, but nations are equal as nations, however large and however small. Not only was political equality to become thereafter Jinnah's tactical demand, but strategically the concept of two equal nations was already implicit in his outlook.

The second Congress *faux pas* was to insist that any Muslim brought into a Congress provincial government should sign the Congress pledge and take orders from the Congress. This produced a particularly bitter reaction in the United Provinces, but everywhere it signalled a determination by the Congress "High Command" that the League should be reduced either to a powerless fringe-group or to a communal subsidiary of the Congress. Again solidarity behind the League was seen as the necessary and only retort.

In office, Congress Governments took, or more often countenanced, a number of administrative measures inimical to the Muslims. A cool if communally interested summary is that of Chaudhri Muhammad Ali:[7]

> "Muslims were denied equality of opportunity and were deprived of their rightful place in the administration. Symbols of Hindu raj and Hindu culture were adopted in government institutions . . . Schools began the day by saluting the Congress flag, by singing the *'Bande Matram'*, a notoriously anti-Muslim song, and by *puja*, or worshipping of Gandhi's portrait – a practice deeply obnoxious to the Muslims. Insistence on the protection of cows took forms which inflicted economic injury upon the poorer Muslims . . . A systematic effort was made to replace Urdu, which was the common cultural heritage of Muslims and Hindus, with Hindi."

It was typical of Jinnah, however, that at the Patna session of the League in 1938 he opposed a resolution calling for direct action against the "atrocities" by Congress Governments, and instead secured the vesting of authority for any emergency action in the Working Committee. He did not want a national movement to disintegrate in futile local disorders. The time for national demonstration came when, at the behest of the party's "High Command", the Congress Governments resigned towards the end of 1939. Jinnah called on all Muslims to celebrate 22 December as "a day of deliverance and thanksgiving". The *hartal*, which very few Muslims refrained from observing, was also joined by many members of other minorities.

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Meanwhile events had marched forward. At the Lucknow session of the League in October 1937 Jinnah had an ecstatic reception both from the conference and from the crowds that lined his route. After attacking the Congress on a broad front he said: "The majority community have clearly shown their hand, that Hindustan is for the Hindus." He warned that the result of the Congress policy would be class bitterness, communal war and, in consequence, a strengthening of the imperialist grasp. The League had now come to play its just part in Indian politics, and the sooner it was reckoned with the better it would be for all interests concerned. "I want the Mussulmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India."

At the League's Calcutta session in April 1938 Jinnah could sound a note of high success. The League had been growing stronger every day. Muslims had made it clear that, besides the question of religion, language, culture and personal laws, there was another life-and-death question for them – the securing of their political rights. "The Muslim League claims the status of complete equality with the Congress or any other organisation."

That claim was very soon to be asserted. In the same month Gandhi talked with Jinnah in Bombay but pleaded his lack of authority to commit the Congress to the pact with the League which the Quaid-e-Azam still sought, and recommended negotiation with the Congress President-elect, Subhas Chandra Bose. In correspondence with Bose, Jinnah insisted that the Muslim League must be accepted as the one authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims. Bose replied that the Congress could not possibly function as if it represented one community only, thus itself becoming a communal organisation. The League's Executive Committee backed Jinnah's stance and resolved that any negotiating committee set up by the Congress should not include any Muslims. Bose's answer was predictable: the conditions were unacceptable, for many Muslims were in the Congress or supported it, and it had been an unbroken tradition of the Congress to represent all communities. It was, however, asking for no recognition from the League in that respect. Jinnah, after consultation, replied in converse terms. The status of the League as the only authoritative political organisation of the Indian Muslims had been accepted at the time of the Lucknow Pact and had never since been challenged. "The All-India Muslim League, therefore, does not require any admission or recognition from the Congress." But, he added, Jawaharlal Nehru's statement that there were only two parties in India, the Congress and the British, made it necessary to clarify the basis on which Congress-League negotiations could proceed.

Studying today this mannerly and well-argued correspondence, which ended in deadlock, one cannot but reflect that there was reason and logic on both sides. The League stance implied that the Congress would negotiate only on behalf of the Hindus. The Congress said in effect: "We agree to negotiate a Hindu-Muslim settlement with the League, acknowledging its powerful status among the Muslims, but not as a Hindu organisation, which the Congress is not and never has been." This confrontation of incompatible claims was to bedevil all later negotiations.

Provincial Muslim Leagues were now being built up. A vital advance towards all-India Muslim unity had been made at the Lucknow session when Sikander Hyat Khan announced that he was advising all his Muslim supporters in the Punjab to join the League; and, in Bengal, Fazlul Haq followed suit. The biographer of the then Viceroy wrote:

> "It had been a real success for Jinnah. The League had undoubtedly gained significant strength and would now make rapid strides in extending its organisation. The Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal had clearly had their hands forced by Jinnah into decisions which, governing as each of them was with a coalition ministry, they must have taken with great reluctance."[8]

At a provincial League conference in Karachi in October 1938, however, Jinnah failed in a strenuous endeavour to consolidate Muslim membership of the Sind legislature in the League and replace the Ministry of Allah Baksh, which was under the thumb of a small Congress group holding the balance of power, with a League Government. The Quaid-e-Azam's course was not without setbacks.

The Karachi meeting was, however, memorable for a resolution recommending the All-India Muslim League to review the entire question of a suitable constitution for India, and suggesting that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations. Karachi was thus a herald of Lahore.

The annual session at Patna in December 1938 marked a complete and final break with the Congress. In an extempore presidential address, Jinnah, who again had a tremendous reception, declared: "The Congress has now killed every hope of a Hindu-Muslim settlement... The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled to speak on behalf of the whole of India ... Others are asked to accept the gift as from a mighty sovereign... We Muslims have made up our minds to have our fullest rights but we shall have them as rights, not as gifts or concessions."

In national politics Jinnah and the League concentrated their attack upon Federation, which many Muslims feared might be accepted by the Congress as a means to eventual majority government and as a preferable alternative to the two-nation concept. It was therefore a distinct gain for the Jinnah campaign when the Federal part of the constitution was put into indefinite cold storage on the outbreak of the Second World War.

The war brought new opportunities as well as problems for Jinnah and the League. The attitude of the Congress drove it into the wilderness, leaving the political field wide open to the League and other smaller parties. The fact that nearly half the Army were Muslims, and Punjab was its main recruiting ground, gave the Muslim leaders extra leverage with the Government. Moreover, under pressure from many directions, the British, in desperate straits at home, were anxious to hasten a settlement of the Indian problem and therefore ready to make concessions both to the majority and to obdurate minorities.

While the Congress Working Committee, on the outbreak of war, demanded as the price of cooperation with the Government that India be immediately declared independent and a constitution be framed by a constituent assembly based on adult franchise, the Working Committee of the Muslim League adopted a far less all-or-nothing attitude. It pronounced:

> "Muslim India... is irrevocably opposed to any 'federal objective' which must necessarily result in a majority

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community rule under the guise of democracy . . . Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of the country, which is composed of different nationalities and does not constitute a national state.

"The Muslim League condemns unprovoked aggression and the doctrine that 'might is right' . . . The Committee feel, however, that real and solid Muslim cooperation and support to Great Britain in this hour of her trial cannot be secured successfully if His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy are unable to secure to the Muslims justice and fair-play in the Congress-governed provinces. . .

"No declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted . . . without such consent and approval."

When Jinnah met the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, early in 1940 he asked for five assurances: that Indian troops should not be used against any Muslim power, that the Act of 1935 should be declared obsolete, that no new constitution should be promulgated unless the consent of the Muslims had been obtained, that the Palestine question should be settled forthwith, and, finally that a Royal Commission should report on the oppression of Muslims in Congress-governed provinces and Congress governments should never be reinstated. The Viceroy replied politely, but in effect negatively, or in vague terms.

It was about this time that the honorific title Quaid-e-Azam (great leader) became popularly attached to Mohamed Ali Jinnah's name. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, its use was inadvertently propagated by Mahatma Gandhi himself[9]. In a letter of 1 January 1940 to Gandhi, who had so addressed him, Jinnah wrote:

"I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all? A rose by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter."

While titles meant nothing to Jinnah, power meant a great deal, and his consciousness of rapidly growing power led him to increasing hauteur in his dealings with others, whether the Viceroy or a British emissary, Congress leaders or Muslim figures whose pretensions he disdained.

Lord Linlithgow thought him bad-mannered. The Viceroy had at first underrated him.

"Linlithgow admired Jinnah's cleverness, but he was never to like him as he liked Gandhi, whose warmth Jinnah lacked. When he first met him the Viceroy did not foresee the hold which he would eventually have over the Muslims. 'I do not frankly feel any deep confidence in him', he wrote, 'and I suspect that he is one of those political leaders who can play a personal hand but no other, and whose permanent control on the allegiance of their followers is frequently open to question."[10]

But 1937 was not 1940, and Linlithgow, who was a shrewd judge of men, and admired strength of character and intrepid resolution, very soon realised that Jinnah's control of the allegiance of his followers was no longer in doubt, and thereafter he treated the Muslim leader with the wariest respect.

On 22 March 1940, the historic session of the Muslim League opened at Lahore – none had been held in 1939. In his presidential address Jinnah began by praising the work of the League's Ladies' Committee (which had been appointed at the Patna session on his initiative) in arousing political consciousness among Muslim women, who could play a vital part in the uplift of Muslim society. Jinnah believed implicitly in the emancipation of women, though he was careful not to force the pace for those Muslims reared in a different tradition.

"Rapidly women were becoming politically conscious. This was . . . directly encouraged by Quaid-e-Azam. He did it without saying much but in little ways, such as making Miss Jinnah, his sister, always sit on the dais. . . The audience gradually got used to the idea of women being present and participating in public meetings."[11]

In his speech at Lahore, after attacking the concept of a constituent assembly, Jinnah declared:

"It has always been taken for granted, mistakenly, that the Muslims are a minority, and . . . these settled notions are very difficult to remove. The Mussulmans are not a minority. The Mussulmans are a nation by any definition . . . The problem in India is not of an inter-communal but manifestly of an international character . . . The only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states. There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other."

On the contrary, once the effort by one to dominate the other had disappeared, they could make international pacts with each other and live in harmony, settling their minority problems by reciprocal arrangements. Jinnah continued:

"Islam and Hinduism are not religions in the strict sense of the word but are in fact quite different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. . . To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up."

Yet the dream of a common Indian nationality had occupied Jinnah's mind for half a century, before this awakening. As late as September 1939, only six months before Lahore, he was saying (in a speech to Osmania University graduates): "I still remain a nationalist. I have always believed in a Hindu-Muslim pact. . . One does not see much light at present but you never can say when the two communities would unite."

The Muslim League proceeded at Lahore to carry, on the motion, ironically, of Fazlul Haq – the famous "Pakistan Resolution":

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the A.-I.M.L. that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. . . This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

The language of that resolution deserves close scrutiny. In the first place, it was not an ultimatum, but an expression of "considered view". It clearly envisaged a constitution in the singular for India as a whole providing for central conduct of major powers until they were "finally assumed" by the regions. It called for territorial adjustments. It contemplated at least two Muslim-majority "independent States" in the plural. Lastly,

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and most importantly, the looseness of the wording and even of the syntax must have been deliberate. Jinnah and his colleagues evidently did not want to be tied down to too precise a formula for "Pakistan". This is borne out by the fact that the mandate given to the Working Committee to prepare a constitutional scheme in accordance with the proclaimed principles, if privately attempted, was never discharged. Jinnah had no intention of diverting support for the main scheme into criticism of its details, which could only give ammunition to its opponents.

The Viceroy and other British authorities, therefore, viewed the resolution more as a political gambit than as an adamant demand, and in this belief they were encouraged by the openly expressed opinions of some leading Muslims who had formally subscribed to the resolution but who regarded it as open to many interpretations. Prominent among them was Sikander Hyat Khan, who continued to promote ideas of Indian federation with minimal central powers.

It happens that the present author had first-hand knowledge of Mr. Jinnah's mind around that time. In November 1941 I spent two hours with him alone in his house in New Delhi, where I had called upon him as Reforms Commissioner (constitutional adviser to the Government of India). As always, he was immaculately dressed, in a pale grey suit with knife-edge creases, rather broad in the lapels. Simple in taste, Jinnah was nevertheless a perfectionist. His home was always spotless, his silver gleamed. To me his manner was polite rather than warm, his words plain and unequivocal. He would never have spoken just to please a listener, but of course he was aware that what he said to me would be passed on in governmental circles.

In retrospect, the most interesting points he made (recorded verbatim in my diary) were these:

1 On why he and the League had shifted from their previous readiness to accept a central government with safeguards: "Now we have had experience under Congress provincial governments, when every day there were instances of oppression. Moreover, the situation has been fundamentally changed in that we are now assuming that India will have full powers of self-government, both internal and external, including the power to amend the constitution, perhaps after a short transitional period. At the Round Table Conference we assumed that for a long time to come the final control, especially in foreign affairs and defence, would remain with Britain. Now we know that the Hindus want to rule over us and keep us in permanent subjection."

2 On whether he would accept the principle that Muslims in Hindu zones and Hindus in Muslim zones should enjoy the same safeguard for minorities: "Certainly, but you obviously do not realise that once the two nations are separated, and we Muslims are given our homelands, the communal tension will immediately be relaxed. Each minority, whether Hindu or Muslim, will have its essential rights of religion, language and so forth protected, but it will have to reconcile itself to being a minority. . . Weightage for either minority will no longer be necessary. To me a Government of Pakistan without a Hindu member and a Sikh member is inconceivable. Indeed I would be ready to guarantee them their places – and let them be genuine represenatatives, having the confidence of their communities. But of course they would have to realise that they were minorities and could not dictate policy."

3 On the extent of Pakistan: "Remember that we would not follow existing boundaries, but would set up these zones in such a way as to have substantial Muslim majorities in the North West and North East." (He mentioned particularly the detachment of the Ambala division from the Punjab.)

4. On how, with Pakistan, he would deal with the princely States: "I would keep right away from them. Why should we complicate our problem by taking them in?"

5 On how a successor Dominion could subsist as an independent nation without the States which it geographically embraced: "I am not asking for that status. Let the final authority in foreign affairs and defence remain in the hands of a representative of the Crown, to be handed over in the future when this becomes feasible. In my view, large powers should remain for the time being with the Governor-General, who would act in responsibility partly to the British Parliament and partly to the peoples of the different zones. . . There should be no central legislature or government. The problem of transferring the governing power in India is like parcelling out the estate of a previously undivided family: a commissioner would act as receiver and draw up a scheme of partition, under which some assets might remain undistributed for a long time".

Two important things had happened in the interval between the Lahore conference and that interview. On 8 August 1940 Lord Linlithgow issued a statement which became known as the August Offer. He intended, he said, despite the differences obstructing national unity, not to delay any longer the expansion of his Executive Council to include more Indian members and the establishment of a body which would associate Indian public opinion more closely with the conduct of the war. As to the constitutional future, no part of the Act of 1935 or its underlying policy was excluded from examination, full weight being given to the views of minorities in any revision. The British Government, Lord Linlithgow declared,

> "could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibility for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

The British Government would assent as soon as possible after the end of the war to the setting up of a representative Indian body to devise the framework of a new constitution.

Jinnah and the Muslim League, despite their opposition to a constituent assembly, felt that they had gained two vital points. The whole plan of the constitution was open to change, and as a "large and powerful element" they had been given in effect a veto on any system fundamentally hostile to their claims. Points once gained were, for Jinnah, points never lost.

A few weeks before the August Offer he had sent to the Viceroy, at the latter's request, certain "tentative proposals" for the immediate future. After flying his flag for the Lahore resolution and claiming that dividing India and creating Muslim States had become "the universal faith of Muslim India", Jinnah urged that the fullest war effort in India could be achieved only if the Muslim leaders were brought into the Government "as equal partners". The Governor-General's Executive Council should be enlarged: if the Congress came in, the Muslims should have equality with the Hindus: if not, a majority. The same should apply to membership of a War Council of not less than fifteen members. The representatives of the Muslims on both bodies should be chosen by the League.

Those were terms which the Viceroy could not accept, but he came out bruised from the second important event of 1940-41 which concerned the last of them. Among those who accepted his invitation to join a new, advisory National Defence Council (Jinnah's proposed "War Council") were the Muslim Premiers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. A meeting of the League's Working Committee in Bombay, at which Sir Sikander was present, decided that they should resign. He protested that they had been invited as Premiers of their provinces, but Lord

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Linlithgow had made the tactical slip of writing, in a message to Jinnah, that he had asked them because it was essential "that the great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity". Confronted with those words in a cat-and-mouse interview with Jinnah, Sir Sikander accepted the League's ruling and resigned from the Defence Council. So, too, did Sir Muhammad Saadullah of Assam and, after a delay, Fazlul Haq, who in protest resigned from the League's Working Committee and Council; in December 1941 he was expelled from the League for forming a new Bengal party in coalition with the Congress and other Hindu groups.

One of Jinnah's devoted admirers wrote many years later:

> "It is difficult to realise now what a tremendously bold and courageous step it was for Quaid-e-Azam to take.[12] Fazlul Haq was one of the giants of the Indian sub-continent. He maintained that he was every bit as good as Quaid-e-Azam himself and was not going to take orders from him. The same point of view was held by many other prominent men with the same personal vanity... This was unfortunate as it deprived the League of the advice and counsel of men eminently fitted to give it, and accounts today for there being so few to carry on the work now that the Quaid-e-Azam is gone. Quaid-e-Azam's point of view was that you could not have an effective organisation unless it was disciplined, and the organisation could not be disciplined if its members, no matter how prominent they might be, refused to abide by its rules. It was in its trial of strength with Fazlul Haq that the League really proved its mettle."

To others, the capitulation of Sir Sikander seemed the more significant, because of the vital importance of the Punjab to the whole concept of Pakistan and because of Sikander's unconcealed hostility to the policy of partition. He died prematurely later in December 1942. His successor, Sir Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, was even more resolutely opposed to Pakistan, and in 1944 was expelled from the League for refusing to toe its line, and was as mercilessly pursued by Jinnah's wrath as Fazlul Haq had been. Thus Bombay, 1941, saw the emergence, by a decisive tactical coup, of Jinnah as the sole, un-

In the late 1930s, Jinnah began to bring together central Muslim leaders under the Muslim League. He was already proving to be the catalyst. Here, at Simla, he is seen with Shaukat Ali on his right.

At the Lucknow session of All-India Muslim League in 1937, Jinnah had already won the personal allegiance of Liaquat Ali Khan (back row, one from right). *To left of picture is Khwaja Nazimuddin.*

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challenged monarch of the Muslim League, indeed of Muslim India.

The next major event to tax Jinnah's skill was the Cripps Mission of March/April 1942. The Cripps offer included the promise that immediately the war was over steps would be taken to set up in India an elected body to frame a new constitution for an Indian Union with full Dominion Status. The British Government undertook to implement such a constitution, subject to:

> "the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession, if it so decides. With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union. . ."

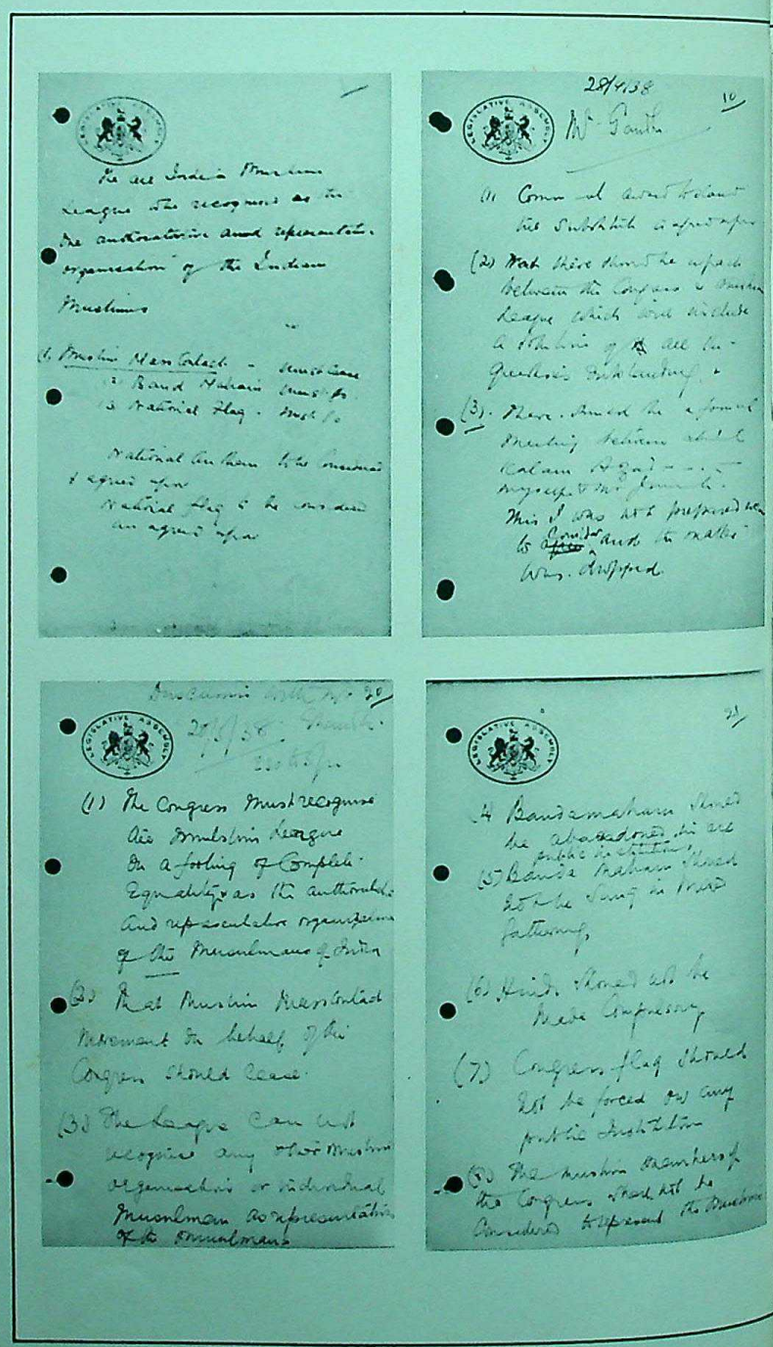
This was immediately seen by Muslims as a virtual promise of Pakistan if Muslim-majority provinces opted out. Moreover it was Pakistan composed of the historic provinces, which thereafter became Jinnah's claim. In his talks with Lord Mountbatten, he begged the Viceroy not to give him the "moth-eaten Pakistan", shorn of Hindu/Sikh majority areas in the Punjab and Bengal, which he himself had been advocating before 1942. Half a loaf is better than no bread, but if you have once been offered a whole loaf why demand half, for you may get only a quarter?

Sir Stafford Cripps's negotiations were conducted mainly with the Congress leaders, who eventually rejected the Offer. Jinnah bided his time, and when the Congress rejection was announced the Muslim League Working Committee followed suit, but in vaguer terms, and with attack concentrated on the long-term plan aimed at an all-India Union through a constituent assembly.

In August 1942, under Gandhi's inspiration, the All-India Congress Committee endorsed resolutions for a "Quit India" campaign, demanding that British rule must cease immediately, otherwise the Congress would use all its strength in a widespread struggle. Jinnah described this as "blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of government which would establish a Hindu raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet". The Government immediately arrested Gandhi and all the chief Congress leaders and proscribed Congress committees throughout India. A few militant spirits in the Working Committee of the Muslim League wanted to follow the Congress into revolt against British rule, and presumably into gaol: Jinnah was at great pains not merely to defeat them but to convince them they were wrong – the League was not yet strong enough, he said. They soon had to admit their error[13]. "Quit India", indeed, proved another fatal move for the Congress, for the League was left virtually in command of the main political terrain for the next three years.

In September 1944 Jinnah and Gandhi (who had been released on medical grounds) met in Jinnah's house in Bombay, at Gandhi's suggestion. In the exchange of letters which followed, Gandhi wrote that he was willing to recommend acceptance of the claim for separation in the League's Lahore resolution, subject to certain conditions. Areas in the north-west and north-east, where it appeared that Muslims wished to separate from the rest of the Indian family, should be demarcated by a Congress-League commission, and the wishes of the inhabitants then ascertained by a plebiscite. If they voted for separation, an independent State would be formed as soon as possible after India was free. Jinnah rejected this plan because it refused to acknowledge that the Muslims were a nation with a right of self-determination, required that all the inhabitants even of admitted Muslim-majority areas should vote on separation, and deferred separation until after India was free. No doubt Jinnah thought that he could get better terms from the British by holding out than by compromising with the Mahatma and perhaps having even that compromise whittled down because Gandhi alone could not "deliver the goods". He had gained not only national prestige as the equal whom the Mahatma had to visit and appease, but also the tactical advantage of having separation taken seriously by the Congress leaders as well as the British. With Jinnah, every salient won was held tenaciously as the base for the next advance.

Between the release of the Congress leaders after the end of the war in Europe in May 1945 and the arrival of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy in March 1947, Jinnah's three-cornered struggle with the Congress and the British Government takes the form, in retrospect, of an



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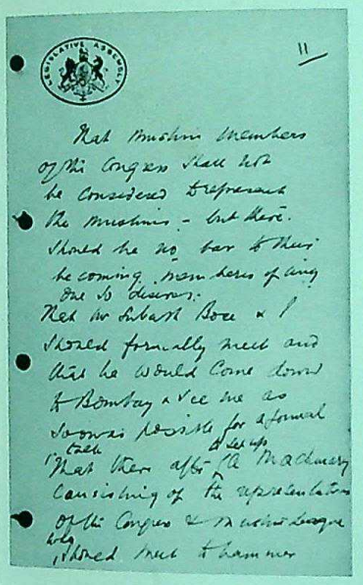
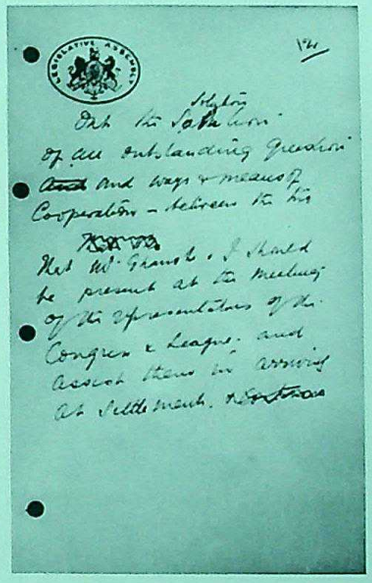
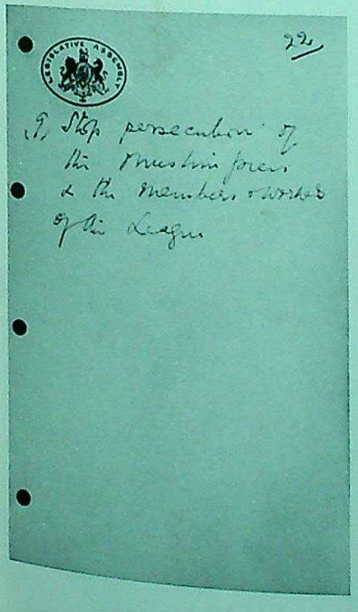
essay in tactics. At Lord Wavell's Simla conference of June 1945, designed to set up an "Interim Government" with "equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims", Jinnah insisted that he should nominate, on behalf of the League, all the Muslim Ministers. Lord Wavell, refusing this because he wanted to include a Punjab Unionist, at once abandoned his efforts. Congress leaders were flabbergasted. The Viceroy, who in tactical boldness was no match for Jinnah, had sacrificed to the latter another vantage point: "Mr. Jinnah's demonstration of imperious strength at the Simla conference was a shot in the arm for the League and a serious blow for its Muslim opponents, especially in the Punjab."[14]

The next tactical encounter came with the Cabinet Mission in March 1946. Meanwhile, Jinnah's power base had been vastly strengthened by the elections of 1945-46, thanks to prodigious efforts on his own part. Though the Congress won a clear majority in the central assembly, the League swept the board with all 30 Muslim seats. In the provinces, while the Congress had majorities in two of the claimed provinces, N.W.F.P. and Assam, the League won 442 Muslim seats out of 509 in the eleven provinces combined, and in the Punjab, reduced the Muslim Unionists to a rump of only seven members, against 79 for the League. Although a Unionist-Sikh-Congress coalition continued in office in Lahore until Governor's rule was imposed in March 1947, the election results had fully vindicated Jinnah's claim that the League was the sole genuine spokesman of Indian Muslim opinion, even in the Punjab. "The Pakistan bandwagon was rolling, and shifts of allegiance after the provincial elections showed that more and more Mussulmans were ready to jump on it."[15]

The Cabinet Mission's negotiations over three months were complicated and tedious, and need not be rehearsed here, save for one incident. Early in their course, the Mission confronted Jinnah with possible alternative solutions, as a basis for discussion with others: either a separate State of Pakistan, shorn of the non-Muslim-majority areas of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam; or a







In April 1938, Jinnah joined issue with Gandhi over government in the provinces.

Jinnah's Correspondence with Gandhi

Jinnah's notes, dated April 1938, on his exchanges with Gandhi, refer to the All-India Muslim League "as the authoritative and representative organization of the Indian Muslims", and proceed to various points:

"1. Communal award to stand till substitute is agreed upon.
2. That there should be a pact between the Congress and Muslim League which will include a solution of all the questions outstanding.
3. There should be a formal meeting between Abul Kalam Azad – myself [Gandhi] and Mr Jinnah.

This I was not prepared to consider and the matter was dropped." *et cetera.*

Three weeks later, on 20 May, nine points are listed:

"1. The Congress must recognize the Muslim League on a footing of complete equality and as the authoritative and representative organization of the Mussulmans of India.
2. That Muslim Mass Contact Movement on behalf of the Congress should cease.
3. The League cannot recognize any other Muslim organization or individual Mussulman as representatives of the Mussulmans.
4. Bande Matram should be abandoned in all public institutions.
5. Bande Matram should not be sung in mixed gatherings.
6. Hindi should not be made compulsory.
7. Congress Flag should not be forced on any public institution.
8. The Muslim members of the Congress shall not be considered to represent the Muslims.
9. Stop persecution of the Muslim press and members and workers of the League."

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minimal Indian Union, with equality for the Muslims, within which the five claimed provinces could form a federation of their own. Jinnah refused to commit himself, saying: "Let the Congress make a suggestion to me, and I will consider it." When it became clear that no Congress-League agreement could be established, on 16 May the Mission issued its own plan. This came down against handing over power to two entirely separate sovereign States, but envisaged a three-tier constitution, in which three geographical groups of provinces (North-Western, North-Eastern and the rest) would frame their own provincial constitutions, and permissibly group constitutions, under the umbrella of an all-India constituent assembly.

The reaction of the Muslim League and its leader, both to that statement of 16 May and to the Mission's statement of 16 June, nominating a Government of six members from the Congress, five from the League and three others (non-Hindus), was obviously motivated by tactical calculation. They were the first to accept the

Jinnah loved to mix with the young, as, for example, with Punjabi Muslim students at Islamia College.

May statement on the constitution (claiming that the basis of Pakistan was inherent in it), but waited to accept the June statement on the make-up of the Interim Government until the Congress had rejected it. The first manoeuvre threw upon the Congress the onus of rejecting the Mission's scheme, with its grant of a democratic constitutuent assembly; the second threw upon the Viceroy, so they thought, the onus of forming a Government which in the self-imposed absence of the Congress would be dominated by the League.

Although the Working Committee of the League had authorized the original acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's scheme, the final decision had been left to the Quaid-e-Azam himself. "The responsibility," he told a close colleague, "has been so heavy that it has taken much out of me. I have thought much in bed, and have prayed for guidance because the decision I was called upon to make would make or mar the destiny of our nation."[16] The idea of a Jinnah always confident and always right is a hagiological legend, forgetful that he was but a man, capable of human uncertainty and human error.

> "The day had not yet passed when he began to worry again. He was not sure that the decision to accept was the right one and yet the alternative, rejection, would have carried serious consequences. It appeared that on reconsideration, he would rather have rejected the proposal. But it was too late. The decision had been taken and communicated. All that he could do was to hope that the Congress Working Committee would either reject the proposal or ask for such amendments or put such interpretation on it as would vitiate their acceptance of it."[17]

The Congress, fortunately for Jinnah's conscience, duly obliged. Not only was their acceptance hedged about with damaging footnotes, but Jawaharlal Nehru torpedoed the scheme when he publicly proclaimed that the Congress had committed itself only to the constituent assembly, which would be free to alter the plan, including the grouping, as it thought best. Jinnah at once protested against this "complete repudiation of the basic form on which the long-term scheme rests", and the League revoked its acceptance of the scheme.

If the first manoeuvre thus succeeded, the second failed, because the Viceroy put a different interpretation from Jinnah's on a promise about the Interim Government, and proceeded to try again for a Congress-League coalition. Jinnah's talks with Nehru on its basis collapsed, and the latter formed a Congress-dominated Government, but in October 1946 the League Working Committee decided to join it, on the 6:5:3 formula.

> "It felt that . . . it would be fatal to leave the entire field of administration in the hands of the Congress. The League's entry . . . was a strategic triumph. The Quaid succeeded in putting the League into the Interim Government in its own right and without any commitment to join the Constituent Assembly in the way the Congress wanted it to join . . . The Quaid-e-Azam told us that he had extracted the last ounce of concession from the Viceroy in difficult circumstances."[18]

Thus an initial tactical setback was turned into a victory.

When the League revoked its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan and called for a programme of "direct action" and the renouncing of any titles received from the Government, Jinnah proclaimed:

> "Never before have we in the League done anything except by constitutional means. Now we are forced into this position. This day we bid goodbye to constitutional methods."

Direct Action Day was called for 16 August, when meetings would be held all over the country to explain the League's attitude. In Bengal Mr Shaheed Suhrawardy's Government went further than had been intended by Jinnah, who hated the risk of bloody violence, and declared 16 August a public holiday. Communal riots broke out and some 20,000 people were killed or gravely injured in Calcutta, the majority of them being Muslims.

The emphasis on Jinnah's tactical skill needs elaboration. A candid critic has written:

> "He was a superb tactician, and the various moves that he made were all part of a master plan, the supreme objective of which was the accumulation and concentration of enormous power in his hands – an objective which he could rationalize in terms of the well-being and social goals of the Muslim nation and Pakistan."[5]

That is a subjective imputation of motive, a process always dangerous and in this case false. The record of Jinnah's life does not bear out the suggestion that he rationalized personal ambition in terms of Muslim aspirations. That he came to identify the Muslim cause with his own unchallenged leadership was due partly to his individualist nature, partly to events which made him see that only undisputed concentration of authority could hold the community together in face both of its

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British and of its Indian antagonists.

He was indeed a superb tactician, but he was much more. Every military commander needs sound tactics to win battles, but tactical gains have lasting value only in so far as they serve a strategic objective and a strategic plan. Jinnah's eyes never left his strategic goal, whether it was Hindu-Muslim unity or the achievement of Pakistan. Defeat in the former campaign gave way to single-minded conduct of the latter. Nationalism – freedom for his people – was the inspiration of both. For many years he saw a Hindu-Muslim pact as the essential condition of freedom. Gradually its pursuit drove him to see Muslim solidarity and the recognition of Muslim nationhood as the prerequisite of the condition itself. Finally he came to see separation and partition as the only way to crown and perpetuate Muslim nationhood. That is how his early ideal and his eventual achievement, utterly contrasted as they appear to be, were linked by an unbroken continuity of evolving thought and policy. Indeed, there is evidence that right up to the end of 1946, in his seventieth year, he had not yet abandoned all hope of a Hindu-Muslim (or Congress-League) reconciliation in a minimal all-India Union on the basis of negotiations as equals, once acceptance of Muslims' right to national self-determination had been irrevocably sealed.

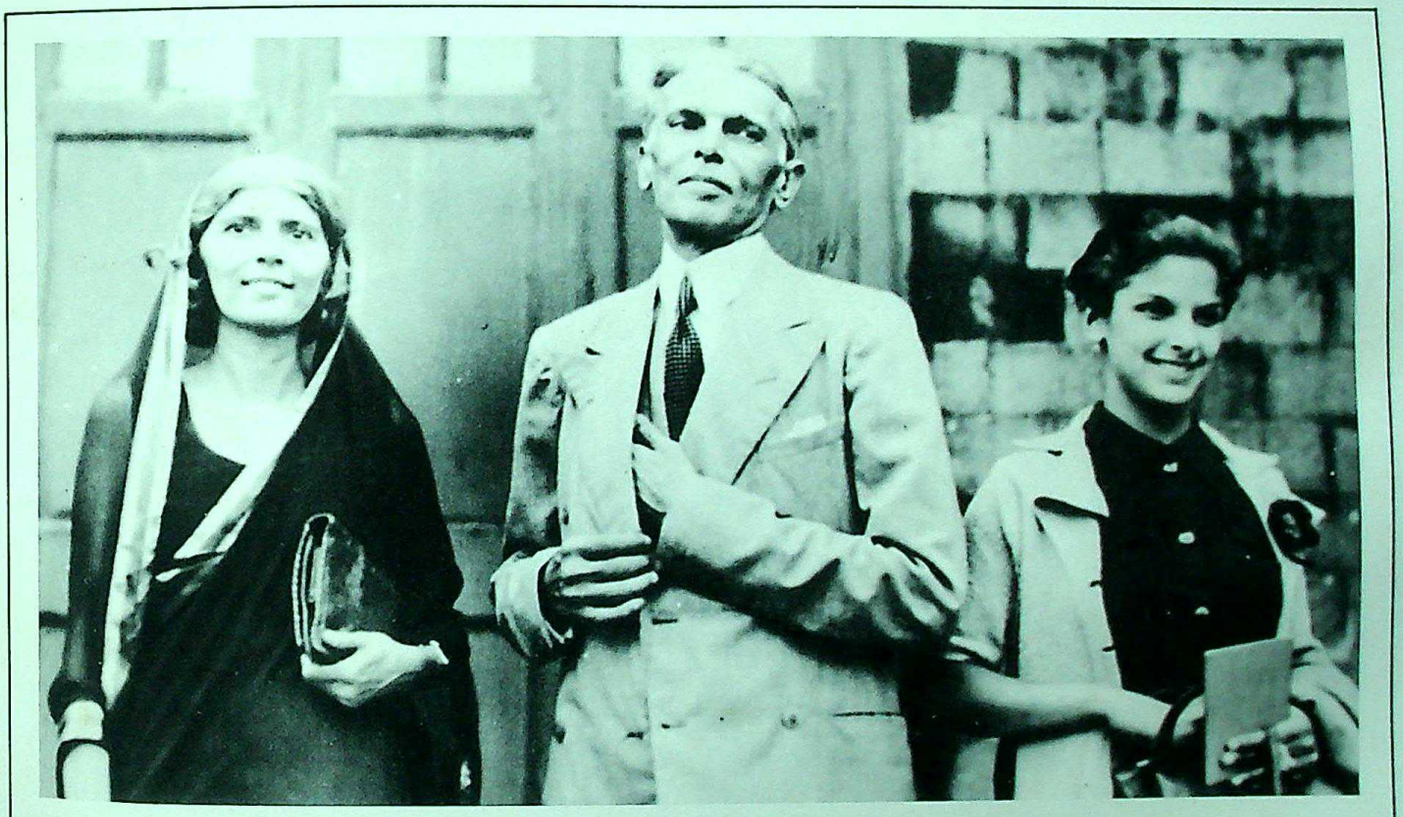
The events of 1947 are too well-known and well chronicled to need recounting in detail here. Dramatic as they were, in a sense they were an anti-climax. The battle for Pakistan had in truth already been won. Not only were some powerful leaders of the Congress already reconciled to partition of India, but British Government policy itself made it inevitable. That both those facts were due to the implacable force of Jinnah's will is beyond dispute.

A statement of 20 February 1947, announcing the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy, contained two vital points:

> 1 It was the Government's definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transfer of power into responsible Indian hands not later than June 1948.
>
> 2 If by that time it appeared that such a constitution as had been proposed by the Cabinet Mission had not been worked out by a fully representative constituent assembly, the Government would have to consider handing over power either to some form of central government or in some areas to provincial governments or in some other reasonable way in the interests of the Indian people.

Those terms meant, in effect, that if the Muslim League continued to boycott the constituent assembly, and the Cabinet Mission's scheme fell to the ground, and if the Muslim attitude ruled out "some form of central government", the only road open would be partition, either by devolution of national power to provinces or otherwise. The trump cards were in Jinnah's hands.

The time-limit was not the only change from the position in 1946. The Cabinet Mission had authority only to negotiate a settlement between the Indian parties: the new Viceroy had power to decide. That made a radical difference to the tactical requirements. Jinnah need no longer think of settlement with the Congress: his task was to convince the British rulers.



This rare photograph shows Jinnah with his sister, Fatima (left), *and his only child, Dina. Jinnah's marriage with Dina's mother had been a true love match, although his dedication to political life put an unbearable strain on his much younger wife. Though they parted, after her death Jinnah endured a period of private desolation. His affection for his daughter and grandchildren was sustained to the end of his life: his delight in the company of children constantly revealed itself.*

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The Two Prototypes: Jinnah and Gandhi

Few theatres of politics in modern times have brought together on stage, in the same act or scene, two such leading figures as Jinnah and Gandhi, crossing swords with each other and simultaneously contending with a third looming presence, that of imperialism. A duodrama with such a cast and of such intensity would be enough by itself to inhibit a balanced appraisal; the triangular element made it so complex as to baffle critical evaluation so far.

The inevitable result has been a set of stock responses. Two of them understandably consist of the denigration of each leader by the followers of the other. Indian propagandists have sanctimoniously tried to belittle Jinnah, depicting him as arrogant and obdurate, swayed more by personal ambition than by worthier motives. Muslims have fixed their gaze on the Hindu god's feet of clay and exclusively concentrated on the large ingredient of cant and humbug in the Gandhian mixture. The third response comes from those Western observers who were so beguiled by the imagery and emanations, rather than the actualities, of the scene that they installed Gandhi in the company of Jesus and Buddha. Having subjectively inflated the drama to Olympian proportions, their perception has lacked focus; specificity has been blurred. When a political situation is viewed not as one of a conflict or harmonization of interests, whether of nations or classes, but in terms of the disembodied ideals of tolerance or prejudice, love or hate, judgment is perverted. From this distorted angle, Jinnah appears to have played the minor, quibbling, querulous, dissident role of championing a sectional interest, legitimate but narrow, rather than of translating a large, universalistic vision into reality. Precision is no match for passion; a character that seeks to bring a rational order into a chaos can never dominate a scene as powerfully as one who summons primordial emotions. From a theatrical, in contrast to a historical, viewpoint Jinnah's role in the unique situation of South Asia from the early years of the century to 1947 must seem to be dwarfed in scale.

All these reponses are uninfluenced by historical truth. Subjectivity or partisanship apart, all stem from an equal ignorance of the different strands in the Asian-African struggle against Western colonialism. None recognizes the distinct prototypes of leadership in this struggle. Jinnah and Gandhi represent two of these prototypes, as different from each other as either was from the third, represented by Ho Chi Minh. (Since foreign domination confronted them in a different dimension, Mao Tse Tung and Kemal Ataturk fall into a separate frame of reference). The three prototypes are based on three different orientations: one towards the revival of an ethos, actual or imagined, which preceded Western dominance; the second towards the establishment of cohesive, politically independent societies; the third towards the simultaneous liberation from foreign rule and a radical overhauling of the social structure. In the present context, we are concerned with the constitution of the first two prototypes and the implications of their interchange.

Gandhi's revolt was prompted not so much by his opposition to British imperialism as by his hostility to Western civilization; it was his view of the latter which conditioned his response to the former, not vice versa. "It is not the British people who are ruling India," he wrote, "but it is modern civilization, through its railways and telegraphs." The view he took of this civilization was not based on an anatomy of its constitution, a knowledge of its historical roots or an assessment of its vitality and weakness. It was a case of pure allergy. Nothing can drive one to such extremes as an allergic revulsion; more than any other actor in history, Gandhi articulated these extremes. "Medical science is the concentrated essence of black magic; quackery is infinitely preferable; hospitals are the devil's instruments." In an article in *Harijan* in 1939, he listed the wearing of socks as one of the symbols of the four-fold degradation brought by British rule to India. His refusal to send his sons to school, his insistence that "India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the last fifty years" and his emphasis on the use of the spinning wheel as a passport to instant *nirvana* were but three of the many expressions of an attitude which was wholly atavistic in spirit and in substance.

That the resultant mumbo-jumbo did not repel intelligent observers or earn Gandhi dismissal as a faddist was due partly to the utterances of an epic grandeur about freedom which also came from him at crucial moments, partly to his deification by Hindus but also, in great measure, to that sense of deadlock, that feeling of having reached a spiritual *cul de sac*, that philosophical predicament which has assailed the more sensitive thinkers of the West. Gandhi made an enormous impact on the Western mind, particularly at that point in its history when imperial aggrandisement was beginning to sap its moral confidence, when the evils of the industrial revolution were becoming manifest and when the career of aggressive nationalism, with its trail of wars, was accentuating a pervasive fear. Gandhi's message dramatically incorporated those that had issued earlier from Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau. It seemed to furnish "an anodyne for the pain of the Western enterprise". This went with a cult of voluntary simplicity and the proclamation, in almost Biblical prose, of *ahimsa* or "soul-force" as a weapon of political struggle. The applause that Gandhi received from the West testified to the West's romantic idealism, a countervailing element against its acquisitiveness and domination.

But both the attitude of Gandhiism and its endorsement in the West betrayed a gross misreading of the historical situation and of the nature of the Westernizing process. Imperialism was an excrescence, a cancerous growth on Westernization, not its pulse. The quickening force was supplied by the scientific method, the spread of technology and new channels of communication. This is now a palpable reality; the end of colonialism has not arrested but accelerated the pace of Westernization. Being largely ignorant of Western culture, its philosophical antecedents, its tradition in the arts and its thrust in social analysis, taking only what was grist to his own mill, Gandhi was unable to understand the plasticity of Western civilization and its capacity for self-reform and self-renewal. (Marx and Freud were no oriental *gurus*). More importantly, he could not perceive that the core of Westernization was not the implantation on other societies of the modes and categories of Western thought but an irresistible alteration of human consciousness whose influence would percolate across racial or national frontiers. Neither Gandhi nor his

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Western admirers recognized that the corrective for the excesses of standardization would be supplied not by a regression, a return to an Edenic rural simplicity, but by the assertion of values that are not embedded in certain archetypes and do not wither when their social context disappears.

The disruptive effect of the insertion of this archaism on the independence movement in British India, the confusions it engendered and the misdirection of energies that it caused, is a significant chapter of South Asian history. It could not comprehend the character of British colonialism, which, despite its deformities, was amenable to a dialogue oriented towards the attainment of freedom

"You have mesmerized the Muslims," quipped Gandhi to Jinnah, during their famous meeting in 1944. *Replied Jinnah, "You have hypnotized the Hindus."*

in time. As Iqbal acutely pointed out, Gandhi did not come to terms with historical time; his mind dwelt on the instant. Since it also gave primacy to symbols over concepts, Gandhi's three great campaigns were directed towards unrealizable goals. In 1921, it was "*swaraj* inside a year". When that prospect receded, it was the instantaneous abolition of the salt tax in 1931. In 1942, he urged the British to "quit India" when they were beleaguered by Nazi Germany and a militarist Japan. The contradictions in which Gandhi recurrently landed himself – the call to the British "to fight Nazism without arms" and the protest that "the blackest misdeed of British rule in India was to deprive a whole nation of arms", the tepid reaction to the massacre at Jallianwalabagh (1919) and the pretended outrage at British treatment of Ottoman Turkey, the issue of a week-long ultimatum on 1 February 1922 and its abrupt withdrawal on 5 February under the guise of "a fierce process of purification" after the hardly unforeseeable Chauri Chaura incident, are examples – were the reflections not of unintelligence but of the derangement and despair caused by activating non-political impulses in a political movement.

Conventional history recalls this movement as having been vertically divided between Hindu and Muslim. While this is true, there was a horizontal division as well: this was between the revivalists and the modernists. The latter aimed at the reconciliation of different interests; they wanted political action, through demonstration and dialogue, leading to the progressive achievement of freedom. Their displacement by Gandhi evoked many a protest: Tagore's at the abdication of reasoning and the reign of blind obedience; C. R. Das's fervent plea, "For God's sake, Mahatma, we want logic, not magic", to give two examples. But while these lesser figures were awed by the massive backing Gandhi received and swamped by the lava thrown by a volcanic eruption, it was Jinnah alone who remained uncoerced and who persevered in his own search for clarity and coherence. The two parts of Jinnah's political life – the earlier nationalist and the later separatist – are divided by no schism; on the contrary, they are but two phases of the same quest for an internally consistent political entity which would reclaim its inheritance of freedom. Considering the Hindus' submission to the Gandhian cult *en masse* and considering also the historical constituents and geographical placement of the Indo-Muslim community, that entity for Jinnah could only be Muslim. This is what made the Quaid not only the founder of Pakistan but also the sole statesman who did not let his thesis be destroyed or submerged by the Gandhian antithesis.

The resultant confrontation between the two was prompted by no animus, at least from Jinnah's side. "If only Gandhi had a touch of Lenin in him", Jinnah said to Dewan Chaman Lal in 1928, "the history of the last few years would have been different." Earlier, he had co-operated with Gandhi in the Home Rule League, before Gandhi chose to destroy it. The divergence between the two was as much in political perception as in moral posture. The world-view which made Gandhi envisage India as "the predominant partner in a world-commonwealth" (1928) was obviously myopic and self-centred. Such exaggerations repelled Jinnah. But what was morally suspect in his eyes was the hubris, the xenophobia, the release of hatreds, the rigidity, that come from a reliance on "the inner light" to which others can have no access. "I shudder to contemplate the consequences of your programme", Jinnah wrote to Gandhi in 1921. The consequences were a bitter harvest in the shape of the holocaust of 1947.

In the process of his great achievement, Gandhi resorted to the ethically perilous practice of employing the language of spiritual aspiration for the attainment of a limited and specifically political end – the creation of one more nation-state, albeit a large and populous one, among scores of other nation-states. Jinnah could not bear even the taint of such a pollution. Those of his own followers who loaded an excessively rhetorical cargo on the idea of Pakistan belonged psychologically in Gandhi's camp. The later advance of the anti-colonialist movement in Asia and Africa and the development of newly emancipated states have underlined the irrelevance of the Gandhian approach to Asian-African needs and the continuing necessity, in ordering the affairs of these societies, of the rational dialogue and adjustment which Jinnah pre-eminently exemplified.

M.Y.B.

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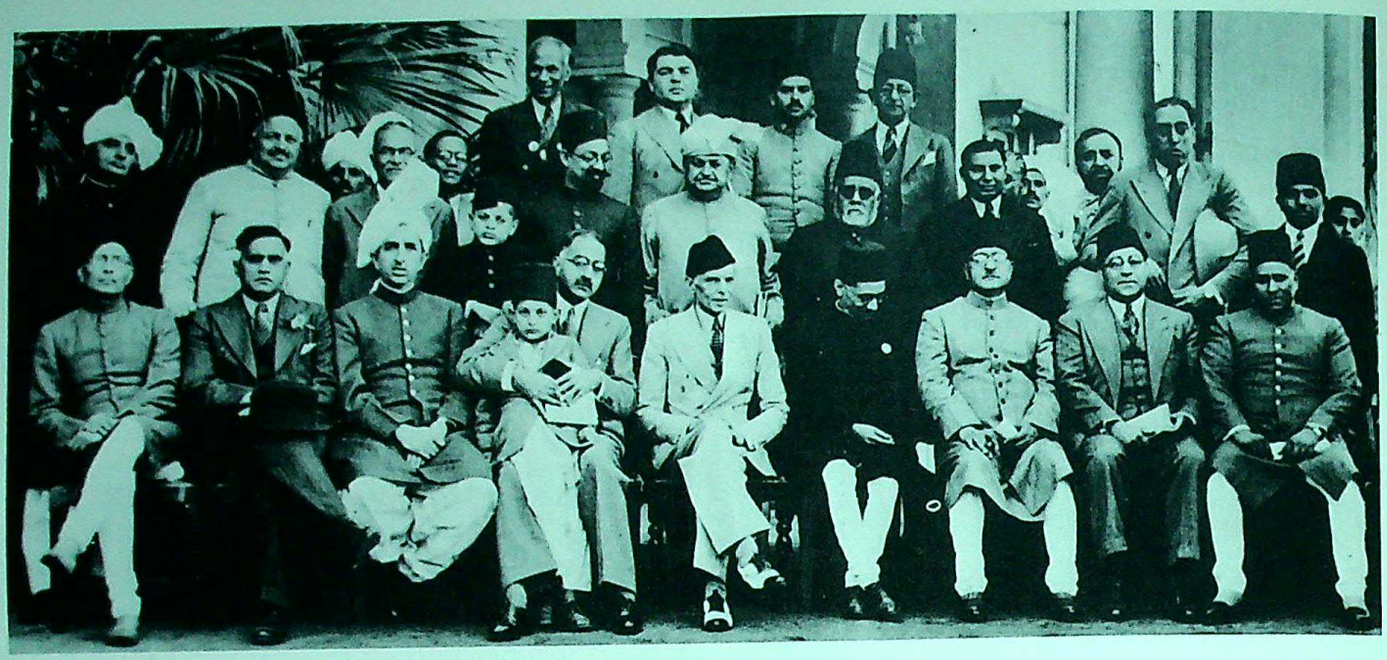

Muslim leaders confer with Jinnah at Lahore on the Pakistan Resolution.

In the early 1940s, Jinnah toured southern India. He is about to address a meeting of Muslim Leaguers.

When Mountbatten came to Delhi he very soon perceived two crucial facts: the Cabinet Mission's scheme, which he had been instructed to resurrect, could not be revived, and, secondly, both at the centre and in disputed provinces, the authority of government was disintegrating so fast that a very quick solution was urgently necessary. His personal impressions of Jinnah, contributed at the request of the present author, are printed elsewhere in this book. "It was clear," he wrote in his *Report on the Last Viceroyalty,* "that this was the man who held the key to the whole situation." Immediately after their first talk,

> "Lord Mountbatten described Mr Jinnah as 'frigid, haughty and disdainful'. If, however, Lord Mountbatten found Mr Jinnah infuriating it is likely that Mr Jinnah was equally infuriated by Lord Mountbatten".
>
> "Everything else in his (Mountbatten's) responsibility was subordinated . . . to the transfer of power. This was inherently a short-term and self-terminating objective. But Jinnah's objective was long-term and perpetual – to seize from this moment of history, from these few months of opportunity, what might be a millennium of national identity for ninety million Indian Muslims. With such stakes a leader cannot afford magnanimity or compromise. . . Mountbatten, ever ready to unbend, to change his mind, to stoop to conquer, found this hard to understand. He often felt he had worsted Jinnah in a political argument without yet gaining an inch of ground. . .
>
> "On the other hand, when the argument was on legal or constitutional points Jinnah was almost always right" (as when he insisted that if he wanted Pakistan to stay in the Commonwealth, as he did, no British Government had any power to turn it out). . . "To the end, the underlying relationship between the two men was one of contest, even if it were professional contest not affecting personal respect."[19]

After Lord Mountbatten had drafted and referred to London his first plan for the transfer of power, he had his famous "hunch" that he ought to show it in strict confidence to Pandit Nehru, who exploded, protesting that it meant "the balkanisation of India". The fact that only Nehru was shown it, not Jinnah, has been seen by some as evidence of the Viceroy's bias and of his making unilateral last-minute concessions to the Congress. But, in the first place, it was pointless to show Jinnah a plan which Nehru had already vehemently rejected; in the second place, and more importantly, not only was the new plan inherently sounder than the first, but it was better in effect for the secure establishment of Pakistan, which might otherwise have been a bundle of fragments.

One point about the first plan, however, is worth noting today. It had offered Bengal a third alternative to remaining in the Indian Union or being partitioned, namely, separate independence. Shaheed Suhrawardy, the Muslim League Premier of Bengal, told the Viceroy that, given time, he believed he could persuade Bengal to

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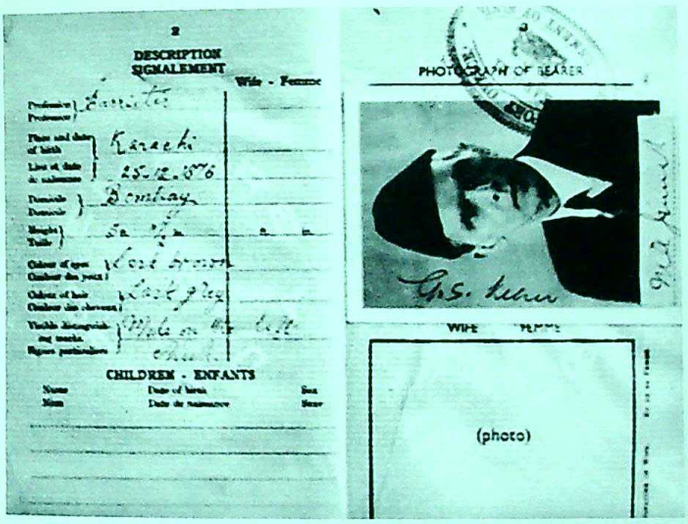
remain united, and Jinnah then to agree that it need not join Pakistan. Told of this, Jinnah unhesitatingly replied: "I should be delighted. What is the use of Bengal without Calcutta? They had much better remain united and independent. I am sure they would be on friendly terms with Pakistan."[20] However, political developments in Bengal itself killed that prospect, and the option was eventually eliminated from the revised plan.

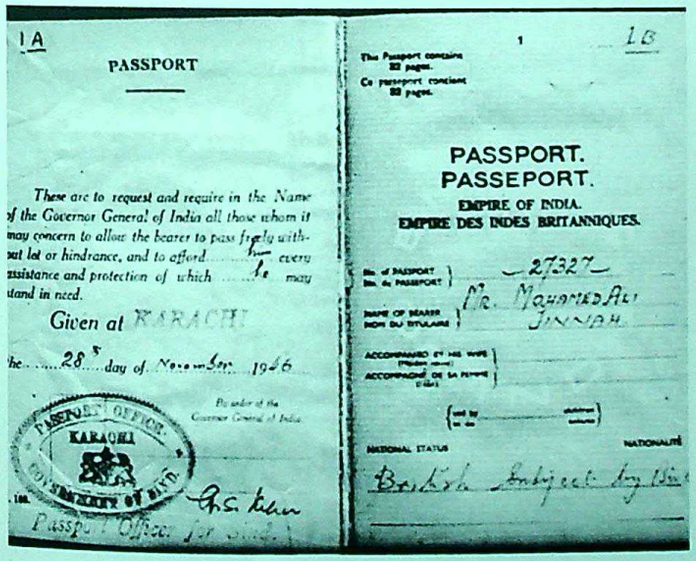
This, Lord Mountbatten revealed to a gathering of Indian leaders on 2 June. He had taken it to London himself on 18 May and returned with Cabinet approval of it on 30 May. At the meeting on 2 June Jinnah insisted on referring back to the Working Committee and Council of the League. Lord Mountbatten, who saw that the assent of the Congress was absolutely dependent on that of the League, could not wait for their decision. When he met the leaders the next day, he enacted a pre-arranged scene. Telling them he was satisfied with the assurances he had received from Jinnah, he turned towards the Quaid-e-Azam, whom he had asked thereupon to nod his head. This, with the faintest possible motion, Jinnah did.

Jinnah's silence was more pregnant than words. He knew that the last fateful moment had come when in the name of the Muslims of India he could either take the Pakistan for which he and they had fought such a hard fight, but on certain terms which heightened the tremendous problems of launching a new nation, or resume the battle with all its ardours and risks. The responsibility must have weighed heavily, as he looked back over the half-century of his struggle and theirs. Had he been right to lead them to this climax with its fresh ordeals? His indomitable courage could have given only one answer. The late Aga Khan said this of Jinnah:

> "He and I never saw eye to eye, but I regard him as a very great man indeed. I say this because you get one or two opportunities in life when you have to take major decisions. Quaid-e-Azam had the choice of saying whether the Muslims of India should or should not have Pakistan, and he said, 'They will have nothing but Pakistan'. He took the right decision, at the right time. You can see his breadth of vision, how great he was, a man of tremendous determination and sense of purpose."[21]

In the hectic days leading up to partition and independ-





The final Round Table Conference was held in London in late 1946. Jinnah took out his passport before his trip. He had changed his name earlier from Jinnahbhai, and settled his own spelling of Mohamed. Top right. *His principal aide was Liaquat Ali Khan.*

The London Visit, 1946

In January 1946, general elections were held in British India giving striking proof that the Muslims were solidly behind Jinnah. His party won an overwhelming majority of Muslim seats in key Provinces and in the Central Assembly. In March a British Cabinet Mission arrived in Delhi with new constitutional proposals. Failing to secure an agreement between the principal political parties, the Mission announced its own formula.

This "Cabinet Mission Plan" envisaged the division of the subcontinent into three groups of Provinces, with a Central Government handling foreign affairs, defence and communications. Jinnah accepted the Plan. The Congress also agreed. Later Jinnah rejected the Plan when Congress put its own construction on it.

Then in December, the Attlee Government invited Wavell, Jinnah, Nehru and Baldev Singh to London for consultations. On 20 February 1947, Clement Attlee announced that the British would withdraw from the subcontinent by June 1948. Mountbatten hastened the process and fixed the date for 15 August 1947.

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Jinnah's Disclosure

Mohamed Ali Jinnah's ambition to achieve Pakistan was never a secret especially after 23 March 1940 when the Pakistan resolution was passed. His student ambition to go on the stage at the Old Vic in London remained a secret which was known, perhaps, only to his sister, Fatima (until it was disclosed in her biographical sketch in notes, entitled *My Brother,* written for her by G. A. Allana and discovered after her death in July 1967).

He achieved both on 3 June 1947 in somewhat modified forms in the Viceroy's House in New Delhi. A day earlier, Lord Mountbatten had assembled seven representative leaders and informed them of the British Plan to partition the subcontinent into India and Pakistan. Now he wanted their formal acceptance of this plan. The previous night he had been unable to persuade Jinnah to give his approval – which the Congress and the Sikh representatives had already conveyed to the Viceroy – because the Muslim League leader said he would first consult his party's Council on what his answer should be.

On that 3 June, Mountbatten expected a simple "yes" from Jinnah. With that one word the Muslim League leader would have signified his achievement of Pakistan. But Jinnah refused to play the part. The exasperated viceregal author was forced to change the script he thought he had cleared with Jinnah the night before. Even a nod from Jinnah would be enough. When the moment came on 3 June, Jinnah made it the longest moment in the drama Mountbatten staged for the day. When Mountbatten turned to Jinnah as in the rehearsed script, he had, according to his own account, reported by two recent authors, Collins and Lapierre, "absolutely no idea what the Muslim leader was going to say. For an endless second, he stared into Jinnah's impassive, expressionless face. Then, slowly, reluctance crying from every pore, Jinnah indicated his agreement with the faintest, most begrudging nod he could make. His chin moved barely half-an-inch downward, the shortest distance it could have travelled consonant with accepting Mountbatten's plan."

It was not a faltering in advocation but perhaps a little bit of what may have been unconscious acting which enabled Jinnah to fulfil his two ambitions, however disparate in scale or consequence!

A fortnight earlier, on 19 May, Jinnah had already informed a group of Government officers, at a meeting convened mainly on the invitation of Mohammad Sarfraz, the most senior of the Muslim news editors of All-India Radio, that Pakistan had been conceded. Mountbatten was mistaken in implying in his interview with the authors of *Freedom at Midnight* (from whom the above quotation is taken) that Jinnah was struck dumb by the disclosure that the British Government had decided on partitioning India.

Soon after Mountbatten left for London on 18 May 1947 with his draft plan, Sardar Patel, who was Member for Information and Broadcasting, issued verbal orders that all Muslim editors should either be taken off all major news bulletins and put on drafting foreign news stories or on reporting minor events.

The Muslim editorial staff of All-India Radio were aware of the developing political situation. They knew, as of 25 April 1947, that the accepted date for the transfer of power was 1 June 1948 and also that a lot could happen to them and their careers in the twelve months to come. Their morale was low. Sarfraz mentioned this to Jinnah who said he would like to meet the radio news editors. Sarfraz persuaded Jinnah to meet them near Broadcasting House, on the lawns of a residence which Sarfraz shared with his cousin.

When AIR's Muslim news editors walked over to Hasnie's house on Old Mill Road late that afternoon they found that several prominent leaders of the Muslim League and senior Muslim civil servants were also coming to this meeting with Jinnah. He arrived on time and shook hands with everyone present and then beckoned them all to gather close to him. Noticing *Dawn's* correspondent, he said to him, "This meeting is off the record and for Government employees only." As the correspondent walked slowly across the steaming lawn to leave, others sat down on the grass in a semi-circle around Jinnah.

He addressed himself mainly to the news editors and what he said was, in effect, that he knew about their problem and also recalled the code of their profession not to report any off-the-record conversation. "What I have to say to you this evening is that Pakistan has been conceded. This is final, irreversible, imminent. Do not worry about how your Minister is treating you. Very soon you will be citizens of a new state. And remember I have not confided this to any other than my closest colleagues. Don't let me down. Reveal this to none, not even your best friends."

Every editor swore himself to secrecy, for this involved the honour of their leader. And then journalistic instincts prevailed. While the news editors began asking him questions, some civil servants sidled into positions behind Jinnah and unobtrusively fanned him, as if he were a Mughal emperor. Jinnah did not seem aware of their gesture. He was concentrating on the questions asked by the editors.

And the questions were many. The replies were candid, short and simple. Jinnah began by saying frankly that he never expected to see Pakistan achieved in his life-time; and that he, therefore, had not given much thought to working out the details of Pakistan's economic and foreign policies, but he had mentioned them in some of his speeches and interviews.

He paused and said, "Liaquat, pay attention to what these young men are saying. You and your cabinet will have to formulate these policies with foresight and do justice to all. Draft them carefully, implement them constitutionally and whatever you do, educate the people about them . . . you have to carry them with you."

He said this when the Mountbatten conference of 3 June was still fifteen days away. Jinnah's disclosure was kept secret by all those he addressed that sultry evening. Their lips remained sealed; as did Jinnah's when Mountbatten put the question to him on 3 June 1947.

H.J.

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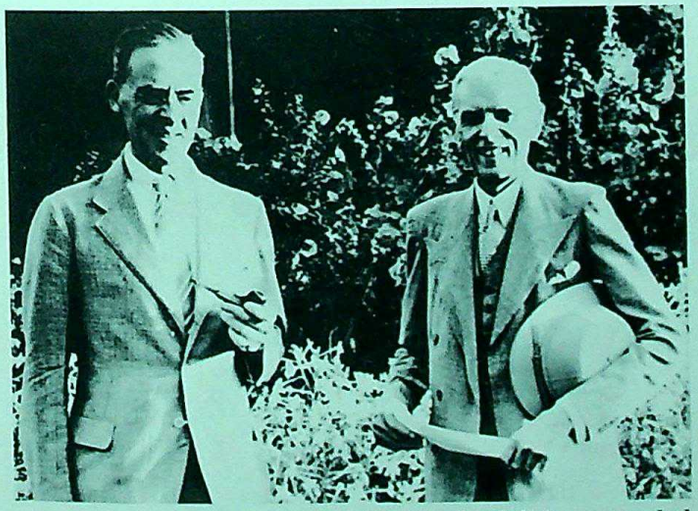
ence the chief issue that concerns us here is the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten believed he had good reason to think that both the new Dominions would accept him as their common Governor-General for a transitional period while the dissection was completed and the new Governments established themselves. It was a bombshell, therefore, when Jinnah told him on 2 July that he had unwillingly decided that he himself must become Governor-General, though he urged the Viceroy to stay on as a sort of super-Governor-General for both countries. Lord Mountbatten's reactions are on record, as is Jinnah's cordial approval of his becoming Governor-General of India alone, when the super-Governor-General idea had been discarded as not constitutionally viable. As for Jinnah's reasons, they are best given in the words of his principal official aide at that time:

> "Jinnah, who by temperament and lifelong training had a constitutional bent of mind, could not see how a common constitutional Governor-General faced with conflicting advice from two Dominion Cabinets could discharge his responsibilities properly. There was an even stronger political aspect. The powerful propaganda machine of the Congress concentrated on the theme that Pakistan was nothing but a temporary secession of certain territories from India that would soon be reabsorbed. A common head of state for India and Pakistan . . . would strengthen this belief in India and Pakistan and throughout the world. . . If the Quaid-e-Azam himself became Governor-General of Pakistan, he would be a living symbol of Pakistan's independent status. His towering figure would overshadow everything else. Perhaps Pakistan would lose some millions worth of assets, which the good offices of Mountbatten might have secured for it, but, in the struggle for survival that lay ahead, the moral factors would count far more than material losses."[22]

There must surely also have been present to Jinnah's mind two other reasons, neither, for obvious reasons, ever mentioned by him or canvassed at the time. His political experience and skill had been those of a top leader, and he could deploy them much better from the supreme post, driving and counselling Ministers, than as a Prime Minister involved in daily administrative

Left. *Jinnah's relationship with Nehru was coloured by their difference in temperament and their wholly divergent perceptions.*

Britain's penultimate Viceroy, Field Marshal Wavell (above), *faced a tangled situation during turbulent World War II.*



Sir Stafford Cripps speeded plans for Independence.

In 1946 Jinnah addressed an Eid gathering in Bombay. He was then President of the All-India Muslim League.

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problems and managing an awkward new Cabinet. The second reason reinforced the first. Jinnah was seventy years of age. During his last fatal illness he told his physician that he had been aware of certain symptoms of ill-health, including loss of weight, for a couple of years. In July 1947 he may have realized that something serious was wrong with him, but even if he thought only of the inevitably declining powers of one of his age he would have felt that a younger man should carry the day-to-day burdens of political office, while he employed all his remaining strength as constitutional head of state and father of his people.

Pakistan Achieved

So, on 14 August 1947, Jinnah took the oath as first Governor-General of free Pakistan. He and his Ministers were at once faced with immense tasks: setting up a governmental machine, finding and equipping the men to run it, completing territorial, administrative and financial partition, negotiating with Princely States, starting or fostering sections of industry and commerce, including state industry, which had previously been branches of all-India concerns or in departing Hindu hands. "From the very first day he had to shoulder the major portion of administrative responsibility."[23] Reluctantly, at the Cabinet's own request, he presided over its meetings. Those tasks were the inevitable consequence of establishing a new national state. To them was added another of horrific character and proportions, that of coping with the flood of Muslim refugees from India and the counter-flood of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan. How far that result of partition was due to the haste and the detail of the Boundary Award can only be a matter for fruitless speculation, as is the still-debated question whether inter-communal disorder and violence would have become less or greater if the date of the transfer of power had been deferred for some weeks or even months. Here all that need be said is that Lord Mountbatten himself had no hand in the Award.

On top of all that came the tribal invasion of Kashmir, the Maharajah's accession to India and the despatch of Indian troops, and Pakistan's response, with all that followed. The available evidence shows that Jinnah did not know in advance of the movement of tribesmen through Pakistan territory to Kashmir, although his Prime Minister connivingly did, apparently seeing it as a means of coercing the Maharajah into acceding to Pakistan. It had been a grave miscalculation, quite out of character for a far-seeing political strategist like the Quaid-e-Azam; for it foresaw neither the nature and speed of the Indian reaction nor the fact that if Pakistani troops were sent to confront Indian forces – or State forces if the Maharajah had acceded to India–British officers would have to be withdrawn from both sides, since it was out of the question for them to take part in war against each other or between two Dominions of the British Crown. It seems that Jinnah, who upon hearing of the tribal movement had urgently invited a Kashmir Government emissary to Karachi to seek an amicable solution, was shaken when he learnt the full story.[24] The outcome of the Kashmir Confrontation of 1947 was disastrous for Pakistan and for Indo-Pakistani relations, and poisoned the Pakistan view of Lord Mountbatten and the British – though the British Government's attitude on Kashmir at the United Nations was regarded by Nehru and his Indian Cabinet as hostile and unfairly pro-Pakistan.

Kashmir and all the other problems of the time must have placed an intolerable strain on Jinnah's failing health. But he worked on without respite, as he had worked all his life.

> "For several years before his death, there was a constant tug-of-war between his physicians and the Quaid-e-Azam. His physicians warned him to take long intervals of rest and short hours of hard work, but he did exactly the opposite, knowing full well the risk he was running, but cheerfully pursuing the task he had set himself, the attainment of Pakistan during his lifetime. After the establishment of Pakistan and the events that followed, he worked harder still . . . His frail body could bear the burden no longer. His unconquerable spirit helped him to ignore the dark forebodings, writ large in his failing health".[25]

When at last he submitted to intensive medical care he was found to weigh only 5 stone (70 lbs). His normal weight in health, he said, had been 8 stone (112 lbs) – itself extraordinarily little for a man of his height (close on 5 ft. 11 ins.).[26] He had worn himself to a shadow. The diagnosis of the disease that was gnawing at him was ominous, but his sister had no hesitation in advising the doctors that he should be told. His fortitude was adamant. He fought to regain strength, at least enough to return to Government House in Karachi on his feet. But it was in vain. On 13 September 1948, Mohamed Ali Jinnah was laid to rest.

H.V.H.

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M. A. H. Ispahani; *op cit*

M. A. H. Ispahani; *op cit*

H. V. Hodson; *op cit*

The evidence for these remarks is Lord Mountbatten's private record of his interview with the Quaid-e-Azam on 26 April 1947, dictated immediately after the event but not, of course, attested by Jinnah himself, whose considered opinion as President of the Muslim League might well have been more reserved.

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Chaudhri Muhammad Ali; *op cit*

M. H. Saiyid; *op cit*

See Chaudhri Muhammad Ali; *op cit,* p. 292. Also *Sir George Cunningham,* by Norval Mitchell, pp 140–141 (Edinburgh and London), William Blackwood, 1968

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Miss Fatima Jinnah; *op cit*

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Announcing the Birth of Pakistan

All-India Radio in the early evening of 3 June 1947: Mountbatten was to announce the Partition Plan and Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh were to make known their reactions to it.

After Mountbatten, Nehru announced the Congress acceptance of the plan. He spoke first in English but he was also scheduled to speak later in Hindustani. His English text was translated by a young Muslim translator who knew Hindi, wrote in the *nastaliq* script and had been asked by the Hindu Chief News Editor to put in more Hindi words than the normal AIR mix for Hindustani. Nehru, he recalls, went through the script, his face turned red and he asked, "What *jinati* (demoniac) language is this? Go and simplify it while Jinnah and Baldev Singh speak."

It was while Nehru was going through his amended script that Lord and Lady Mountbatten walked into his studio. The Viceroy asked if Nehru would agree to his announcing at the press conference the next day that a Punjab Boundary Force would be set up to protect refugees. Jinnah, he said, had alread agreed. Nehru said "yes", and the Mountbattens left. Nehru rehearsed the amended Hindustani translation of his speech and went on the air again after Baldev Singh. The Urdu translation of Jinnah's speech was rendered by the same translator, and the opening lines, added by Jinnah himself, in the studio, were translated by the news-reader who read the Urdu script.

The formal date of Independence for Pakistan and India was fixed as 15 August 1947, but in fact power was transferred to Pakistan on the afternoon of 14 August, because Lord Mountbatten wanted to be in New Delhi for the ceremony which had been planned for India's independence at midnight.

Although power had in effect been transferred in Karachi in the afternoon, the radio stations in Pakistan continued announcing "This is All-India Radio" until after 11 pm, when most of the imminent new nation, formally recognized as such, waited for the special freedom-at-midnight transmission. At this time of night, when many sections of a large number of cities were on fire, when battles were raging in several barricaded streets, when shooting, stabbing, acid throwing or worse was going on, and when organized attacks on refugees travelling by train or in groups on foot were in progress, there was no other agency that could more appropriately herald Pakistan's birth than the radio stations in Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar.

About ten minutes before midnight – fifty minutes after Lahore had signed off for the last time as All-India Radio – Radio Pakistan's *ad hoc* signature tune composed by Khwaja Khurshid Anwar came on the air. It brought thousands to their radio sets, excited and expectant. As it slowly faded out a minute before midnight an announcement came on the air: "At midnight the independent sovereign state of Pakistan will come into existence."

Then came the loud ticking of the clock and as midnight struck thousands of listeners heard: "This is Pakistan Broadcasting Service" in English and then in Urdu. As in the case of the pre-midnight announcement the change from Hindustani to Urdu brought forth from most listeners an emotional response and many telephoned Radio Pakistan studios to thank them for what to them was the first manifestation of an independent Muslim homeland.

This was followed by the reciting of the opening verses of Sura Fat-h (Victory) of the Holy Quran, which begin:

1. Verily We have granted
   Thee a manifest Victory:

2. That God may forgive thee
   Thy faults of the past
   And those to follow:
   Fulfil His favour to thee:
   And guide thee
   On the Straight Way;

3. And that God may help
   Thee with powerful help.

4. It is He Who sent
   Down Tranquillity
   Into the hearts of
   The Believers, that they
   may
   Add Faith to their Faith:
   For to God belong

5. The Forces of the heavens
   And the earth: and God
   Full of Knowledge and
   Wisdom;

After the recitation came Radio Pakistan's orchestra with a new composition. The mood of the listeners having been set for an ecstatic presentation, a poem of Allama Iqbal was rendered in *qawwali* form, by a group standing in for a better known one who had been held up in India near the border, because marauding bands of Sikhs armed with sten-guns and other weapons were attacking all Muslims.

The freedom-at-night transmission ended with a narration written by Hafiz Hoshiarpuri on the struggle which had led to the establishment of Pakistan.

The morning transmission of what soon came to be known as Radio Pakistan began with appropriately chosen verses from Sura Al-Imran of the Holy Quran, beginning:

Lord of Power (and Rule)
Thou givest Power
To whom Thou pleasest,
And Thou strippest off Power
From whom Thou pleasest:
Thou enduest with honour
Whom Thou pleasest.
And Thou bringest low
Whom Thou pleasest:
In Thy hand is all Good.
Verily, over all things
Thou has power.

This recitation was followed by the news in English, drafted by two of the editors who had been briefed about Pakistan on 19 May 1947. The first bulletin was without headlines.

Later in the day Radio Pakistan itself made headlines. A senior official was horrified to see that the Radcliffe Award, to be released by Mountbatten for announcement on 17 August 1947, had given Gurdaspur, which in the notional map was shown as part of Pakistan, to India. Lahore radio station had been broadcasting instructions to Muslim caravans and smaller groups to make for safe places and *one of these was Gurdaspur*. Radio Pakistan was instructed to break the embargo, and immediately interrupted the transmission with announcements asking Muslims not to go to Gurdaspur, thus saving the lives of thousands of Muslims.

H.J.

The verses quoted in this contribution are from the English translation of *The Holy Quran* by Allama Yusuf Ali.

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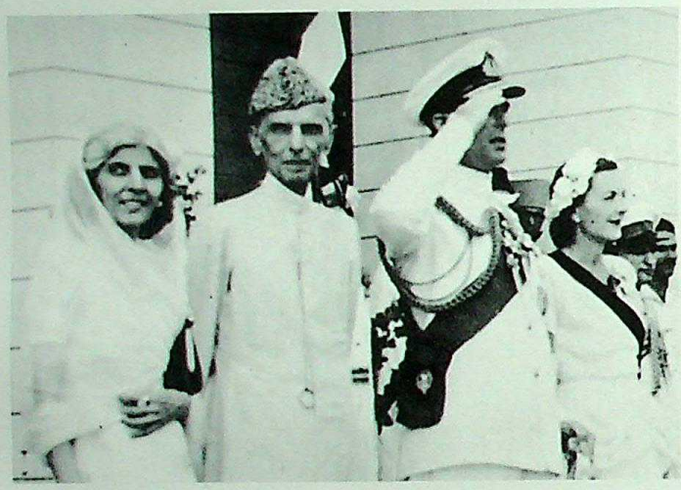
Jinnah: a Retrospect

Early in 1947 I was briefed at the India office on the various leaders I should be dealing with when I became the last Viceroy of India. I was told that for all practicable purposes Mohamed Ali Jinnah was the Muslim League and that no solution to the problems of transferring power in India could be implemented without his willing consent and support.

It was thought in London that partition would be fatal to the continued greatness of an undivided India and I was urged to try and get all parties to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 with semi-autonomous provinces held together by a loose form of federation at the centre. It did not sound an impossible proposition.

When I arrived in Delhi I at once started a regular series of *tête-à-tête* meetings with the Indian leaders, and was brought up with a shock to the true situation. All parties,



On 14 August 1947, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, last Viceroy of British India, making his valedictory address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan; with the Quaid, Fatima Jinnah, and Lady Edwina Mountbatten.

including Government officials, agreed on only one major point – extreme speed in the transfer of power had become vitally necessary. I fully accepted the need but it only made my task more difficult.

At my first meeting with each leader I refused to talk politics and kept to mutual reminiscences so that we should get to know something about each other before getting down to business. The scheme worked well with all except Jinnah. He could not see why we should not talk business at once but finally resigned himself to listen to my Indian reminiscences. I told him I had visited India with Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1921-22 and had become engaged to my wife in Delhi in February 1922. I told him about my forming the Supreme Allied Command of South East Asia and the magnificent part a million Indian troops played in the victory in Burma.

Luckily at this moment the press had arrived and wanted to take photographs. I brought my wife to meet the great leader, the Quaid-e-Azam, and together we went into the garden to face the cameras. In his own mind Jinnah felt sure my wife would be in the middle but she moved round to the other side of Jinnah before he could check his little joke about "a rose between two thorns". He good-naturedly joined in the general laughter and when he came back to my study he suddenly relaxed and started his own reminiscences, how his family came from Kathiawar, how he had studied law in London, how he had come to admire the way of life of the British and their probity. In fact we ended on a surprisingly friendly note. He had come in haughty and frigid but the joke at the photograph had suddenly unfrozen him and I felt we had begun to make friends and would be able to do business together.

I had three meetings a week with him and although he was correct, even friendly, his mind was clearly set on Pakistan and none of my efforts to find any other solution met with the slightest success. His will-power was indomitable, his ability to say "No" to every other alternative approach never wavered. One could not help respecting the clean-cut way he stuck to Pakistan.

At one time I thought I would at least gain an important debating point. He was objecting vehemently to the partition of Punjab and Bengal, which would be necessary to avoid including large non-Muslim populations in Pakistan. He said: "You must not divide them. This would cause endless bloodshed and trouble".

I entirely agreed with Jinnah, but pointed out that the arguments against the partition of the provinces were the same as against the partition of India itself. I claimed that he had provided me with the unanswerable argument for Indian unity. But his mind had long been made up, debating points counted for nothing and he would start the arguments about the provinces again.

Finally his unshakeable willpower prevailed and within three weeks of my arrival I had to admit that I could not get him to change his mind, and that any attempt to force a unity solution on him could only lead to the Muslim League's taking further direct action, with all that that would entail all over the whole subcontinent. So the Quaid-e-Azam won his Pakistan and now I had the serious job of convincing all the other leaders that the price of independence would be partition. I succeeded with all except Gandhi, who objected to the bitter end, but had no acceptable alternative solution to offer.

Once Jinnah knew I accepted Pakistan in principle he became far more friendly and easier to work with, though we did have a misunderstanding about the post-independence role he wanted me to play. He urged me to remain in India in a position which would be above the two Governors-General of the two new Dominions, with power to enforce the fair distribution of assets and particularly the sterling balances. I told him that since he and Nehru would presumably be the Prime Ministers and that their Governors-General would only act on their constitutional advice, the simplest thing would be for him to agree with Nehru that I should act in a joint capacity as Governor-General of each Dominion, pending the transfer of assets but retaining certain rights over the assets until the transfer was completed. For once he did not say "No", and so I thought this was what he wanted, and asked my Chief of Staff, Lord Ismay, to follow the matter up. Jinnah still favoured a trinity with two separate Governors-General and a Supreme Governor-General with special powers over the other two – in fact a sort of Viceroy – which did not seem to be practicable.

It was a surprise when he suddenly announced that he intended to be Governor-General of Pakistan with

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Liaquat Ali Khan as his Prime Minister. He explained that in the special case of Pakistan the Prime Minister would act in accordance with the Governor-General's wishes and not vice versa. But I did not personally resent his decision, as has been the common opinion, for it saved me from the daunting task of having to try and ride two separate horses simultaneously. The dilemma for me was not personal but political, in view of the commitment I had made to Pandit Nehru, but Jinnah largely solved my problem for me by urging me to continue to accept the invitation of the Indian leaders to become their Governor-General on the transfer of power, stating that my acknowledged probity would be greatly in Pakistan's favour.

I did my best to see that assets were fairly divided, but after the troubles in Kashmir started, the Indian Government held on to the remaining share of the sterling balances and nothing I could say to Ministers would induce them to send over the many millions of pounds sterling which it had been agreed belonged to Pakistan. So I had recourse to Gandhi. He agreed that the Indian Government had no right to withhold what belonged to Pakistan and finally induced them to release the sterling balances to Pakistan, by means of his most potent weapon, a fast.

I made sure that the new Governor-General had one of the best ADCs I ever had, Lieutenant (later Admiral) Syed Ahsan, who, although a native of South India, transferred to the Pakistan Navy and gave up his intense desire to go back to sea to serve Mr Jinnah personally, and I had more than one message expressing his great appreciation of this. I immediately sent the Punjabi Muslims of my bodyguard under the outstanding Captain (later General) Yakub Khan to the new Governor-General. I helped Mr Jinnah in the choice of British Governors, army commanders and senior officers, and was really happy to be of help. I did so want Pakistan to succeed.

The last twenty-four hours I spent with Jinnah in Karachi from 13 to 14 August 1947 were dramatic. I had flown down from Delhi to transfer power to Pakistan on 14 August. On arrival the head of my Criminal Investigation Department (for I was still Viceroy) reported that a plot to throw one or more bombs at Jinnah when he drove in an open car in a state procession from the Assembly Hall back to Government House was definitely on. He urged me to advise Mr Jinnah to abandon the drive. I did my best but he adamantly refused.

Jinnah then urged me to give up the idea of driving with him as I would obviously be killed by the same bomb aimed at him. But I had insisted on driving with him after out-going and incoming Governors of the Punjab advised against making wholesale arrests of all possible suspects as being ineffective and counter-productive. Liaquat Ali Khan did not agree and accused me of risking the Quaid-e-Azam's life by not making the arrests. I said I would take the same risk as him by driving with him, so I too said "No".

I won't pretend that I wasn't scared. I was, and did my best not to show it, but the new Governor-General of Pakistan did not seem in the least bit frightened. I was deeply impressed by his calm courage and high sense of duty. Nevertheless the drive was nerve-racking until the sight of the gates to Government House broke the tension. Never had my feelings been warmer towards the man with whom I shared this traumatic experience. His own gaunt face, which had been so expressionless, lit up with a warm, sunny smile. Laying a hand affectionately on my knee he said: "Thank God I have brought you back alive."

Feeling that my presence could have halted a Hindu or Sikh assassin, I could not restrain myself from replying, "You brought me back alive? It's I who brought you back alive".

But what did it matter who had brought whom back alive? What mattered was that we had both come back alive with the ice broken and a warm-hearted evening in front of us.

The new Governor-General gave a splendidly official dinner party at which we both made sincerely friendly

Despite their difficulties, Mountbatten admired Jinnah's "single-mindedness and sense of leadership".

speeches. He proposed the loyal toast to His Majesty and the band played "God Save the King". After dinner there followed a heart-to-heart talk between us which exceeded in warmth all our previous talks. He thanked me on behalf of the people of Pakistan for having given them their new national home. Until I had arrived on the scene he had seen no prospect of constitutionally achieving Pakistan. He thanked me for staying on as Governor-General of India and urged me to see that Pakistan's assets, particularly the sterling balances, were not withheld by India. Above all he wished me to clamp down on any hostile movement to throttle Pakistan at birth.

I assured him that this was my intention in any case and that having created Pakistan I had no feelings but of the utmost goodwill to the new nation. I said I realised that in staying on I took the risk that all the goodwill we had just witnessed would evaporate through misunderstanding. He saw the point but said he could only answer for his own country. They might seize on me as a scapegoat for their birth pangs, but in the long run the historians of Pakistan would give me the credit for the creation and early support of their nation. Until then, he continued, I would have to content myself with his own personal gratitude and he shook hands with glowing eyes. I have never forgotten that final act of friendship and have never minded the uninformed criticism of me by some people in Pakistan since it was not shared by the nation's creator.

L.M.

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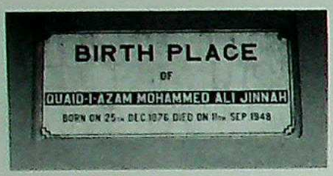
A Sister's Recollections

I have wondered at times if my family was datemarked by history. That my brother, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, was born on 25 December 1876 is known to all. What may be known only to our family is that his father was born in 1857, the year of what to us was our War of Independence but what the British dismiss as the Indian Mutiny.

At that time our family lived in Gondal, a princely state in Kathiawar. It was one of India's most placid spots. The Takhur Saheb of Gondal, in return for his loyalty to the British, continued to rule in all his splendour. It paid him to keep the freedom fighters out of Gondal, lest they should tarnish his glittering *durbar* and reduce his power over his subjects. So under his protective umbrella, the people of Gondal went about their daily business undisturbed by the political upsurge that had affected most of India.



The Quaid was born in Karachi at Wazir Mansions; the site is commemorated by a plaque.

Agriculture was the mainstay of Gondal's economy. Its main crops were cotton, wheat, *jawar* and *bajra*. But what gave Gondal a special reputation was its chillis. In our house, and this is one of my earliest memories, chillis were always plentiful. Our food had a liberal sprinkling of them, and for those wanted more, there was always on our table a plateful of chillis. They would sharpen our wits, we were told.

Gondal, being the capital, was the biggest town in the state, but the majority of its people were village dwellers, leading simple lives.

The ancestral village of my grandfather, Poonja, was Paneli with a population of less than a thousand. He was one of the few in Paneli who were not agriculturalists. He owned some handlooms, on which he and a small number of workers produced coarse cotton cloth. His income placed him and his family among the well-to-do of that village.

He had three sons, Valji, Kathoo and Jinnah, and a daughter, Manbai. Jinnah, the youngest, was more energetic and imaginative than his two older brothers. He heard about Gondal where city life was brisk and business big. The prospect of working on the family handlooms did not attract him, the city did. His mind was made up.

Poonja gave his son little cash but much advice about circumspection in business. And my father was off to Gondal. It did not take him long to find a few profitable lines in which quick buying and selling helped him to add substantially to his original capital.

When he returned from Gondal to Paneli after some months, Poonja was happy that his son had done well in a big city. They decided that it was time for him to get married as were their two other sons and daughter. They looked for a suitable bride in their own Ismaili Khojah community and their choice fell on Mithibai, whose family they liked. A match-maker was called in, and in 1874 the wedding took place in Dhaffa where the bride's parents lived.

My father's business prospered and soon he was looking beyond Gondal. He had heard of Bombay where enormous fortunes were being made by big business families, and also about the growing port of Karachi, which he selected. There he rented a modest two-room apartment on Newnham Road in Kharadhar, which was the business centre of the city. The apartment was on the first floor and had a spacious balcony of wood and iron above the pavement, exposed to the cool sea breeze which came from the west throughout most of the year.

The new businessman from Gondal prospered, especially in transactions with a British firm, Grahams Trading Company, one of the leading import and export houses. Although my father had no formal education at school in English, he was good at languages and soon learnt to speak it, doing business directly with the General Manager of Grahams Trading Company. This helped him to expand his business rapidly.

In those days many Afghans from Kandahar came to Karachi and my father had extensive business dealings with them also. After some years I found him at ease in Persian also. When our family came to Karachi the language spoken at home was Gujrati, but after settling down, the women soon picked up Cutchi and Sindhi as well.

With Grahams, my father did business mainly in isinglass and gum arabic. As his business spread abroad he also learnt how to read and write English, which was the language of the commercial houses he dealt with in Hong Kong and England.

At that time, some of the merchants of Kharadhar acted also as bankers. The entire trade of the hinterland of Sind, Baluchistan and Punjab flowed through Karachi. In the absence of adequate banking facilities, monetary transactions were usually conducted through these merchants, using their offices as banks. These merchants had to be scrupulously honest, their word as good as a bond. Jinnah Poonja and Company, my father's firm, was one such concern. It was doing business on a large scale and enjoyed the trust and confidence of the business community.

The oral history of my family, as it is preserved by aunts and uncles, relates how my father devoted his full attention and care to Mithibai when he knew that she was going to have a baby. Both were excited and happy. In those days there was hardly any maternity home worth the name in Karachi. The few good midwives were in great demand. Pre-natal treatment and care were unknown, and a midwife was called in only when delivery was imminent. Being an affluent locality, Kharadhar had a midwife whose experience as a granny doctor had won her an excellent reputation. She brought my father's first child into the world, a boy. It was Sunday, 25 December 1876.

The baby was small and weak. His health caused concern as he weighed a few pounds less than normal. A doctor examined him and assured the anxious parents that there was nothing physically or organically wrong.

In Kathiawar, names of the male members of our family had been somewhat Hinduised. But in Sind, Muslims were in a majority and children of our Kharadhar neighbours had Muslim names. It was agreed that Mohamed Ali would be an auspicious name for the first born.

My mother was devoted to Mohamed Ali, and although six other children were born to her, he remained her

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favourite child. Rahmat, Maryam, Ahmad Ali, Shireen, Bundeh Ali and I were her other children; three sons and four daughters.

Running a flourishing business demanded my father's full attention, but my mother was determined that the two of them should take Mohamed Ali to the shrine *(dargah)* of Hassan Pir in Ganod, ten miles from Paneli, for the *aquiqua* ceremony. As a child, my mother had heard stories about the supernatural powers of this holy man. She believed that a great future awaited her Mohamed Ali and she wanted the *aquiqua* to take place at an auspicious place like Hassan Pir's *dargah,* where, in traditional ceremony, her son's head would be shaved, and she, his mother, would make a wish, invoking the blessings of the saintly Pir for its fulfilment. My father said he could not afford to be away from Karachi for a month, but he soon gave in to his young wife's pleading.

And so, with their baby a few months old, they sailed from Karachi, to Verawal, a port in Kathiawar. The frail boat ran into a storm and it was with great difficulty that it reached Verawal. Days later, my mother told my father that in those anxious moments she had made a vow, that if the ocean did not swallow them she would stay a day longer in Ganod, to pray and thank God for His mercy.

At Verawal they hired a bullock-cart to take them there, a distance of a few miles. After the stormy sea voyage and a journey by bullock-cart the baby arrived in Ganod safely with my parents. Many of our numerous relatives attended the ceremony at the *dargah,* where his head was shaved.

After the *aquiqua* ceremony my father and mother took their child to Paneli. There my mother decided to celebrate the occasion by inviting the entire village to a community dinner. I learnt about the feast when I was a child: "On that day in Paneli not a single family lit a fire in their homes; their pots and pans rested on the kitchen shelves, and all because tiny Mohamed Ali was visiting his ancestral village."

After staying in Paneli and Gondal for a few weeks, my father and mother made the journey back to Karachi, where my father once again got absorbed in his business and my mother gave all her time and attention to her baby.

Such outbursts of extravagance as at Paneli were rare and usually instigated by my mother. My father was careful with his money, his family lived a simple life in which a close and warm relationship existed among its members. Although my father had quite a flourishing business, he thought of fortune – in the idiom of Paneli – as a capricious deity. It was on this principle that my father ran his family budget. This left a lasting impression on our minds as we grew up.

When Mohamed Ali was about six years old my parents engaged a tutor to teach him Gujrati at home. They thought that he was still too young to be sent to school, and the nearest school was at quite a distance from our house, a distance which they thought was too much to be covered on foot by a boy of his age. He was indifferent to his studies and he positively loathed arithmetic. He liked playing in the neighbourhood with boys of his own age, and was good at games. Through this proficiency, he became their leader.

However, when he was about nine, he was put in a primary school, where his confidence wilted when other boys secured better marks than he did. He developed an aversion to books and school, much to the disappointment of my father, who was anxious to give his son a good education. Mohamed Ali was gently asked by his mother to attend school regularly and to give serious attention to his studies. His father asked him why he did not devote sufficient time to his books. "Bapa", said little Mohamed Ali, "I don't like school."

"What would you like to do, then?"

"I would like to be with you in the office, and learn to do business."

"But you are too young for that, Mohamed Ali."

"I would do better in your office than at school." My father was a tactful person. He said, "Mohamed Ali, in my office there is strict discipline. You would have to go with me to the office early in the morning at eight, return for lunch from two to four, and then be again at the office from four to nine at night."

"I will do that, Bapa."

"But that will give you no time at all for play."

"I don't mind."

And so young Mohamed Ali started going to his father's office. He soon realised that all work there depended on reading and writing; all that he was fit for were minor chores which he did not like. Important decisions were taken by his father in consultation with his business executives. Nobody bothered to ask for his opinion. And he had no time to take part in games, which he missed.

After about two months, he announced to his father that he would like to go back to school.

My father replied, "You see, my boy, there are only two ways of learning."

"What are they, Bapa?"

"One is to trust the wisdom of your elders and to accept their advice."

"And what is the other way, Bapa?"

"The other way is to your own way and learn from your mistakes."

Mohamed Ali listened attentively. He seemed to have made up his mind both to learn from his mistakes at school and to go his own way. His attitude to studies changed. At school he was no longer inattentive, indifferent – nor did he lag behind his class-mates. He was at his books till late at night. My father was impressed and asked Mohamed Ali's class teacher how his son was faring. He was told, "He is catching up fast, but is weak in arithmetic."

This worried my father as accounts were the backbone of business, and he wanted Jinnah Poonja & Co. to keep forging ahead when his son took over from him.

"Without arithmetic what will be my boy's future?" asked Father.

But my mother's faith in Mohamed Ali was unshaken. She said: "You wait. My Mohamed Ali will do well, he will be the envy of all we know."

My father decided to be practical rather than depend on the intuition of his wife. He put Mohamed Ali in a school outside Kharadhar, where truancy was endemic and books could not compete with marbles, tops, *gili danda* and cricket. He decided upon Sind Madrassah-tul-Islam, a High School about a mile from our house.

Mohamed Ali was about ten years old when he was enrolled in Sind Madrassah as a student in the Gujrati fourth grade. School records show that he was the 114th boy to be admitted. But the change of school did little to change Mohamed Ali's priorities; the Madrassah's larger playing fields attracted him more than its classrooms.

At about this time my father's sister, Manbai, came to visit us from Bombay where she lived with her husband. Auntie Manbai was a vivacious person, full of wit,

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humour and wisdom. She persuaded my mother to allow Mohamed Ali to go to Bombay for his schooling. A complete change of environment was her prescription. She got him into Anjuman-i-Islam School in Bombay, and for a while Mohamed Ali took his books seriously. He passed his fourth Gujrati, qualifying him for first grade English. My mother had been miserable during the absence of her son, and Mohamed Ali returned to Karachi and was back in Sind Madrassah from 23 December 1887.

Mohamed Ali's new pastime was horse-riding. My father owned a number of carriages and in his stables were some fine horses. Mohamed Ali had his pick of them. A school friend, Karim Kassim, the son of another merchant of Kharadhar, went riding with him every day.

Mohamed Ali loved horses, how high they held their heads, an indication of strength and confidence. He also loved minarets and domes. Some time then he seems to have decided that in life he would not only look ahead, but also look up. At school he passed examinations, treating them as hurdles that had to be cleared. One day he said that he wanted to try SMS High School on Lawrence Road, but he was back again after thirty-five days, on 9 February 1891, in Sind Madrassah studying in Fourth English.

He was now fifteen. My father mentioned his slow progress to the English General Manager of Graham's Trading Company who offered to place Mohamed Ali in his Head Office in London as an apprentice for three years, to learn practical business administration, which on his return would qualify him to join his father. My father agreed and worked out the financial implications. Although the total cost involved was quite substantial, my father decided that he could afford it. In fact, he prudently deposited the estimated expenses for three years with Graham's in London, so that Mohamed Ali should not be dependent on periodic remittances from a business which had its up and downs.

My mother was against Mohamed Ali going away for three years. After much persuasion she gave her consent, but with one condition: England, she said, was a dangerous country to send an unmarried and handsome young man like her son. Some English girl might lure him into marriage and that would be a tragedy for the Jinnah Poonja family. My father agreed and the quest for a bride began.

My mother knew of an Ismaili Khojah family of Paneli who were distantly related to her; their Emi Bai would be a good bride for Mohamed Ali. My father thought it advisable to consult their son. He agreed.

This was probably the only important decision in Mohamed Ali's life that he allowed others to make for him. He loved his mother as much as he trusted his father's practical wisdom. He behaved like an obedient son, as was the custom in those days, and in this way came to be engaged to Emi Bai.

Marriage followed; so, before his departure for Paneli, he left Sind Madrassah on 30 January 1892, when he was in the Fifth Grade, and the school register records: Mohamed Ali Jinnahbhai left school to go to Cutch to be married.

My father, mother, Mohamed Ali, Auntie Manbai and some other relatives left Karachi by sea for Verawal, and from there the marriage party proceeded by bullock-cart to Paneli. The villagers knew that my father had done well in Karachi and they regarded him as a millionaire because he could bring a *barat* from such a distance. The bride's family felt honoured by the size of the wedding party and the distance it had travelled.

My father knew all this and had decided to live up to his reputation in Paneli. He had brought with him a large number of presents which were to be given as marriage gifts to relatives, friends, and to the head of each family in the village. A tally of such names showed that the presents brought were less than would be needed. He sent a cousin to buy more presents from Gondal. He had also brought firecrackers which kept Paneli awake. In those days there were no bands in Paneli, so professional *nakar*-beaters from Gondal were invited and they played on a big semi-circular drum whose percussive noise reverberated throughout the town.

Our women were busy for days, carrying presents, clothes, jewels and sweets to the bride's house – with the *nakar*-beaters in the lead on every occasion. It became an unintended procession, because people followed them as they walked to the bride's house, singing wedding songs and sprinkling rice on the way, as was the custom.

Everyone in Paneli was invited to community dinners and lunches for a week. My father did not mind the expense; after all, it was the wedding of his first born, and his other children might get married in Karachi, or even in Bombay. His extravagance confirmed the belief of the people of Paneli that their Jinnahbhai was really a big businessman in a big city.

In this festivity the bridegroom played a minor role. The elders had greater prominence. Mohamed Ali was hardly sixteen and had never seen the girl he was to marry. He was moved to the centre of the stage only on the day of the wedding.

Decked from head to foot in long flowing garlands of flowers, he walked in a procession from his grandfather's house to that of his father-in-law, where his fourteen-year-old bride, Emi Bai, sat in an expensive bridal dress, wearing glittering ornaments, her hands spotted with henna, her face spotted with gold dust and redolent with the fragrance of attar. The village *maulvi* performed the *nikah* ceremony, recited appropriate verses from the Holy Quran, and Mohamed Ali and Emi Bai were now husband and wife.

My father had already been away from his business for about four weeks and wanted to return to Karachi. The bride's family did not want to break tradition or ignore any social custom. They let it be known to Jinnahbhai, politely but firmly, that their newly-wed daughter must stay in their home for at least a month, if not for three months.

The two families, newly joined in marriage, began to argue, but the differences remained unresolved. During the ensuing discussions Mohamed Ali remained silent, but once he knew that they were no nearer conclusion, he decided to intervene. Without informing my father or mother, he went to see his in-laws. They welcomed him with much cordiality and ceremony. The formalities over, Mohamed Ali said quietly that because of business reasons his father could no longer stay in Paneli; his mother must return with his father and he with them. His bride, he said, he would like to take with him, because he would leave Karachi for Europe soon and would be gone for three years. Perhaps they would like to send their daughter to Karachi in his absence and have her wait three years until his return from England?

The following day his in-laws came to see my father and mother and surprised them by asking when they would like to take Emi Bai with them to Karachi, so that they could make the necessary arrangements. So Emi Bai came into our family, concealing her face with her *orni* whenever she was in the presence of her

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father-in-law. This pulling down of the head drape was a traditional sign of respect by a bride for the elders of her husband's family. Mohamed Ali had his own views on the matter, and Emi Bai soon discarded it.

My mother grew quieter as the time approached for her son to leave for England. She had, of course, reconciled herself to his going. When he was leaving, she told Mohamed Ali that she had given her consent because "I am sure this visit to England will do you good and help make you an important man. This has been my vision for your future. I will not live to see you return from England, but God will look after you. He will make my wishes come true." And she broke down, sobbing.

Mohamed Ali, too, was overcome, and he quietly held his mother in a farewell embrace for a long time.

My brother was the youngest passenger on his own on the ship. The presence of this lonely boy of sixteen in 1892, when a voyage to England was an out of the ordinary event in the life of an Asian, aroused the curiosity of many of his fellow passengers, most of whom were Englishmen. One of them took kindly to Mohamed Ali, who had a poise and a maturity unusual for his age, and asked him why he was going to England and whether he knew anyone there, where he would stay, and what he wanted to do in life. Every day this old man would spend much time talking to my brother, giving him useful tips about London. Before disembarking at Marseilles, he gave my brother his London address. During the next four years, whenever this Englishman was in London he would invite my brother to his house for a meal with him and his family.

Mohamed Ali disembarked at Southampton and caught a train for London. There he took out two letters of introduction given to him by my father. The first thing he did was to go to his father's contacts, but to his disappointment he found that both of them were out of London at the time. The only alternative left was to ask the cabby, who had driven him to the two addresses, to take him to an hotel.

The huge metropolis impressed my brother with its size as he drove through its streets in the hackney cab to an hotel, which the driver said was inexpensive but comfortable. Mohamed Ali assured the receptionist, who looked askance at the young Asian, that he would be able to afford a modest room. He was given one at a reasonable rate and was soon settled there.

It was winter and Mohamed Ali found life in London rather depressing. He was not used to such severe cold. He could seldom afford the luxury of a cab and had to walk considerable distances on foot every day in the damp winter. Years later he said to me, "It was quite trying and tiring. I was lonely, far from home, far from my parents, I was in a new country where life was so different from all I had known in Karachi. Except for some colleagues at Grahams, I did not know a soul, and the immensity of London, which had first impressed me, now weighed heavily on me. The severe cold and the dreary drizzle chilled me to the bone. I felt miserable but I steeled myself and with much effort settled down to take on London on its terms. I began to like it before long."

Grahams Trading Company, which had its office near Threadneedle Street, looked after its young apprentice as the son of one of their business friends in Karachi. He was given a small table and a chair in one of the rooms where he sat with a number of office-hands learning how business was conducted. My brother deposited his money in the Royal Bank of Scotland at Bishopsgate. Being careful with his father's money, he decided that it would cost him much less if he could find a room with a good family.

From the advertisement columns of the newspapers, he jotted down the addresses of a few families who were willing to accept paying guests. After visiting a number of them, he ultimately decided to stay with Mrs. F. E. Page-Drake, at 35 Russell Road, Kensington, opposite the site on which the Olympia building was constructed half a century later. The London County Council, some years ago, put a plaque on this building, stating that Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan, lived there.

My brother wanted to learn as much as he could in England, apart from his work at Grahams. He went through his morning paper before breakfast, reading avidly about the activities of the leaders who dominated the political scene in England, and their speeches in and outside Parliament. Wherever he went, he heard people talk about these leaders. But he was buried under the ledgers and invoices at Grahams and he was not now looking forward to the drabness of his father's business after such a dull apprenticeship. It was not a challenge he would rise to meet. Money, he agreed, was important in life, but that alone would not equip him for the fuller life he wanted to lead.

He began to think about preparing for another career in which he would be independent. As he read about the lives of the great contemporary and past leaders in English public life he noted that many of them had studied for the Bar, and that their knowledge of law had stood them in good stead in public life.

He began to waver between two alternatives; to continue as an apprentice with Grahams or to become a barrister. "It did not take me long to decide that I should prepare myself for the Bar," he told me. "Fortunately for me, that year was the last when one could obtain admission to the Inns of Court by passing an examination known at that time as 'Little Go'. If I did not take my chance immediately, it would take me two additional years to be called to the Bar. So I decided to give up my apprenticeship with Graham's and pass 'Little Go', and I began to study hard to get through the examination."

This was a turning point in his life. From ledgers he turned to law books. He must have worked hard (to live down his past record) because he passed 'Little Go' with credit and enrolled at Lincoln's Inn.

But why Lincoln's Inn, I had asked. He said, "I was so sure that I would get through 'Little Go' that I started visiting the Inns of Court and meeting students studying there. After my enquiries and discussions with them I decided on an Inn other than Lincoln's. But then I saw the name of our great Prophet engraved on the main entrance of Lincoln's Inn among the greatest law-giver of the world. So I made a *minnat* that I would join Lincoln's Inn if I got through 'Little Go'. This vow strengthened my resolve to pass the examination."

I have in my possession to this day his bank passbook for the period 1892-1896 on which he has written with his own hand his name: "MOHAMED ALI JINNAHBHAI ESQ". This passbook of the Royal Bank of Scotland shows that he made out a cheque for one hundred and thirty-eight pounds and nineteen shillings to Lincoln's Inn on 7 June 1895 as his fee for admission to the Bar.

When my father had learnt from his son that he was joining Lincoln's Inn, and that it would take him three years to be a fully-fledged barrister, he ordered him to abandon this career and to return home immediately. Mohamed Ali wrote back, pleading with his father to

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allow him to remain in London and to complete his studies for the Bar. He even said that he would not ask for any more money; he would work while studying, and spend as little as possible. Although my father was not happy at the action of his headstrong son, he reconciled himself to the situation and hoped and prayed for the best.

Not long after Mohamed Ali left Karachi for England, his wife, Emi Bai, died. He had not known his child-wife for very long, so he could not have been overcome with as much grief as he was when my mother died, while giving birth to my youngest brother, Bundeh Ali. He was then at Lincoln's Inn and I know that he broke down and wept for hours for his tender mother, whom he loved more than anything else in the world. He was sensitive by nature, and because he tried to hide his emotions, he suffered intensely. Her premonition had come true; she had died before his return from London.

After the death of my mother, nothing seemed to go right for my father. He suffered one business setback after another. He aged prematurely, and he had six children, some still very young, to look after. He wrote to Mohamed Ali hinting that things were going badly. In reply, Mohamed Ali said his father should not worry, he would retrieve everything on his return.

Mohamed Ali had decided that without completing his studies he could not restore his family's fortunes. He drove himself harder to start life anew for himself and his family. Perhaps, as a gesture of defiance, or acceptance of contemporary realities which demanded a break with the past, he changed his name to M. A. Jinnah.

His bank passbook shows that he was paying ten pounds a month to Mrs F. E. Page-Drake in whose house he lived. In later years when he reminisced about London he would say that Mrs Page-Drake was a very kind old lady, with a large family, and that she treated him as if he were her son. She had an attractive daughter who was about the same age as Mohamed Ali. Miss Page-Drake liked my brother but he was not the flirtatious type and she could not break through his reserve. She would sometimes arrange mixed parties in her mother's house, and among the various games she would organise for her guests was one in which the penalty for a fault was a kiss. Mohamed Ali always counted himself out of this kissing game. "One Christmas Eve," he recalled, "Miss Page-Drake threw her arms around me as I was standing under some mistletoe, the significance of which I did not then know, and said that I must kiss her. I told gently that we too had our social rules and the mistletoe kiss was not one of them. She let me go and did not bother me again in this manner."

While at Lincoln's Inn, my brother widened his interests. He obtained a reader's ticket for the Library at the British Museum and spent much time there, reading books on a variety of subjects. On Sundays, he sometimes went to Hyde Park Corner to listen to soap-box orators. He was as much amused by their lack of coherence or responsibility as he was impressed by the tolerance of their large or small audiences. He was also a constant visitor to the House of Commons, where he listened with admiration to the speeches of many of its famous members like Gladstone, Chamberlain and Balfour. *Hansard* became his favourite reading. He never became nor wanted to become a demagogue because he spoke neither Urdu nor Hindi with facility – and mass audiences in India did not understand English. Nevertheless, during the Pakistan Movement, people came in thousands to his public meetings to see him, many of them, who knew no English, simply because his message had already reached them through his lieutenants and the Congress newspapers, which criticised him. He could be devastating in parliamentary debates which were conducted in English.

By working hard, he passed his Bar examinations in two years, and at the age of eighteen he came to be the youngest Asian student then to be called to the Bar. But he still had to stay in London for some time to obtain his barrister's wig and gown, as he had to complete the formality of attending the prescribed number of dinners.

In London, he also took part in activities originated by Indian students there. In the year of his arrival in London, there was great excitement among Indian students, as Dadabhai Naoroji, a veteran Parsi leader from Bombay, who had settled in London for many years as a businessman, sought election to the House of Commons from the Central Finsbury constituency. Naoroji was the first Indian ever to attempt this, and Indian students worked enthusiastically for his election. Mohamed Ali threw himself heart and soul into this election campaign and won the esteem of Dadabhai Naoroji.

Recalling those electioneering days, my brother said to me, "I learnt that Lord Salisbury had referred to Dadabhai Naoroji as a 'black man', and asked how Finsbury constituents could have elected him. I was furious. If Dadabhai was black, I was darker; and if this was the mentality of the British politicians, then we would never get a fair deal from them. From that day I have been an uncompromising enemy of all forms of colour bar and racial prejudice. I worked for Dadabhai with a vengeance. Fortunately, he won by a majority of three votes. However slight the majority, the jubilation among our students in London was tremendous. As I sat in the public galleries, listening to the maiden speech of the Grand Old Man in the Commons, I felt thrilled. Dadabhai said that he admired the British tradition of free speech; and there he was, an Indian, who would exercise that right and demand justice for his countrymen. He was quite right. Without free speech a nation is like a rose bush that is planted in a place where there is neither sunshine nor air."

Mohamed Ali developed an admiration for Dadabhai Naoroji, who was to exert a great influence on his political views in the years to come. He remained a devout friend of the Grand Old Man and the two together were to render yeoman service to the All-India National Congress.

My brother deplored the lack of close and frequent contact between Indian students in London. He felt that they could effectively support their own or their country's causes only if they would organise themselves into an association, find a meeting place and a forum. He pioneered this idea and approached a number of students in this connection, only to meet with opposition on the grounds that the project was too big to be implemented by such a young and inexperienced student. However, the thought persisted, and when he visited England in 1913 no longer unknown, but an Indian leader of eminence, Indian students besieged him for guidance and advice. They arranged a meeting of Indian students at Caxton Hall in London, where Mr Jinnah, as he had come to be known, was asked to address them. He advised them to take a keen interest in the political events and developments both in England and in India, but warned them against taking an active part in politics while they were studying. He stressed the importance of organised activity and, as a result, the Central Association of Indian Students was formed in London.

His extensive reading had acquainted him with the

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works of many writers and poets in the English language, some of whom he continued to read and enjoy until late in life. But the one who held the greatest fascination for him was Shakespeare. He was fond of going to plays, but his priorities then depended on his purse, and he decided to spend more on books than on theatre-going.

Despite a tight budget, he sometimes went to see Shakespearian plays at the Old Vic, where he fell under the spell of the great Shakespearian actors of those days. For some time he toyed with the idea of going on the stage, but the only offer he got was to play a minor part with an unimportant theatrical company. An ambition of his in those days was to play the role of Romeo at the Old Vic. Even in the days of his most active political life, when he returned home tired and late, he would read Shakespeare in bed. Sometimes after dinner he would read aloud his favourite passages, and I still remember that whenever he was reading Shakespeare his voice would be resonant and well modulated as if he had had experience of the stage.

The formalities of dinners at Lincoln's Inn were over, and he was now preparing to leave England and join his family in Karachi. On the inner cover of his bank passbook are the details of the last four cheques he issued in London. One was issued on 14 July 1896 to Mrs Page-Drake for three pounds, probably his account with her as a paying guest of the family. On 15 July, he had drawn three cheques. One is a cheque for seventy-one pounds, one shilling and tenpence in favour of the National Bank of India Limited, Bombay, indicating that he had already decided, while in London, to settle down in Bombay and not in Karachi. The other is to Thomas Cook and Sons for forty-two pounds, eighteen shillings and twopence, for his passage from London to Karachi. The last is a cheque to himself for ten pounds, nine shillings and eightpence, to close his bank account. During the period of about three and a half years while he stayed in London, his bank account showed a credit of about eight hundred pounds, the approximate amount he spent during this time.

When his ship reached Karachi he was received by his father, brothers and sisters, and a few relatives. If only his mother had been there, how proud she would have been of her Mohamed Ali.

My father was soon in conference with him, explaining that the family business was in a shambles and that he had to pay large sums of money to several business houses, some of whom had filed suits to recover their money in court. This was also true of the business deals conducted in the name of Mohamed Ali Jinnah & Company. "My son," his father said, "all my dreams have been shattered, and I don't know what will happen to you and your younger brothers and sisters. My health is gone and I don't know how long I have to live."

"Bapa," Mahomed Ali replied, "don't worry. I will work hard and look after you and the family. I am young and my whole life is before me. I will pay all our debts."

My father thought it best to get him fixed up as a junior in the office of a flourishing advocate of Karachi, and in this connection he spoke to two firms who were also his lawyers, Harchandrai Vishandao and Co., and Lalachand and Co. The heads of both these firms were only too willing to take this young Muslim barrister into their firms. After all, in those days, there were only a few Muslim barristers in Sind, and the young Mohamed Ali, they were sure, would be an asset to them. But my brother's mind was already made up; he had decided much earlier to try his luck in Bombay, a city that offered greater opportunities. My father did not want to leave Karachi and the idea of starting a new life in Bombay did not appeal to him. He asked his friend and neighbour, Ramjibhai Pethakhai, to dissuade his son. In spite of Ramjibhai's best efforts, the young barrister remained adamant. He said he knew that Bombay would be difficult, that in Karachi his family had many contacts, but he had made up his mind – he would make his career the hard way.

In Bombay he took a room, on a long-term basis, at the Apollo Hotel and got himself enrolled in the Bombay High Court. But this was easy. The real difficulty was to set up an office, secure briefs, and do well in the courts. This would take time. Expectantly he waited in his small one-room office in the port area for a client to come to him. He did not get one for months.

Even after three years he was not earning much and was agonising over his inability to help his distressed family in Karachi. But he kept up the appearance of being a busy barrister, daily making the rounds of the courts, making social contacts and frequenting some of the best clubs of Bombay. In his early twenties, my brother was a very attractive young man, slim and tall, with a commanding personality, a sensitive face, and always impeccably dressed.

His social contacts did help. A friend of his, who held his talent and ability in high esteem, introduced him to Mr John Molesworth MacPherson, who was at that time the Advocate-General of Bombay. He was impressed with the young barrister, and invited him to work in his office where he could use the facilities of his chambers. My brother never forgot this gesture, particularly as it was rare in those day for a Briton to extend such courtesies to an Indian barrister.

Mr MacPherson soon discovered the new recruit's ability and integrity. He passed on some cases to "the young Mr Jinnah". At this time my brother considered taking a government job, so that he could be financially more stable. Mr. MacPherson was willing to help and spoke to Sir Charles Ollivant, the member in charge of the Judicial Department, and within a couple of weeks my brother was appointed a temporary Presidency Magistrate.

His exemplary conduct as a magistrate earned him praise from his colleagues, and when the period of the temporary appointment was over, Sir Charles Ollivant offered him another and better judicial appointment at Rs 1,500 a month, which in those days was a princely salary. "No thank you," replied Mohamed Ali, "I hope that soon I will be able to earn that much in a single day."

As soon as he left his post as Presidency Magistrate, he was approached by a number of clients. He gave up his small room in the Apollo Hotel and took a modest apartment in the Apollo Bunder area, furnished it well and also rented a new office. He spared no expense within his limited means in converting his office into an elegant and attractive chamber, which any lawyer would have been proud to call his own. His feet were set firmly on the ladder of success, and he sent letters and telegrams to my father to come over to Bombay with the family.

My father was by now unhappy in Karachi and so agreed to come to Bombay and leave the city which held many bitter memories for him. So we all went to Bombay and rented an apartment in Khoja Mohalla at Khajak, where my brother often came to visit us. He was now making enough money in his profession to live well, to support his family and also bear the expense of educating all his brothers and sisters.

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My brother's reputation grew and he led a life of complete independence, impervious to patronage or bullying from his seniors. My father was often told that his son was arrogant and quick-tempered with members of the Bar and the Bench, and that this would hinder his career, especially because he behaved in the same manner with Englishmen. But my father's earlier scepticism about Mohamed Ali had vanished, and he was confident that his son knew exactly what he was doing, for he had charted his own course and it seemed best to let him follow it.

And Mohamed Ali did that, even when he embarked upon his political career, which ensured for him a place in history more permanent than any monument that could be raised to commemorate his achievement – the founding of a new country.

A Nation is Orphaned

The one monument I had hoped I would never live to see is now becoming a part of the Karachi skyline. It is a mausoleum to shelter my brother's mortal remains. As I see it go up inch by inch, poignant memories come rushing into my mind of the day I lost my eldest brother, when the homeland he had won for Muslims was barely a year old. I had been his constant companion for more than forty years. Since his death, on 11 September 1948, I have frequently visited the grave to cover it with flowers and to offer prayers.

In establishing himself, first as a lawyer and then as a political leader, he had shown that Nature had gifted him with unusually strong willpower to achieve the tasks that he set himself, but it had encased that will in too frail a body. His health could not stand the rigours of a tumultuous life, but this was balanced by a tenacity which enabled him to overcome all obstacles and to lead his people.

His political activities and responsibilities had increased immensely during the last ten years of his life. Despite the advice of his doctors and the pleadings of a younger sister, he did not spare himself, refusing to take rest or relax. Work, work and more work, that was his way of life. He drained away the last reserves of his energy much faster than he could replenish them. I sometimes begged him to cut down the frequent tours which carried him like a whirlwind from one end of India to the other. He would say, "Have you ever heard of a general taking a holiday when his army is fighting for its very survival?"

I would then abandon logic for sentiment: "But your life is precious to your people and you must take good care of it."

With a distant look in his eyes, he would say: "What is the health of one individual, when I am concerned with the very existence of the hundred million Muslims of India? Do you realize how much is at stake?"

This was enough to silence me and I watched him plunge deeper and deeper into stormy political struggles to the total neglect of his health.

When the general elections were being held in February 1937 all over India, the Muslim League put up its own candidates for the first time. At that time the League was not well organized and its message had not yet reached the Muslim masses. The main burden of organization, of rallying public opinion in favour of the League, fell on his shoulders. The more he travelled, addressing mass meetings, the more were the demands made on his time. He was deluged with requests inviting him to visit cities, towns and villages to carry his message to the Muslims, who were gradually becoming more and more convinced that unless they stood together, their political, social and economic future would be imperilled.

When the Muslim League session in Lahore in 1940 passed what has come to be known as the Pakistan Resolution, his health was already poor, but somehow he kept pace with his increasing work. With a following not yet organized, he began from that year to travel even more, to translate his party's mandate into action. He was five feet ten and a half inches tall and normally weighed about 112 pounds. He began to lose weight, ounce by ounce, but he refused my requests that he should consult a good doctor.

He was not only President of the Muslim League, but also the Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly. In the year of the Pakistan Resolution, as we travelled from Bombay to New Delhi, he had a slight temperature. After dinner, as he lay on his berth, suddenly he gasped with pain and moaned

The Quaid was dying when he attended his last function, opening the State Bank at Karachi.

loud enough for me to hear above the noise of the rattling train. I sat up and went to his side. He was in such pain that he could not speak. He pointed with his finger to a spot in the middle of his back, to the right of the spinal cord. His face was contorted with pain, and since we were in a compartmented train I could not rush out for medical aid. I first massaged the spot which he had indicated, but my ministration seemed to do him little good. The train was slowing down for a stop, so there was no point in applying the emergency brakes and halting the train away from a station and the medical facilities that it might afford. As the train stopped, I leaned out and called for the guard. He quickly brought a hot water bottle which I wrapped in a napkin and applied to the area of pain. Soon my brother was able to speak. He said he was better.

The train steamed into Delhi station in the early hours of the morning and soon we were at 10 Aurangzeb Road, which was our New Delhi home. I phoned his doctor whose diagnosis was that my brother had pleurisy and that he must stay in bed for about a fortnight. As soon as the doctor left, my brother said, "What bad luck. It is an important session. My participation is essential. And here I am, confined to bed."

Two restless days later he was up and at work.

It was in this session of the Central Assembly that he explained the stand of the League on India's participation in the war effort. As I watched him, from the Visitors' Gallery, taking the floor, I wondered if he would

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be able to speak for more than a few minutes. He began in a voice that betrayed fatigue, but as he developed his arguments, all traces of weakness disappeared. He was soon in his element, ridiculing the Government for their insidious propaganda to beguile the Muslims of India, and adding,

> "We cannot really vote for an expenditure over which we have no control . . . if the Congress succeeds in defeating the Government, it will not be my fault, it will be due to the constitution you have enacted. . . the constitution which prevents a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Congress is a Hindu organisation, whatever its leaders may say, and they treat the Muslims as a minority while the Muslims are, in fact, a separate entity . . ."

He had spoken for about an hour, and he was still on his feet. I was becoming apprehensive when he concluded, stating:

> "Mr Bhulabhai Desai throughout his speech only emphasized two things: democracy and a national government . . . whatever the cabinet's composition, it will be responsible to this legislature in which Mr Bhulabhai Desai can command the votes of two-thirds of the members. Anyone who happens to be in the proposed national government and does not obey the Congress will be in an unenviable position."

As we drove home from the Assembly, I saw that his hands were trembling and that he could hardly light his cigarette. On reaching home, he went to bed straightaway, without so much as taking off his shoes or his tie.

That attack of pleurisy in the train was, I think, the beginning of the illness that ultimately claimed his life. He could have got over it if he had taken proper care, kept regular hours and given up exposing himself to all kinds of weather as he incessantly toured the subcontinent. After that bout of pleurisy, he was always susceptible to cold weather and even a mild cold would develop into days of fever and painful coughing.

A few months later – in April 1941 to be exact – we were on our way from Bombay to Madras where he was to preside over the Madras session of the All-India Muslim League. When our train was a few hours from Madras, he got up and suddenly collapsed. I dashed to his side, kneeling on the floor, and asked, "Jin, what is wrong?"

He smiled, a worn out smile, "I suddenly felt very weak, exhausted." He put his hand on my shoulder, slowly lifted himself, and staggered to his berth.

Again, fortunately within a few minutes, the train came to a halt at an important railway junction, and thousands of enthusiastic admirers were on the platform, shouting, "Quaid-e-Azam *Zindabad*". I opened the door of our compartment slightly and pleaded, "Don't shout. The Quaid is resting, he has a fever and is fatigued. Please get a doctor."

Within minutes a doctor arrived, examined him and said, "Sir, you have had a nervous breakdown, nothing serious, but I would advise you not to move about for at least a week. Please stay in bed."

We were soon in Madras, where thousands of delegates had gathered to attend the All-India Muslim League's annual session. The Quaid was too weak to address the opening session, but on the following day he insisted that he would deliver his presidential address. I advised him against it, but finding that he was adamant, I begged him to make short speech. "All right, I shall try to be brief," he said. He had no notes.

But once he began, he went on speaking for over two hours. I remember him saying,

> "We shall never be the tributaries of any power nor any Government at the Centre so far as the North-West and Eastern zones of our free national homeland are concerned."

I was as proud of his performance as I was afraid of what his effort would cost his health. The great enthusiasm of that large gathering had served as a tonic, but only I knew that weakness, exhaustion and fever would follow.

The seven years before the establishment of Pakistan were the busiest and the stormiest in his life. He worked ceaselessly. How vividly I remember those years! And to my mind comes a picture of him dragging himself out of bed, looking exhausted. As we drove to public meetings he would maintain silence, not to arrange his thoughts, but to conserve every ounce of his energy. He arrived nodding and acknowledging the applause with which he was greeted. His step was firm, his eyes bright and glistening as he mounted the dais. After recitation of verses from the Holy Quran, and speeches by local leaders, he would walk up to the microphone. As he surveyed the seething masses who sat in their tens of thousands on bare earth to listen to him, he would speak to them in a voice that showed no trace of weakness or ill-health. At every pause they would shout, "Quaid-e-Azam *Zindabad*". His voice rose and fell as he emphasised a point or explained it. Those who cheered little knew how exhausted and sick he was. He was their hero, and how could one blame a hero for being heroic?

Back home, in the solitude of his room, he would lie prostrate on his bed, gasping for breath. Fortunately, he had the ability to sleep at will. A good night's rest gave him enough energy to cope with the daily crop of letters, requests and important problems for which solutions had to be found. He kept up this tempo throughout the crucial years of the Pakistan Movement in spite of recurring fever which emaciated his body.

Pakistan was born on 14 August 1947.

As we drove through cheering crowds on the streets of Karachi, to the Governor-General's House, even in his hour of triumph the Quaid-e-Azam was gravely ill. A new state had emerged on the map of the world but many were the gigantic problems it had to face in those formative days. I watched with sorrow and pain. He had little or no appetite and had even lost his ability to will himself to sleep. All this coincided with reports from both sides of the border of harrowing tales of massacre, rape, arson and looting. He began his day discussing these mass killings with me at breakfast and his handkerchief furtively often went to his moist eyes, and I pretended not to notice.

The Constitution had to be framed, and he applied his mind to this as often as he could find time from the immediate problems of rehabilitating millions of uprooted people. And there were other pressing problems that took precedence: the problem of Kashmir Muslims, who had been betrayed by a tyrannical ruler, distressed him deeply. Pakistan had taken its place on the map of the world, but it had yet to take root in all of its own soil. These problems robbed him of his peace of mind.

He worked in a frenzy to consolidate Pakistan. And, of course, he totally neglected his health, and his coughing and slight temperature were beginning to worry me more and more. At my insistence, he agreed to be examined by Colonel Rahman, his personal physician, who diagnosed a slight attack of malaria. The Quaid, who had an aversion to medicine, said to Colonel Rahman, "I don't have malaria. I am just run down." Asked to rest, he replied

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flatly, "I am not exhausted. I have too much to do."

And soon he left Lahore to see the refugee camps. This was in September, but the refugees' plight drew him like a magnet back to Lahore the following month. In October he addressed a great public meeting in the University stadium. It was in this speech that I first heard him speak of death.

> "Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us always to be prepared for it. We should face it bravely if the honour of Pakistan and Islam are at stake. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause. Duty comes first. Have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. She is here to stay."

We returned to Karachi. The sufferings of the refugees affected him deeply and he went to bed again, exhausted and feverish. But files kept pouring in, ministers and secretaries came to seek his instructions, so peace and rest were impossible.

He had promised the people of the Frontier Province that he would visit them to congratulate them on their great efforts during the referendum, in which they voted that the North-West frontier be part of Pakistan. To fulfil his promise he went, despite ill-health, in April 1948 to Peshawar where a heavy programme awaited him.

At a meeting in Cunningham Park, Peshawar, on 20 April 1948, Jinnah caught the chill from which he never recovered.

He spoke to the students of Islamia College, the Air Force cadets at Risalpur, civil officers at Government House, and the students of Edwards College, where he recalled the day when he was "literally dismissed from this Province in 1937". He recalled the days of the Congress majority in the frontier and spoke of the change that had come over the Province and the tribal areas during the preceding couple of years.

At an open-air meeting in Peshawar it began to drizzle. But the thousands who had come to hear their Quaid stayed even when the drizzle became rain. My brother, ignoring my advice to cut the meeting short, stayed until the meeting ended. He was drenched to the bone. That night it was obvious that he had caught a chill, but he refused to send for a doctor. "It's nothing," he said to me, "just a cold."

This cold was the beginning of the end. In Karachi, his cough continued, and only when I forced a doctor on him did we learn that he had bronchitis. He stayed in bed for a few days but continued to work on files that came to him in a steady stream.

Six weeks later he was a little better, although still weak. I constantly entreated him to leave Karachi. My arguments were supported by Colonel Rahman, who warned that, unless he gave up work completely for at least two months, he would be doing irreparable damage to his health. One day in June he agreed and suggested that we should go to Quetta, which would be cooler.

Within a few days of our arrival in Quetta, there was a marked improvement in his health. He was able to sleep and eat well; the coughing subsided and his temperature came down to normal. Only the very important files which required his immediate attention were presented to him, and for the first time in many years he seemed relaxed. Sometimes he attended public functions in Quetta, and used them to make his views known on current issues.

The Quaid had agreed to inaugurate the State Bank of Pakistan on 1 July 1948 in Karachi. Afraid that this might affect his health adversely, I tried to dissuade him from undertaking the journey. He replied, "You know, the Congress prophesied that Pakistan would be a bankrupt State, and that our people would not know how to handle commerce, industry, banking, shipping or insurance. The State Bank is a symbol of our independence in finance and banking. I should be there. We'll be back in Quetta in a few days."

The air journey from Quetta to Karachi exhausted him and, on the day of the opening of the State Bank he was so weak he could hardly get out of bed. Through sheer willpower he went to inaugurate the State Bank. Those who saw and heard him must have realized that he was not in good health; his voice was scarcely audible and he paused and coughed his way through his speech. When we returned home he collapsed into bed with his shoes on.

He had accepted an invitation for the same evening to attend a reception given by the Canadian Trade Commissioner to commemorate the eighty-first anniversary of the Dominion of Canada. It was no use attempting to talk him out of this engagement. He showed no trace of fatigue as he smiled and chatted to other guests at the party, which was the last social function that he was ever to attend.

After five days in Karachi, we returned to Quetta by air. Although he withstood the air journey well, the next day he felt weak and had a slight fever, which made him uncomfortable. Requests began to pour in from various organisations in Quetta asking him to visit them. He had to refuse them and this depressed him so much that he decided that we should move to Ziarat, a few miles from Quetta, where it would be cooler and decidedly more restful.

The Residency at Ziarat, where we stayed, is a picturesque, old, double-storeyed building, standing like an outpost on a hillock. It has spacious lawns and gardens. A cluster of fruit trees and beds of flowers add to the beauty of the place, and the Quaid liked its quiet charm.

I learnt that Dr Riaz Ali Shah, a chest specialist, was on a visit to Ziarat to examine one of his patients, and Mrs Khan, the Quetta Commissioner's wife, suggested that it would be a good idea to have Quaid-e-Azam examined by Dr Shah. When I conveyed this to my brother, he refused emphatically, reiterating that he was sure that there was nothing seriously wrong with him; if only his digestion improved he would soon be on his feet. But after a while he found that he was not getting better, and for the first time agreed that he needed good medical advice. I wasted no time and asked Mr Farrukh Amin, Private Secretary to the Quaid, to phone Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, the Secretary General, to arrange for Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh, an eminent physician of Lahore, to come to Ziarat. This was on 21 July 1948.

The message having been sent, we waited anxiously

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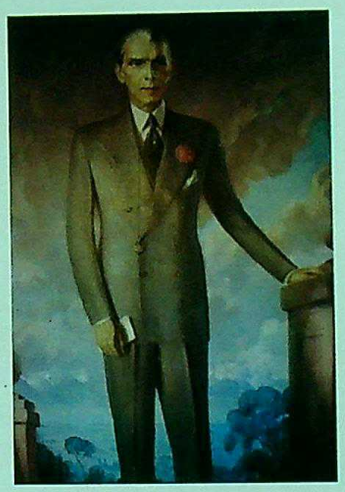
for the arrival of the doctor. The Quaid's condition was deteriorating, but his mind was alert. He continued to discuss with me the new constitution, the Kashmir dispute and the refugees, but he was continually worried that he had so little time and strength left with which to do so much.

Late on Friday 23 July, I was relieved to learn that Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh had arrived in Ziarat, and was waiting downstairs. I gave the news to my brother and he said coolly, "Ask him to see me tomorrow morning. It is late in the evening now, and I don't want to be disturbed." I pleaded with him to let the doctor see him but he simply turned his face away.

The following morning I took Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh to the Quaid and before the doctor could ask any questions, he said, "I hope you had a good journey, Doctor."

The formalities over, the Quaid gave a brief account of all his ailments since 1934, emphasising that he was all right except for his digestion. "I have been working fourteen hours a day for the last fourteen years," he said. "I had never been ill before, except in the last few years, I have frequently had a fever and a cough. I smoke too much. I rest a little and I get well. But now the fevers and coughs have become more persistent."



"Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation", was how Sarojini Naidu, the Indian woman leader and poet, described Jinnah –characteristics captured by the portrait now in Quetta Staff College.

Jinnah's official residence as Governor-General of Pakistan was Governor's House, Karachi (below). *It was here that he died on 11 September 1948, scarcely a year after his creation of Independent Pakistan.*

These few sentences exhausted him. The doctor took his left arm to read his pulse, while the Quaid coughed repeatedly. "A few weeks ago," he continued, "I caught a chill and have been taking penicillin lozenges. There is nothing organically wrong with me. About fifteen years ago some doctors in London advised me to undergo an abdominal operation. But when I consulted doctors in Germany they said it was not necessary. My Bombay doctor at that time told me I had heart trouble. Ever since I received these disparate 'opinions' I have avoided doctors."

After Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh had thoroughly examined him, he said, "Sir, your abdomen is alright, but I am not sure about your chest and lungs. I will have your blood and sputum examined by experts." Quaid-e-Azam listened to the doctor in silence. "Sir you need a more nourishing diet," the doctor advised. "For breakfast you must have porridge, eggs, butter, bread, coffee and plenty of milk. For lunch, minced chicken, vegetables, and custard or jelly; for dinner, grilled fish, with a sauce of your choice, vegetable and fruit, pudding and coffee."

"That is a lot, doctor, do you think I can digest all that?"

"Yes, Sir, you need this diet."

The following morning, Dr. Siddiqui, the Civil Surgeon of Quetta, and Dr. Mahmud, the Clinical Pathologist, came and took samples of his blood and sputum. That afternoon I learnt the fateful news that the result was positive. The world began to slip from under my feet. I thought it best that Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh should give the report to the Quaid. "Sir," he said, "the results of the clinical tests show that you have an infection of the lungs." The Quaid heard this quietly and said, "This means I have tuberculosis. Since when have I had it?"

"I think, sir, for at least two years. But I would like to have an X-ray of the chest before giving any definite opinion on that point. It may not be very serious, and if your system responds well to treatment you will soon be well again."

"Does Miss Jinnah know of this?"

"Yes, sir, I have told her."

"I think it was a mistake. She is a woman, after all."

Just then I entered the room, and the Quaid asked the doctor, "How long do you think I will be in bed? You know I have so much to do."

"It is too early to say, but everything possible will be done to get you well as soon as possible."

When I was alone with my brother, his pale face wore a wry smile as he said, "Fati, you were right . . . I should have consulted specialists earlier . . . But I am not sorry . . . I will fight my illness . . . it is my duty to do so . . . I have never blindly accepted the advice of other . . I have always learnt the hard way . . . for me there never has been any other."

His will asserted itself. He began to eat more. I engaged as our cook Amanat Ali, who had been a chef at the Ritz Hotel in Paris and for some time had also served the Maharaja of Kapurthala. Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh engaged a lady medical assistant to do the daily chores, such as taking the Quaid's temperature. When she did this for the first time, the Quaid asked her, "What is my temperature?"

She replied, "Sir, I can report that only to the doctor."

As soon as she left, he smiled and said to me, "I like people like that . . . who know their job and can be firm."

No visitors were allowed to see the Quaid, but an exception was made for Mr Hassan Isphahani, our Ambassador to Washington, when he visited us in Ziarat. The Quaid was happy to see him as he had been a close associate of his for a number of years. As Mr Isphahani came out after meeting the Quaid, he broke down. When he regained his composure he said to Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh that he could fly out any specialists or medicines needed from America. The doctor replied that he would ask for help if necessary.

In the meantime, at Colonel Bukhsh's request, Dr. Riaz Ali Shah, the chest specialist, Dr Alam, the X-ray specialist, and Dr. Ghulam Muhammad, the clinical pathologist, arrived from Lahore with their equipment. Their examination and tests confirmed the findings of Colonel Bukhsh. They decided that it was necessary to have a night nurse. At first the Quaid refused, saying that he was being well looked after, but ultimately he agreed, saying, "My sister has been by my bedside day and night for

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many weeks. She must be tired. Yes, engage a night nurse."

And so Sister Phyllis Dunham from the Civil Hospital, Quetta, came to Ziarat. She proved to be an efficient nurse and the Quaid liked her professional manner. She followed the regimen prescribed by the doctors. Soon I had reason to hope when we found that he was more restful, slept longer hours, and was able to take more food than before. His temperature became normal, his coughing almost disappeared and his blood pressure gave no cause for anxiety.

Towards the end of July, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister, came to Ziarat, accompanied by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali. The Quaid agreed to see them although it was late in the evening; they were with him for about half an hour and he invited them to stay for dinner. He asked me to join them for the meal, which I usually had upstairs. I said, "I would rather be with you."

"No," he said, "that would not be right. They are our guests here, you should be with them." I obeyed him.

The Quaid never used his private residence at Karachi (above), *but Flagstaff House was the chosen home of his sister Fatima.*

As Pakistan prepared to celebrate the first anniversary of its Independence, the Quaid, against his doctors' advice, wrote out his message to the nation for that occasion. Even this effort was a strain on his health. The doctors found his blood pressure very low, his feet swollen; he was retaining too much fluid – signs that his heart and kidneys were affected. They decided that Ziarat's altitude was too great for his state of health. The Quaid agreed to move to Quetta, but only after the Independence celebrations on 14 August when the people expected him to appear in public. The doctors insisted on an early move and it was arranged that he should motor down a day earlier.

He insisted that he would not travel in pyjamas. Happy that he was showing more interest in life, I put out for him a brand new suit with a tie to match, and put a handkerchief in his vanity pocket. I helped him put on his polished pump shoes. He was brought down on a stretcher and was placed in a semi-reclining position on the back seat of the big Humber car in which we travelled to Quetta. I sat next to him with Sister Dunham on the folding seat; his ADC sat in front with the chauffeur.

The car moved slowly to avoid jolts and bumps. We stopped twice for him to have tea and biscuits. It took us four hours to reach Quetta. In the Residency, the doctors examined him and said he had withstood the journey well. After a few hours he told them, "I feel better here. At Ziarat it was difficult to breathe."

He began to improve and Dr. Ilahi Bukhsh said that the Quaid might look at files for about an hour a day to divert his active mind from thinking about his health. He enjoyed this concession. After a few days he was allowed to leave his bed, and with some help, walk a few steps to improve his blood circulation. He liked this too. It was heartening to see that he was still full of fight.

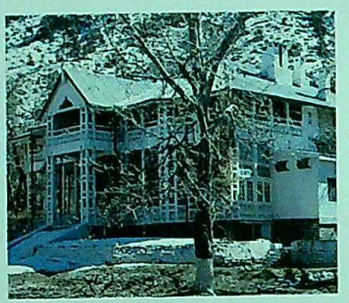
The Quaid then commented, "Doctor, I like smoking. I haven't had a cigarette for days."

Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh agreed, "Yes, sir, but only one a day and don't inhale."

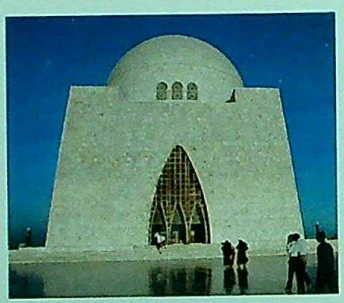
I brought him a tin of his favourite Craven A cigarettes, of which he had been used to smoking about fifty a day.

In the evening, the doctor saw five cigarette stubs in the ashtray. He looked pointedly at the ashtray and at the Quaid, who smiled: "Yes, I had five, but I didn't inhale."

Eid-ul-Fitr was on 27 August, and he was busy again



The Summer Residency at Ziarat, where Jinnah struggled with his mortal illness (left), *is today preserved as it was when he was alive.*



The design of the Quaid's mausoleum in Karachi was approved by his sister, Fatima. The tomb itself lies below ground, beneath its own replica.

preparing his Eid day message. This was to be his last communication to the people. He wrote,

> "It is only with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dreams into reality . . . the mass migration of millions . . . presented a problem of unprecedented magnitude. To provide new moorings for this mass of drifting humanity . . . very nearly overwhelmed us. . . My Eid message to our brother Muslim states is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye-opener. . . . It is only by maintaining a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world. . ."

Towards the end of August he suddenly became depressed and said, "Fati, I am no longer interested in living. The sooner I go the better."

I was shocked and wondered what had brought about this change. I managed to keep calm and said, "Jin, you will soon be all right. The doctors are hopeful."

"No," he insisted, "I don't want to live."

On the first of September, Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh looking gloomy, said to me, "The Quaid has had a haemorrhage. I am worried. We must take him to Karachi. Now even Quetta's altitude is not good for him."

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His health began to deteriorate, and on 6 September, the doctors said he had pneumonia, for his blood tests showed an acute infection. He was put on oxygen. On 7 September, I sent a cable to Mr. Isphahani in Washington to fly out American specialists whose names had been suggested by Dr Riaz Shah, and on the following day I phoned Dr Muhammad Ali Mistry of Karachi to come immediately to Quetta. There was another conference among the doctors and they decided that it was necessary that the Quaid be moved to Karachi at once, because Quetta's height was affecting his weak heart.

They told me that only a miracle could save his life. When I informed my brother of our impending move, he said, "Yes, take me to Karachi. I was born there . . . I want to be buried there."

He closed his eyes and I just could not leave his bedside. He was soon asleep but restless, and occasionally, from him came sounds like muffled drum-beats, he was mumbling: "Ma . . . Bapa . . . Kashmir . . . refugees . . . Bapa . . . Fati".

His Viking was ordered to fly immediately to Quetta and the doctors decided on 11 September that we should be at the airport at 2 pm to go to Karachi. As his stretcher was taken into the Viking's cabin, the pilot and the crew lined up and saluted him. He in turn lifted his hand feebly to acknowledge them.

A bed had been improvised in the front cabin and I sat with him, along with Dr Mistry and Sister Dunham. The pilot warned us that he would have to fly at about 7,000 feet for some time, but that as soon as he had cleared the hilly area he would come down to 5,000 feet. Oxygen cylinders and a gas mask were ready. As the Viking began its ascent, the Quaid found it difficult to breathe, and I covered his mouth and nose with the gas mask. He inhaled oxygen for some time, then brushed it away, as if to say, "It is useless". I asked Dr Mistry to call Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh and I was happy to see that he succeeded in replacing the oxygen mask over the Quaid's mouth and nose.

After about two hours flying, we landed at the Air Force base at Mauripur at 4.15 pm. Here he had landed just over a year ago, full of hope and confidence that he would help build Pakistan into a great nation. Then thousands had thronged to welcome him. But today, as instructed in advance, there was no-one at the airport. Colonel Knowles, as the Governor-General's Military Secretary, was there and greeted us as we came out of the plane. The Quaid was carried on a stretcher to a military ambulance that was to drive him to his official residence. Sister Dunham and I were with him in the ambulance, which moved forward very slowly. Other members of our party left in cars. Only Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh, Dr Mistry, and the Military Secretary followed the ambulance in the Governor-General's Cadillac.

After we had covered about four or five miles, the ambulance coughed and came to a sudden stop. Five minutes later, I got out only to be told that it had run out of petrol, but the driver was also fidgeting with the engine. As I re-entered the ambulance the Quaid's eyebrows moved imperceptibly, as did his hands. I bent over him and said, "The engine's stopped."

He simply closed his eyes.

Usually in September there is a strong breeze blowing into Karachi from the sea and this keeps the temperature down. But that day there was no breeze, and the humid heat was oppressive. To add to his discomfort, scores of flies buzzed around his face, and he did not have the strength to brush them away. He could hardly have been conscious of the fact that he was quite near Kharadhar, where, as a boy, his long slim hands had been so dextrous at flicking marbles, playing cricket and spinning peg-tops.

Sister Dunham and I fanned him in turns, waiting for another ambulance to arrive to carry us to the Governor-General's house. Every minute was an eternity of agony. He could not be shifted to the Cadillac as it was not big enough for the stretcher. And in a mood of resignation, we waited.

Nearby stood hundreds of huts belonging to the refugees, who went about their business, not knowing that their Quaid, who had given them a homeland, was in their midst, lying helpless. Cars honked their way past, buses and trucks rumbled by, and we stood there immobilized in an ambulance that refused to move an inch, with the Quaid's precious life ebbing away.

We waited for over one hour, and no hour in my life has been so long and full of anguish. Finally another ambulance came. His stretcher was moved to it and we drove to the Governor-General's House. When he was removed from the stretcher to the bed, my watch told me that it had taken us more than two hours from Mauripur to the Governor-General's House!

From well before Independence, Jinnah had been ill. In his final months he was visibly consumed by fatigue and tuberculosis.

The doctors examined him and said that he had borne the journey well. He was soon fast asleep, and the doctors left saying that they would be back in a short while. I was now alone with my brother who slept peacefully; too peacefully, I felt. He slept for about two hours, undisturbed. And then he opened his eyes, saw me, and nodded his head slightly for me to come closer to him. He shocked me as he whispered, "Fati, *Khuda Hafiz . . . La ilaha ill-Allah Muhammad Rasulullah*". His head dropped slightly to the right, his eyes closed.

I ran out of the room crying, "Doctor, doctor. Come quickly. My brother is dying. Where are the doctors?"

In a few moments they were there, examining him and giving him injections. I stood there, motionless, speechless. Then I saw them cover his body, head to foot, with the sheet.

Colonel Ilahi Bukhsh walked heavily towards me, put his right palm, gently, on my left shoulder, and wept. I

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searched for tears, but they had dried up. I dragged myself to his bedside and fainted on the floor.

The news of his death must have spread fast. The huge iron gates of the Governor General's House, which normally were kept closed, for visitors entered through the reception office, were flung wide open by an endless stream of people who came in from all directions.

Soon some of them were in the room where their Quaid lay in eternal sleep. There was sobbing and weeping all over the room. I had been revived but I refused to leave the room, where I sat in a daze.

A Daughter's Memory

My father was not a demonstrative man. But he was an affectionate father. My last meeting with him took place in Bombay in 1946. He had come from New Delhi, in the midst of most heavy preoccupations with crucial negotiations. He phoned inviting me and my children to tea. He was very happy to see us – Dina was five and Nusli, two. We mostly talked about the children and politics. He told me that Pakistan was coming. Despite his pressing engagements in New Delhi he had found time to buy presents for us. As we said good-bye, he bent down to hug Nusli. The grey cap, which he wore so often that it now bears his name, caught Nusli's fancy, and in a moment he had put it on his grandson's head saying, "Keep it, my boy." Nusli prizes the cap to this day. I remember the gesture because it was characteristic of his sensibility and consideration for me and my children.

Some of my father's critics say that he was arrogant. This is incorrect. He was not the hail-fellow-well-met type; he was, like me, a very private person. On matters of principle, he always stood firm. He was never false to himself or to others in private or public life.

When others say things which are untrue about him I get angry, and angrier still when some writers who had no contact with him feel free to pretend an intimate knowledge and quote me as a source. They say fantastic things, such as that he ate pork which Muslims never do. They cover with fiction their gaps in knowledge about the human side of my father.

The Muslims of the subcontinent produced many distinguished leaders but none of them was able to give them what he did – a state of their own. The people of Pakistan owe him a unique debt.
No Jinnah, no Pakistan. **D.W.**

I cannot recall how long I remained there, staring at the white sheet that covered my brother's body.

But I remember that an elderly lady, whom I had never seen before, put her arms round me and quietly whispered into my ear: "To God we belong and to Him is our return."

F.J.

These two chapters were found in Miss Fatima Jinnah's papers after her death. She had written with them the assistance of G. A. Allana. These papers, together with additional material received from Miss Shirinbai Jinnah, information researched in Karachi, at Quaid-e-Azam Papers Cell in Islamabad and at Lincoln's Inn, London, have been edited for inclusion in this edition.

H.J.

Jinnah: the man Remembered

"Papa darling . . . at this minute you must be with the Viceroy. I must say it is wonderful what you have achieved and I feel so proud and happy for you . . . it was sweet of you to write as I know how busy you are . . ."

These extracts are from a letter written on 2 June 1947 by Dina, the only child of Jinnah's marriage with Rattanbai who died aged only twenty-eight. Dina now lives in the United States with her husband and two children. That she probably ignored her father's wishes when she married a Christian and that her mother, before her conversion to Islam, was a Parsi, are both facts which are still treated as skeletons in Jinnah's closet, a closet fabricated by some of his contemporaries who locked it and threw away the key. They accepted him as the father of a nation of seventy million people but sought to deny him, by their misguided silence, his love for his daughter and his affection for his grandchildren.

But with the advent of Jinnah's centenary the lock on this closet has been forced. The only skeleton that has been found in the closet is Jinnah's humanity, a major component of which was his fondness for his family.

On 5 June 1947, Dina wrote again. "I heard you speak on the 3rd. I think you spoke the best and most to the point. Although you have not achieved everything you wanted, you have come a long way . . . How the Congress have had to swallow their pride . . . The Hindus here are not at all pleased with the acceptance of Pakistan . . . and ahead of you lies the greatest task of putting Pakistan into operation. I know you will succeed."

Jinnah has been described by many as cold and arrogant, a sort of political machine who locked up his heart and let only his political mind rule his life. But his daughter, it seems from her letters found among Jinnah's papers, could draw her father out of his political shell. She exchanged gossip with him, making excuses when her letters did not contain enough news about family friends – she was not competing with the news media – requesting him to visit her in cool Juhu whenever he returned to Bombay from the summer heat of Delhi, and take her children out again for a drive but only when they had recovered "from whooping cough", sending her love to Aunty Fatima and asking – when Pakistan became imminent – whether she could take from his Bombay home, for reasons mainly sentimental, a few of her mother's books – of "Shelley, Byron and the Oscar Wilde series because it is difficult to get good editions in Bombay . . . You must be very busy but do write a line if you have a moment . . . Take care of yourself, Papa darling. Lots of love and kisses. Dina".

These lines are from the letter to which Dina's father replied during the hectic days before his historic 2 June meeting with the Viceroy.

If Dina was sentimental about her mother, who found it difficult to fit her life into her husband's politico-legal mould, so was her father.

A former chauffeur of Jinnah's recalls ". . . sometimes

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my *sahib* would give orders that a big cabin trunk be opened. It contained his dead wife's clothes and those of his daughter when she was a child. They would be taken out of the trunk and spread out in an airy room. He would look at them in silence, and grief would crease his fine and sensitive face. Suddenly he would remove his monocle from his right eye and, with both eyes moist, would murmur to himself, 'It's all right . . . It's all right' . . . and polishing his monocle with his handkerchief walk out of the room."

The chauffeur was Mohammad Hussain Azad who later became a film actor and who talked at length about his *sahib* to Saadat Hasan Manto, a leading Urdu writer. Azad's biographical remarks were included in a sketch by Manto and published in *Afaq*, an Urdu daily, as a Jinnah anniversary article. The newspaper that day had a run on its press, as large crowds demanded copies to read about the human side of the person who had given them a homeland and to read it in language that the man in the street could relish and remember.

Azad used the theme of his *sahib's* walk several times in his outpouring to Manto. "My *sahib* always walked up and down when he was in a contemplative mood. At night, silence in Mount Pleasant was broken only by the sound of his paces on the polished wooden floors of its passages and rooms. His steps were measured and firm and his two-tone shoes, black and white or brown and white, went *tak . . . tak . . .* like the pendulum of a clock.

"When Dina got married without my *sahib's* consent, he did not see anyone for a fortnight . . . and I think he must have smoked hundreds of cigars and covered hundreds of miles pacing up and down . . .

Azad the chauffeur did not even have a driver's licence when Jinnah selected him to fill a vacancy in his garage staff. Why? Azad's explanation and Manto's words: "My *sahib* had a weakness for strength . . . and symmetry . . . something like Iqbal's admiration for creatures that flew high in the skies. And I was strong and healthy . . . at least other potential extras at Imperial Studios said I was strong, and I seemed to come from the same mould as other domestic and secretarial staff at Jinnah *Sahib's* house on Malabar Hill. Jinnah *Sahib* admired elegance and efficiency. But I did not start out as an efficient driver. On my first day behind the wheel of Jinnah *Sahib's* car, I slammed on the brakes to avoid crashing into a traffic light on Malabar Hill and jolted my *sahib* and Fatima *Sahiba*. My *sahib* must have seen through me then, but, picking up his lit cigar which had fallen to the floor and making sure that Fatima *Sahiba* was unhurt, he only said 'It's all right . . . It's all right'. He uttered some other words which I sensed to mean that I should drive back to the house from where he took another car and chauffeur. For six months I was left alone intentionally, making it possible for me to take driving lessons before he tried me out again. I came out with flying colours.

"From then on I served him efficiently and well and my *sahib* looked after me not as a mere domestic but as a member of his household . . taught me where to be thrifty and where to spend, and when he thought that I had learnt to manage my affairs he arranged for me to get married . . . much above my station . . . the girl's parents agreed to the match because I was Quaid-e-Azam's chauffeur.

"Then I drifted into films . . . When Jinnah *Sahib* died some hours after his ambulance broke down on the way from Mauripur to the Governor General's House . . . I wished I had been with him, driving my *sahib* in his white Packard . . . slowly to avoid bumps. . ."

Rattenbai, "the flower of Bombay", was eighteen when she married Jinnah, a celebrated barrister.

Azad's eyes were brimming over with tears.

There was much that Manto heard from Azad but did not include in his sketch, *"My Sahib"*. He made a distinction between what he thought Azad had personal knowledge of and what was mere gossip. And who can question Manto's editorial judgement in making notes of but not writing about such matters as the spiteful charge that Jinnah married the daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit for money?

For his kitchen Jinnah had two cooks and they certainly spoilt the broth for two half-baked historians who in 1975 said with uninhibited freedom that Jinnah ate food prohibited by his religion. The answer lies in Azad's interview with Manto. He said one of the cooks was for "Hindustani food and the other for European food", that

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the former had to work only when there were guests, and that Jinnah himself "was not fond of Hindustani food". The Bhindi bazaar interpretation of European food could have been twisted by the religious leaders displaced by his mass appeal, who never tired of presenting him as a non-ritualistic Muslim who was poaching on their self-demarcated political preserves. The voluble Azad also said, "My *sahib's* kitchen was well run. Every day four or five *halal* chickens were consumed and the *sahib's* share was only a small cup of chicken soup (his favourite dishes were roast beef and apple tart). Plenty of fruit was ordered every day but almost all of it was appropriated by the domestics when it came back almost untouched from Jinnah *Sahib's* table. Every night he approved the menu for the next day and gave me a hundred rupee note for the day's expenses."

Manto questioned this.

Answered Azad, "Yes, exactly one hundred rupees. Jinnah *Sahib* never asked for accounts. Whatever remained was divided among the servants; sometimes this amount was thirty or forty rupees . . . Fatima *Sahiba* was aware of this and it annoyed her that he should be so cheated, but the *sahib* would say, 'It's all right . . . It's all right', and walk away, usually into the billiard room to play the only indoor game which interested him."

Jinnah sometimes did the social rounds in Bombay. It was on one of these occasions that he first met Qazi Mohammad Isa of Baluchistan. Qazi Isa was introduced to him by the Nawab of Palampore and asked to organize the All-India Muslim League's branch in Baluchistan. It was in this connection that Jinnah often visited Quetta, and Qazi Isa recalls that the Quaid always brought "car-loads of toys" for his little son. The child would often steal into the guest room to watch the Quaid shaving with an open razor and would engage him in lively conversation in the manner of a three year old.

Qazi Isa also tells stories of Jinnah unbending in non-political encounters even with unexpected guests. He says he took some guests to Jinnah's house in New Delhi without warning and so late at night that the Quaid himself had to answer the door. He received them warmly and served coffee and answered all their questions.

Sabiha Mumtaz Jehan had a similar experience. While waiting for a train at Delhi, she had a sudden impulse to meet the Quaid. She persuaded her parents to take a taxi to his house at 10 Aurangzeb Road, where they found him in a Muslim League party meeting. Miss Fatima Jinnah met the strangers, heard why they had come, and concerned lest they should miss their connecting train to their Deccan destination, got her brother – after some persuasion – to come out of the meeting and say hello to the guests.

Sabiha Mumtaz Jehan was, of course, sure that the Quaid would come because she had seen him in Hyderabad where the *purdah* ladies had extended to him an unprecedented invitation to address an exclusively women's meeting, without a screen between them, and then requested him to take off his *sherwani* – which he did with a good grace – so that they could tie a good-luck talisman *(imam zaman)* round his arm.

Jinnah's historians record that he married Ruttie (who took the formal name of Rattanbai on her conversion to Islam), when he was forty-one and she was about twenty-two years younger. Their love was deep enough for her to walk out of her multi-millionaire father's house taking only the clothes that she was wearing. Jinnah saw to it that she lived in the style to which she was accustomed. There is a descriptive inventory in his papers listing his gifts to her – nearly a hundred items of jewellery with diamonds, emeralds, pearls, rubies and agates: all these in only nine years of married life!

Jinnah seldom spoke about his wife who had separated from him after these years and died a year later. Dewan Chaman Lal, a well-known Punjab legislator and a close friend of Jinnah, writing about the last few months of Ruttie Jinnah's life, says that somehow a rift had grown between husband and wife. The same year (1928) in Paris he found her seriously ill in a Champs Elysées clinic. Learning that Jinnah did not know about this, Chaman Lal telephoned London to be told that Jinnah was in Dublin. The message was conveyed to Jinnah, who arrived in Paris two days later.

At the hotel George V, Jinnah said to Chaman Lal, "Lady Petit tells me that Ruttie is better." Chaman Lal replied, "I have just come from the clinic and it seems to me that, with a temperature of 106 degrees, she may be dying." Jinnah froze for a couple of minutes, then spoke on the phone to the nurse in charge at the clinic. She confirmed what Chaman Lal had told him. He slapped the arm of his chair and said, "Come, let us go. Ruttie needs help."

Jinnah went to the clinic and was there for nearly three hours while Chaman Lal waited in a nearby cafe. When he returned, Jinnah's anxiety had lessened. He had arranged for Ruttie to be moved to another clinic where a specialist would be available. Mrs Jinnah recovered . . . but returned to Bombay ahead of her husband – their differences, apparently, still unresolved. Chaman Lal states that he thought that they did not meet again.

Shortly afterwards Chaman Lal and Jinnah were in Western Court in New Delhi when a trunk call came through for Jinnah from Bombay. Chaman Lal heard him say that he would leave that night. He was calm as he turned and said, "Ruttie is seriously ill. I must leave tonight . . . Do you know that that was my father-in-law . . . the first time we have spoken since my marriage." I persuaded him to leave the next morning by the Frontier Mail as the night train would not get him to Bombay any quicker. I did not know then that Ruttie was not merely seriously ill, but that she was actually dead when her father put through that call to Jinnah.

Among the Jinnah papers is Ruttie's last letter to her husband, written about two months before she died. The last sentence in the letter reads: "I have loved you my darling as it is given to few men to be loved. I only beseech you that the tragedy which commenced with love should also end with it. Darling, goodnight and goodbye."

What his response was on reading this letter can only be conjecture. Perhaps if Azad had been there he would have said, "Jinnah *Sahib* polished his monocle, covered with a mist from his eyes, and said, 'It's all right . . . it's all right'," as he carefully put the letter away to be found only after his death.

H.J.

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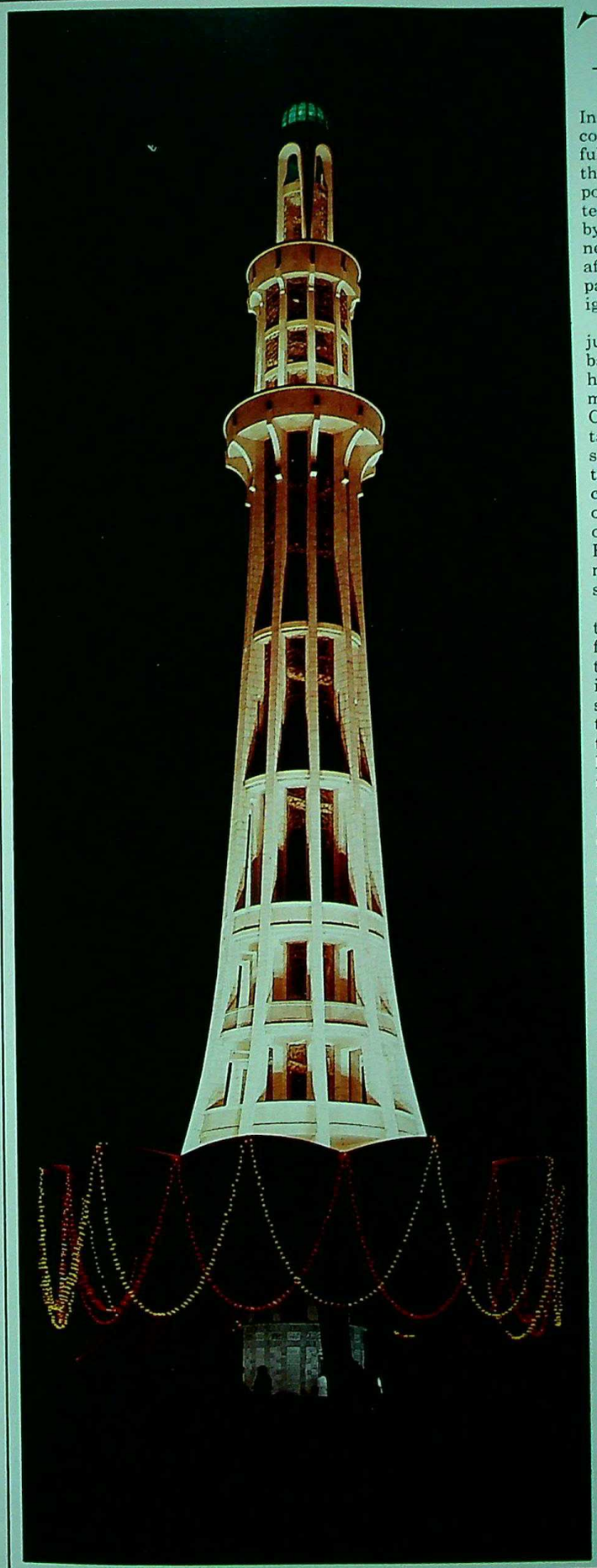

The Idea

In Western attitudes to the idea of Pakistan there have been practical considerations, unconnected with religion, but in themselves failing fully to explain – so this writer believes – most Westerners' dislike of the Pakistan concept. The average Westerner – not the prominent politician or businessman, but the person of no particular position – tends to forget about Asia, or at any rate its remoter regions: a by-product, this, of the Occidental bias in his schooling, and in the newspapers and wireless that mould his adult ideas. Europe, and its affluent North American offshoot, is usually assumed to be the only part of the globe that matters; the large non-Christian parts are ignored.

In childhood, he has been taught of Greece and Rome – with just enough of the Levant thrown in to illustrate Christianity's background, but not to let him grasp that Jesus was an Asiatic; then, hustled past the discreditable 'dark ages', he reaches Europe's mediaeval epoch, with its distinctive culture evolved under the Church's leadership – but gets hardly a glimpse of what was simultaneously going on elsewhere. Much is recounted about the Renaissance and Reformation: and more about the wonderful European technological discoveries and overseas expansion of the last four centuries – all leading straight to the West's pre-eminence of today, or yesterday, and regardless of the fact that, for one millennium out of the two thus dealt with, the now developed lands of North-Western Europe were but an unimportant appendage of the Eurasian landmass, steeped (comparatively speaking) in ignorant squalor, when set against the accomplished civilizations further East, in Asia.

Hindu and Buddhist empires, Confucian ones – here, we come to the religious factor already foreshadowed – were indeed far away; far enough for the Westerner's ignorance to be excused. But some of the former Muslim empires were nearer. Direct contacts did exist. And it may well be that uneasy half-remembrance of this, and of the sometimes alarming quality, military and religious, of the proselytising Faith which inspired them, underlies the Westerner's tendency to turn aside, alienated or uncomfortable, when the ideology of the Pakistani States is touched on. At any rate, there is a point here, and in this writer's opinion an important one.

As our average Westerner looks about, memories stir of tales half-heard about conversion, by the sword, of Levantine Christian communities during Islam's first outrush from Arabia, 1,300 years ago; later tales – more meaningful – of fierce non-Christian hordes, Turkish ones now, not Arab, sweeping across the plains of Hungary to the gates of Vienna; or nearer home, tales of lootings by slave-raiding Barbary pirates along Europe's Southern shores – shores rich in Greek and Roman history: or tales of the conquest by the Moors of Spain.

And he will forget now, if he ever knew, about that Moorish civilization's superiority to its contemporary Christian rivals further North; its splendid arts, the grace and richness of its architecture, its' pioneering technology – in baths and sanitation for instance, or in street lighting; the prestige of its University of Cordova; or the crucial role played by Islamic scholarship along the Mediterranean, as guardian of the heritage of Greece, in fostering the European Renaissance. It is the rough military face of seizure of European soil by, for him, an alien, infidel regime that grips his thoughts or, delving deeper into European group-memory, where the hurt of it still festers a little, he may think of the high hopes, the chivalry, the faith and then the disillusioned, ignominious end of the Crusades.

It can scarcely be questioned that, though detailed attempts to analyze them would be absurd, thoughts like these do distort the Westerner's attitude towards Islam.

But Pakistanis see matters quite otherwise, geographically and historically; see them in a friendly not hostile light – which is a big discovery that our hypothetical Western novice makes, travelling East, if his first major landfall happens to be, say, Karachi or Lahore, Delhi or Dacca.

Here, no particular local remembrance exists of any doctrinal clash or conflict between Islam and Christianity – though politically some resentment may linger among the educated, against the arrogant aspects of recent British imperialism. Religiously, however, it is an area where the Muslim is well aware – even the simple illiterate

The Minar-e-Pakistan stands on the site of the passing of the Pakistan Resolution in 1940.

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Muslim, and his posture when praying reminds him of it – that his affinities lie Westwards, an area where Islam competes confusedly with creeds and cultures to the East, so very alien, both to itself and to the Western spirit generally, that by contrast the hard-edged difference between things Muslim and Christian may at moments seem to waver, even to dissolve; an area where, in particular, Islam confronts with continual blank incomprehension, from its egalitarian and raceless standpoint, from its austere iconoclastic monotheism, the intricacies of the Hindus' caste system, their prohibitions on inter-marriage and inter-dining, their multiplicity of gods, their (to the Muslim) nauseating idol-worship.

And though our Western novice finds the brownish people around him, whether Hindu or Muslim, all much alike, he soon realizes that some Muslims approach him, if not as a brother doctrinally, then as a fairly close cousin. By comparison with Hindus, or with Buddhists or Sikhs, Jains or indeed Parsis, it is clear that he, a Christian, stands forth for them in a special relationship. He is not, in their view, quite a pagan. While in his inexperience he may not yet know it, he shares with them a good deal of scripture, which is not annulled by what, to them, is the final holy book, the Quran. The Founder of Christianity – he may be surprised to learn – ranks for them as one of the major prophets of Islam. Jerusalem for them, too, is a place of holiness. What other religion, educated Indo-Pakistani Muslims might ask, has this sort of nearness to Christianity? Do the Jews revere Jesus? Old Testament personalities – Adam and Eve, King Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, Noah, Ishmael – are common to both Faiths. So-called Christian names are Muslim names too: Ibrahim and Musa, Daud and Yaqub and Ishaq translate into their English equivalents very easily.

And this, of course, leads to another resemblance, as the Pakistani sees it, between you, as a Westerner, and himself, especially if you are British. Although, as indicated, he may dislike some manifestations of the British *raj* that he experienced or has heard about, nevertheless he recognizes in you an affinity in military and administrative aptitudes. He looks on you, in fact, nowadays with a lively sympathetic interest – as a fellow ex-imperialist.

True, your regime was short, 200 years or so, about a third of his. And its imprint on the Indian scene, artistic and architectural, religious and racial, was less. In a sense, you Westerners were withdrawers always, your governmental and commercial folk leading a camp-like existence, setting up no permanent home, the men doing their jobs up and down the subcontinent till middle life, then retiring on the proceeds, always retiring, to your far-off little island; and the women, thanks to the Suez Canal and latterly to aircraft, putting in ever more ephemeral and disconnected appearances – disconnected, it seemed, mentally as well as physically, for few British women ever developed a sense of 'belonging'; none of you, with the rarest exceptions, settling down for good on its soil, or mingling intimately with the people, personally, intellectually, or matrimonially, as the Muslim invaders did.

Nevertheless your forebears, like his, and like the Portuguese and the French, arrived in India as Western conquerors; and they too, like his, ruled successfully for a while over intelligent, cultivated and sturdy Hindus much more numerous than themselves. The bond of fellow-feeling between him, and you, is thus felt to be strong.

The average Westerner, parochially European and aloof, has no conception of the profound cleavage between Hinduism and Islam, or of the reasons for it, or of the resultant leaning of Indo-Pakistani Muslims towards friendliness for the West – until he himself visits the subcontinent, and is embarrassed to discover how little he knows.

And perhaps some Muslim there, observing his predicament, might politely press upon him the question: why Westerners should be so ignorant of simple Asian realities? Can it be that, unwittingly, they live under remote control by their early Church? Are they swayed subconsciously by the dread which, centuries ago, bishops and abbots felt of Islam's capacity to expand? Does there, even now, lurk in the shadows of the European mind a remembrance of such unrelished facts as that, in AD 732, the Muslim conquerors of Spain, thrusting Northwards under their leader Abdur Rahman, got half way across France, to a point beyond Poitiers, only 200 miles from the English Channel?

It must however be conceded that the Western intellectual – not our unsophisticated traveller, but someone trained in political theory – does have reasons, not yet touched on, especially if he is religiously agnostic and politically of the Left, for looking on Islam – and thus on the Pakistan-concept – with disapproval. To him, or at any rate to some such people, it is of necessity narrow, regressive, chained to a hoary past. This assumption is partly due to the distinctive nature of Muslim law; to the far-reaching way in which, as a religion, Islam projects itself into what, for the Westerner, are fields merely secular.

The problems here are complex. In Western Europe and America, law comes from Roman rather than Christian sources; most of it is not, as a Westerner sees it, religious in source or purpose. Two distinctive spheres exist, ordinarily identifiable without much difficulty: those of the State, and of the Church. But in Islamic countries – before most of them became semi-Westernized under colonialist pressure – law like everything else was part of religion. Human beings were believed to be living under the rule of Allah, as divinely revealed through his Prophet Muhammad in the Quran and the associated Sunna or customs, and as interpreted by theologians in the religious laws known as the *Shariat*. The Faith therefore stretched forth very far, into all sorts of practical day-to-day details.

Islam is not unique in this. But the Western Leftist intelligentsia tends to single Islam out, because of social items accounted objectionable. Judaism, also, projects itself authoritatively into affairs of daily life, including politics, in ways disconcerting to the Westerner, as a visit to Israel will show. And Byzantine Christianity does, to some extent, too. And if Communism may be classed as a religion, then it certainly does so as well. The phenomenon seems characteristic of the East. And then there are the objectionable social items which antagonize Westerners, such as polygamy, and *purdah* or feminine segregation.

These things are not really Quranic. And the amount of dogma in Islam is, in fact, relatively small: much less than in Christianity. There are a few bewildering items, such as the Trinity, for a doubter to swallow. Most people who have lived in Pakistan would probably concur that it quite lacks the 'feel' of an intolerant, reactionary society. At no time has there been any practical possibility of its falling under the sway of the *mullahs*, influential and active though some of them are.

The power of such people actually has proved perceptibly less than in that other ideological State of the 1940s, which most Western progressives regard so much more amiably: Israel. There, rabbinical authority enforces a Sabbatarianism perhaps drearier than in Victorian Scotland; from dusk on Friday until Saturday night, most public transport ceases, and cargoes remain unhandled in the ports; cars driving through orthodox districts may be stoned.

Pakistan, by contrast, has not even bothered, since British rule ended, to shift her weekly rest formally to the Muslim prayer-day, Friday. Some of the banks close that day, but otherwise she continues happily to shut up shop on the Westerners' Sunday, and transport plies uninhibited every day of the week.

This matter of the Pakistani States' involvement with Islam, in any case, needs shifting round, so as to appear as it would in South Asia. One may imagine a patriotic Pakistani, riled by the foreign intelligentsia's suspicions, launching zestful counter-attacks. Are there not Western nations, he might ask, where religion and Government are also rather entwined: England, for instance? Would he be wrong in supposing that the Head of State there, on taking office, has to avow his (or her) intention to preserve a particular Christian sect, the Anglican: a sect which, incidentally – or is this mere ribaldry – owes its origins partly to the accident that a monarch of early times, Henry VIII, had exceptionally many wives?

And have not this sect's leading dignitaries since been appointed, not even really by the Head of State, but by the leading politician in office, plus some civil servants, who nowadays might not be members of that Christian sect at all, nor indeed of any, but be Jews, or agnostics? And are not twenty-six of these particular dignitaries, to the exclusion of those of the other Christian sects, automatically made participants in politics, by membership of the Upper House?

And is there not also a funny custom – or perhaps this exaggerates – whereby the self same Head of State, when he (or she) travels North, after crossing a river called the Tweed, forthwith changes sect, and becomes a practising member of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland? In their country, in Pakistan, they might cheerfully point out, matters are not pushed so far.

Pakistan, then, may be looked on not as a militant country, poised towards proselytization or renewed conquests – in spite of Islam's real latent tendency towards such things – but essentially as a defensive one, on guard; brought into being to maintain a culture that most of its inhabitants highly value, and to be a refuge to which like-minded Muslims elsewhere on the subcontinent could go.

Though Hindus may well consider Islam formidable, when they look back on the past, surely Muslims, looking out on the present, have even better cause for finding Hinduism so? Nor, of course, is numerical superiority the Hindus' only advantage. Pakistanis would hasten to adduce other important things, such as comparative industrial and financial power, and educational advancement.

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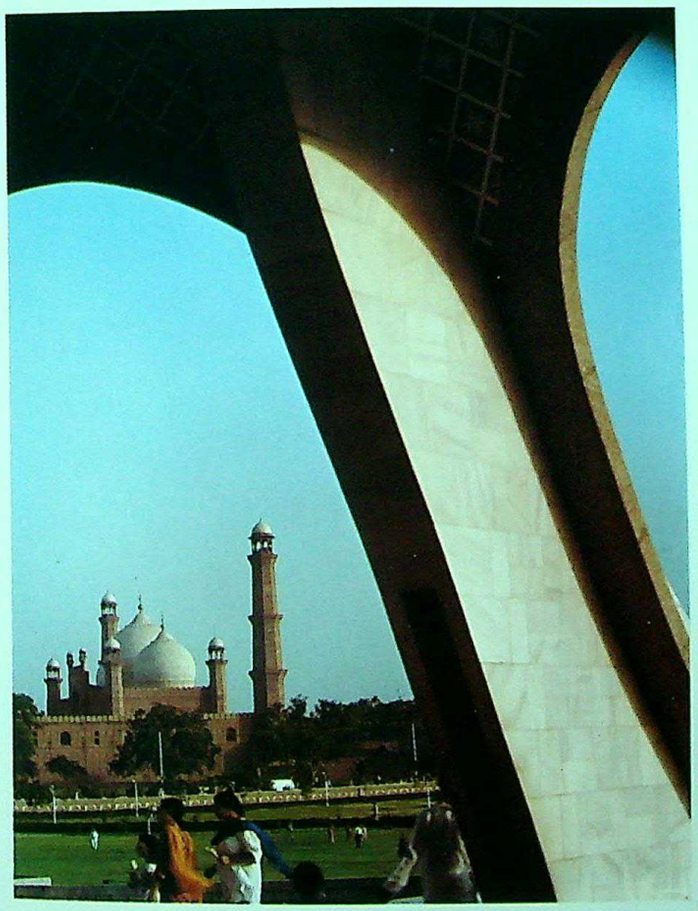
2 Pakistan Today: An Introduction



The 17th century Badshahi Mosque is seen through the arches of Minar-e-Pakistan, Lahore.

To a nation and its leadership there can be few deeper satisfactions than to defy the prophets of doom. In this second half of the 1970s, Pakistan looks out upon the world with a self-assuredness that few would have predicted possible in the first years of the decade. By reason of what it has endured and overcome, Pakistan has earned the respect of its fellows. It has been the spectacle of a nation, by trial and grave challenge, coming of age.

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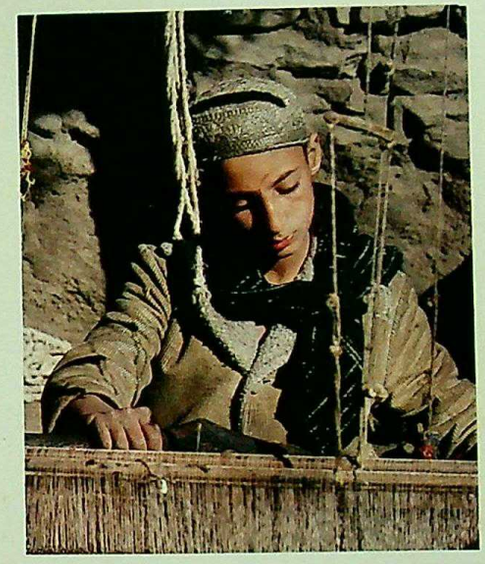
Regeneration: an overview

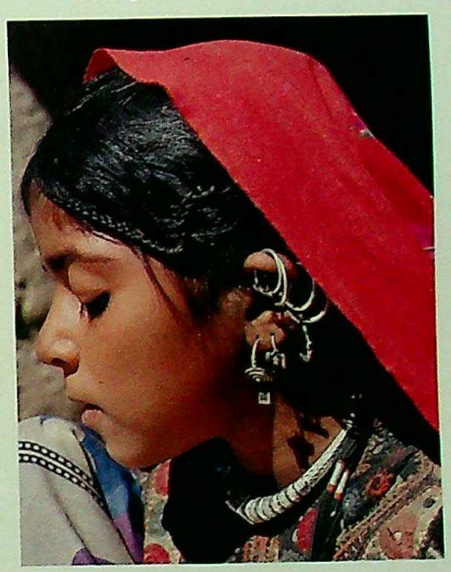
THE fairest way to assess the performance of any country is to place it in the context of its socio-economic neighbourhood and of its own history.

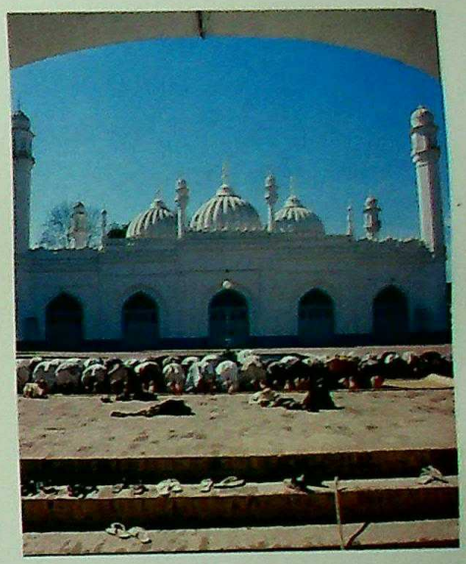
Judged thus, Pakistan's success is emphatic – politically, economically, internationally. Of the five countries of the subcontinent it is the least illiberal in the internal conduct of its affairs, its national income *per capita* is the highest, and it has built for itself a respect in the outer world that none of its neighbours can match.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto rose to supreme power in his country through using, not abusing or overriding, the fledgling democratic parliamentary institutions that were formed at the end of the long period of army rule. As the outstanding political personality in his country at its nadir, in 1971, a lesser man would have been tempted to seize the reins of power and disregard the political structures made for a united and peaceful Pakistan. The country, led by a junta of generals who Pakistan's own Supreme Court said were usurpers, then lay dismembered, politically and militarily humbled, its troops in East Pakistan imprisoned (against all established convention) by Pakistan's adversary. The rest of the world had all but written off the rump, which Pakistan had become, as economically unviable and very likely beyond political resuscitation.

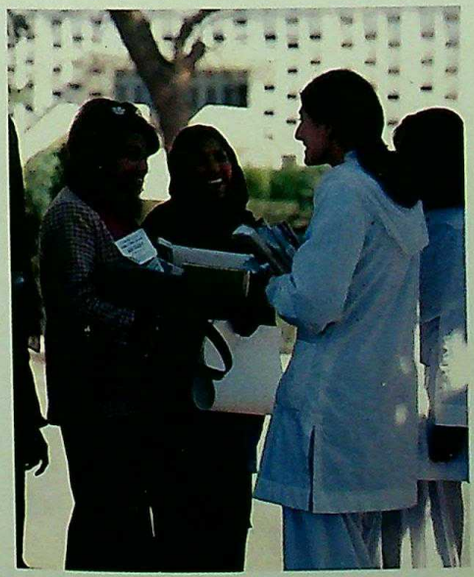
Such a judgement was to underestimate the quality of the solitary political figure who Bertrand Russell had forecast five years earlier was "in the tradition of Jinnah". It took the British philosopher's insight to perceive in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto not only a quality of national leadership but an immense promise to advance

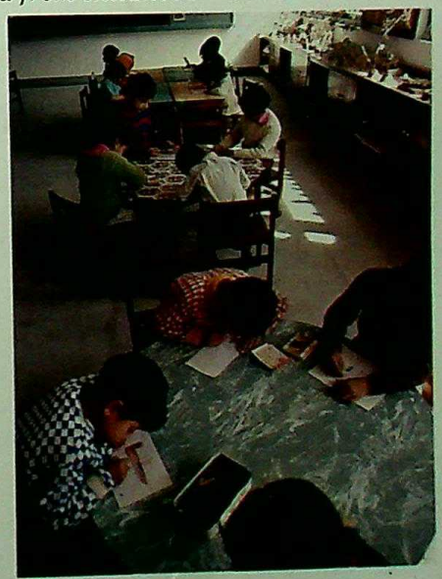


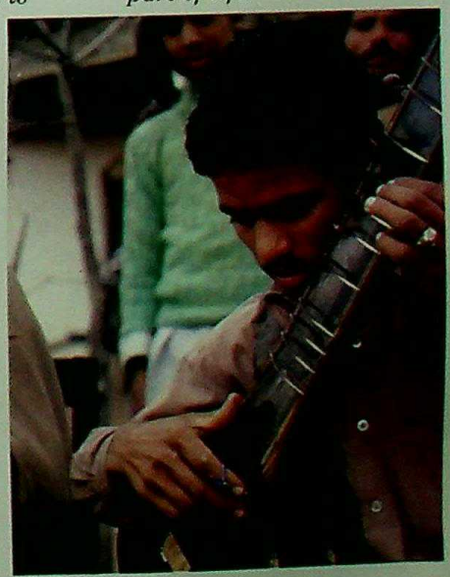




Craft enters the lives of many youngsters early, like that of this northern weaver boy (above left). *But, schooling is widespread, and from childhood* (above – *a girl from the Marri Bugti area of Baluchistan) Islam is taught, and worship, as at Peshawar* (right), *becomes part of life.*







A growing number of young are reaching universities (as above), *partly as a result of sound infant education (for example of Islamabad Model School,* centre). *Despite the demands of modern life, the ancient skills, like* sitar-*playing* (right) *still flourish and are enjoyed and respected.*

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the cause of the Third World's genuine independence. When Bhutto resigned as Foreign Minister in 1966 and Ayub Khan bowed to pressures from the Johnson administration in the United States to try and end Bhutto's political life, Bertrand Russell, from his Welsh retreat, campaigned in his support. Writing to China's leaders, Egypt's Nasser, Algeria's Boumèdienne, Ghana's Nkrumah, Indonesia's Sukarno and a host of other world figures, he urged them to take note of Bhutto's struggle.

Now, Bhutto stood up among the ruins of his country's fortunes. Most governments begin from a normal starting point. In his case, the track was like an obstacle course with handicap marks, the beginning point being a long distance away from the starting line. He has often been quoted as saying that Pakistan had to pick up very little pieces and put them together again.

Bhutto gave the people a new political will which enabled them to graduate from weakness, through a new dispensation of social justice, to a new kind of strength – a clarification, a simplicity of purpose, a fierce realism. The new Pakistan upheld the basic freedoms. Parliamentary government was, and has been preserved; relative liberty of political discussion was protected; the press, though curbed, was by no means silenced; consensus of all the political parties was sought and obtained on the issue of framing a stable constitution for the country. The leadership itself was scrupulous and painstaking in explaining its acts and policies to the people; their political education was a corner-stone of its programme – to wean the voters away from a feudal system to an environment of social justice, of accountability to the voters. The sovereign power which the vote gave to the people was repeatedly underlined.

These achievements cannot be undervalued in a country where parliamentary democracy has only slight historical roots and in a region where the *zeitgeist* appears to lead towards the abandonment of true democratic forms. Moreover, they have been made against a background of secessionism and violence on

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the part of political minorities. In 1975 the Home Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, Hayat Khan Sherpao, was the victim of assassination by bombing. As it became clear that the leaders of the National Awami Party were plotting against the sovereignty and integrity of the state, they were arrested and their party banned. But, in scrupulous adherence to the Constitution, their case was referred to the Supreme Court which upheld the Government's action.

The political dangers Bhutto inherited were mirrored by the economic peril. In 1972, Pakistan had practically no foreign exchange reserves. There was a crisis in the balance of payments position. Industry was badly affected by about three years of political disorder. There was rampant labour unrest. The students were resentful. The East Pakistan market for West Pakistan's raw material and finished products had disappeared.

Economic coherence was thus a formidable challenge. A decade's heritage of corruption, landlordism and excessive emphasis on profits was with speed replaced by a comprehensive programme, based on socialist ideals, contained in the election manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party with its motto of "Islam is our faith; democracy is our policy; socialism is our economy; and all power to the people". By the mid-1970s, with the Government firmly established, economic priorities were well ordered. Cotton and textile products, which still accounted for some forty per cent of exports, were severely hit by a world recession for which Pakistan bore no responsibility but paid a penalty to the extent of an estimated $800 millions' worth of lost income. In addition, there was drought in 1974 and floods in 1973 and 1976. By late 1976, however, a considerable stabilizing of world trade terms was beginning to be felt in the country.

By 1976 agricultural production was registering an increase per annum of about four per cent overall, the rate of inflation had been cut back from over twenty-five per cent to under six per cent, and industries were being built to give the country a base for steady economic

Left. *The Mangla Dam is the principal project of the Indus Basin Replacement plan.*

The main benefits of river control are hydro-electric power and dependable water for irrigation of land.

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advance. Exploitation of mineral resources remained somewhat hesitant, private investment was sluggish, and, for lack of better international arrangements, marketing channels still allowed the rich but waterless states of the Gulf to import some of their rice from South Carolina rather than the cheaper but better *Basmati* from the green belt of nearby Pakistan.

True to his party's manifesto, Bhutto took steps to bring about an equitable socio-economic order in which the exploitative features of the past would be eradicated. The fixing of the maximum size of landholdings at 150 acres yielded 2.8 million acres from big landlords without compensation: and by 1976, over 125,000 landless peasants had become owners of land. To break the hold of a score of families on the industrial sector, the Government nationalized – exempting all foreign-owned enterprises – thirty-two major industries, all Pakistani banks and life insurance companies. Labour conditions were improved and workers given a voice in the management of factors and also a share of the profits. To facilitate greater and better production in the agrarian sector, Pakistan nationalized, in July 1976, over 2,000 cotton-ginning, flour-milling and rice-husking units dispersed all over the country, involving an operation far larger than that of the nationalization of big industrial undertakings in 1972.

On the social front, a major reform was introduced in Baluchistan where the Government abolished the centuries-old feudal system which had given the *sardars* a free hand to do what they liked, while the Government had atrophied its writ to about one-thousandth part of the province – to 134 square miles of Quetta.

In the northern areas, in Chitral, Dir and Swat, the Government abolished the system which enabled chieftains in that region to collect *usher* in the name of religion and use the proceeds for personal purposes.

Policy and leadership apart, today's Pakistan enjoys certain endemic advantages that are incalculable. It possesses vast regions of unexploited land. With its land potential go the immense water resources of the Indus

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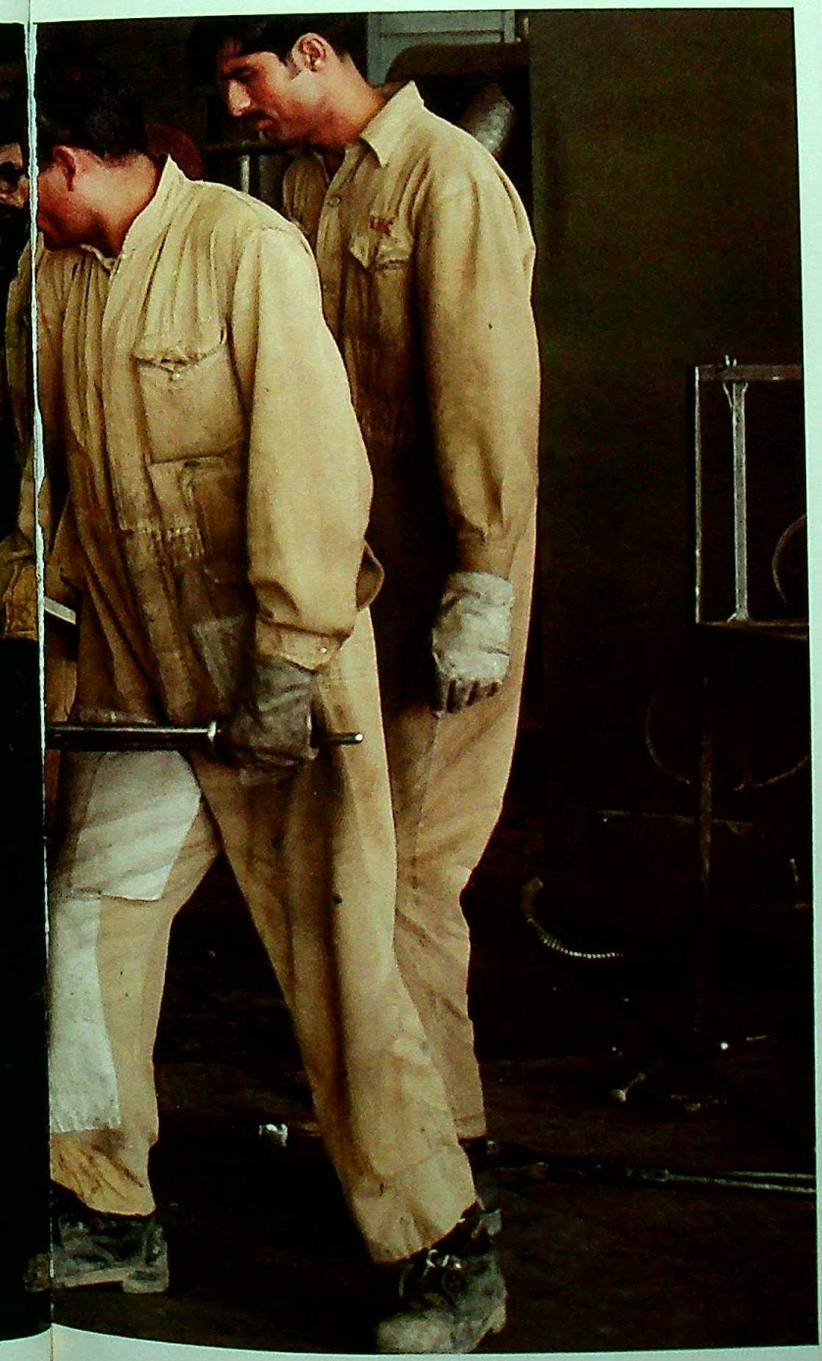
and its tributaries, which in turn provide an unfailing source of power: with the completion of the Tarbela complex, Pakistan's hydro-electric and irrigation infrastructure will be unequalled in the world. What mineral wealth is contained in the vast areas of the North and West still has to be assessed: there can be small doubt that, as the country is opened up, exploitable riches will be found.

Lastly, the people of Pakistan, bringing together the qualities of the various regions, combine vigour, intelligence and hardihood with the Islamic disciplines. In terms of educational achievement, again, Pakistanis are ahead of all but a few of the developing countries. Indeed, they are exporters of skills on a substantial scale. They are reared in craftsmanship: any community of Pakistanis is one of smiths, carpenters, weavers, turners, embroiderers, potters, dyers, sculptors, painters, musicians, workers in words. Indeed, it was the class of lathe workers in small establishments lining the Grand Trunk Road from Lahore to Gujrat which was a major factor in

Modern low-cost housing is a feature of Islamabad, the new capital – a city growing to a single master plan.



At the Taxila Heavy Mechanical Complex (left) *engineers operate a pneumatic hammer.*

Natural gas is already in production, and oil – being drilled for (above), *at Pirkoh – just beginning.*

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the rapid industrialization of Pakistan – and the export of skills to the United Kingdom, the Gulf and other areas of the world. Their remittances to Pakistan in foreign exchange are a major source of foreign earnings.

As a nation they were born in battle and have withstood tremendous setbacks. Today they have a sense of their own indestructibility. Too much of their potential for advancement is absorbed by excessive population growth – still estimated at well over three per cent per annum, producing the economically menacing statistic of forty per cent of the population aged fifteen or less. Yet in this area also, the spread of education and more sophisticated expectations of life have begun to take their effect, and the rate of increase is slackening. The sophistication is an attribute to the modern Pakistani woman – exemplified, if not yet typified, by Begum Bhutto, the Prime Minister's wife, who has made her own distinctly feminine mark by inculcating socially more progressive attitudes.

This is the nation which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has projected amid the international community. Even the severest critics of today's Prime Minister must grant that his skill in international statesmanship is unrivalled on the Asian continent. From its nadir in 1972, when only a few powers remained steadfast friends and none indeed could forecast anything but long years of painful recovery for Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto brought Pakistan back on to the world stage as a power of consequence and stability. He has gone far towards normalizing relations with India and Afghanistan; he has restored cordiality with Bangladesh; he has achieved easier association with the USSR and has given Pakistan a new image and importance among the major Western powers. In the United Nations, Pakistan today sits in the Security Council – a seat won from India which in 1971 had all but ousted Pakistan from the international forums.

But above all he has turned the attention of his countrymen from their old wounds towards the Middle East. Here among its Islamic brethren Pakistan has emerged not as a large and indigent state but as a source of initiatives and skills. It was to Pakistan, under Bhutto's chairmanship and with King Faisal as a sponsor, that the leaders of the world's Muslim states came for the Islamic Summit at Lahore in 1974. It is to Pakistan that the newly rich states of the Gulf turn again and again for their technicians and specialists – from stenographers to surgeons. Today, Pakistan stands in favourable relations with most members of the Islamic community. The friendship of Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states has become a major factor not only diplomatically but in the financial contributions to, and investment in, Pakistan that have flowed from such close ties.

The ties are of course Islamic, and of mutual self-interest; but they are personal, too, leader to leader, and in the world of men this is a factor beyond computation. That same personal element was critical in restoring the confidence of the USA. With Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, secure friendship was similarly sealed. It is not utopian to envision Pakistan as a manufacturing centre for the Middle East, employing Pakistani labour, skills, and raw materials, Arab capital and Western or Japanese technology.

After three decades of mixed fortunes, Pakistan today might well surprise its Founder. Yet he would surely recognize in modern Pakistan the self-esteem, courage, energy and sense of purpose which he himself demanded of the nation he made.

The Role of Leadership

The present regime in Pakistan dates, in essentials, from December 1971. It was born in crisis: a crisis of the whole state which was shaken by internal dissension, civil war, foreign invasion, defeat and demoralization. The origins of that crisis, as of any such crisis, lie in the past, perhaps in the very structure of the state; for in that state two dissimilar and disconnected societies were held together by the bond of religion only, and ruled by a government rooted permanently in one of them. The crisis itself was violent, involving nothing less than the disintegration of the whole state and nation. The civil war, like any civil war, released fearful forces. The military invasion by India, and the conquest and detachment of East Pakistan by the invaders, inevitably spread demoralization in West Pakistan. For a moment, it seemed as if the whole state of Pakistan would founder in chaos after an existence of only twenty-four years.

In these circumstances, the government of Bhutto began with few friends. Seen from abroad, it was a government created by disaster. Inevitably it seemed a weak government; and its weakness was compounded by loss of territory: it ruled over a "rump Pakistan" which, it was confidently said, being cut off from the resources of Bengal, was economically incapable of survival. Those who uttered such criticism at the time now have to explain the remarkable success of a government which has lasted over five years, has gained continuously in stature and respect, and now appears not only one of the most stable but also one of the most liberal in Asia. While East Pakistan – now Bangladesh – has witnessed chaos, and India has seen a continuous diminution of constitutional liberty, the government of Pakistan has progressively restored the civil liberties which had previously been suspended. Indeed, it is the most clearly civilian rule that the country has enjoyed, at least since 1957.

The explanation lies partly in the style and personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto does not fit into any easy pre-fabricated category. To the uncritical devotees of tabloid liberalism in the West, he is a "reactionary" right-wing politician, the continuator, and therefore the supporter of the "militarist" policies of his predecessors. This is ludicrous. In fact he opposed those policies at the time, resigned in protest against them, and was, for a spell, in prison on that account. In Asian terms, he can be described as a socialist. Some of his enemies nearer home, to whom this is obvious, have gone to the other extreme and denounced him as an ambitious demagogue of the Left. His party, the Pakistan People's Party, which he founded and which gave him his original power base, was seen from the start as a party of dangerous radicalism. As ruler of Pakistan, he has used his authority to reduce the power of the great landlords, and a main element of his foreign policy has been alliance with communist China.

These are ideological positions. But Bhutto, who is a pragmatic statesman, must not be judged by doctrines. Even his alliance with China is essentially pragmatic. So long as the government of India is visibly dependent on Russia, an alliance with China is the natural resort of any patriotic statesman who hopes to preserve what is left of the unity of Pakistan. Congress India sits illegitimately in Kashmir; it has swallowed up Sikkim. No doubt it would welcome the opportunity to rule over a reunited subcontinent – as it had so confidently hoped to do until the great refusal, in 1947, of Jinnah, the founder

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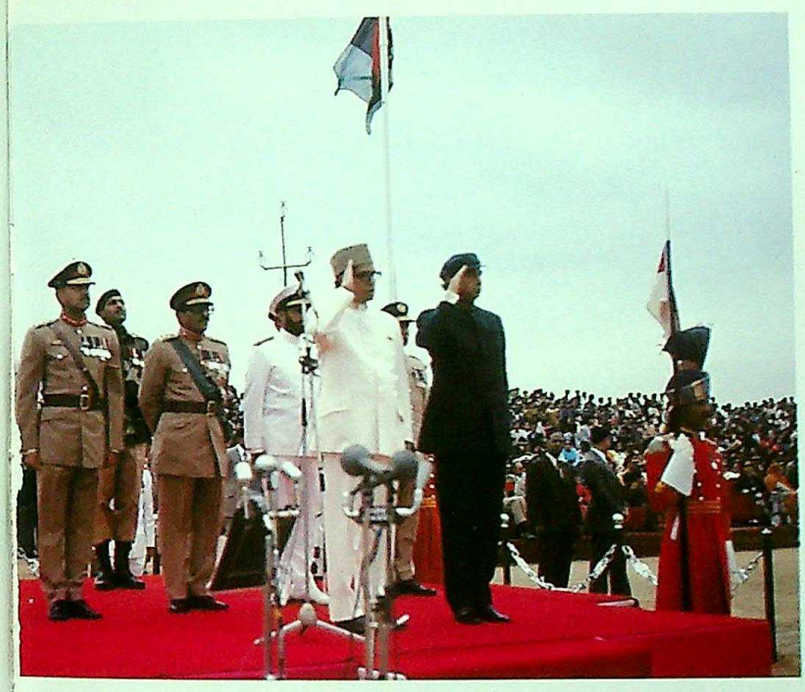
of Pakistan. Faced with such problems, Pakistan, unless supported by Asiatic alliances, could simply disappear.

Bhutto is a patriot for Pakistan; and it is this, rather than his particular political colour, which, in 1971, made him, as he has since remained, a national figure. Distant observers still saw him, at that critical moment, as an ambitious politician eager, at whatever price, to become ruler of West Pakistan. To those who know him, this is quite absurd. The great crisis of 1971 was not merely a rift between the eastern and western "wings" of Pakistan: it was the threat of total disruption even of West Pakistan. In the first crisis – the political crisis of March 1971 – Bhutto stood forth as the champion of the essential unity of the country. In the second crisis – the military disaster of December 1971 – he stood forth as the one man who could prevent the total disintegration even of West Pakistan. For this reason, old political opponents rallied to his support just as, in a similar hour of disaster, they had rallied, in Britain, to the support of Winston Churchill in 1940.

The crisis of 1971 enabled Bhutto to show his stature. Anyone who visited Pakistan in the first months of his rule as President must have been struck by the extraordinary – and, on human calculation, unpredictable – upsurge of national morale in a country which had suffered a catastrophic defeat. Again, it was reminiscent of Britain in 1940. But, once in power, Bhutto has used his national stature and moral authority for concrete purposes. Essentially a civilian, never happy under the military rule of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, he is also a man of great sophistication (and literacy) and can combine impassioned oratory with political patience, public *panache* with sound practical judgement. Sometimes the oratory, or the *panache*, alarms even his supporters – there have been some dismaying as well as some engaging gestures; but always it is the patience and the judiciousness which have prevailed, and it is they which have secured the solid successes of his rule: the *de facto* settlement with India and Bangladesh, the return of the imprisoned army in East Pakistan, the restoration of constitutional government and civilian rule, the concentration of internal effort on steady economic development.

These successes have won for Bhutto the admiration of the outside world which was once so critical of him. He has been described as "one of the two most accomplished political leaders in Asia, the other being Chou En-lai". With Chou's death, he remains alone in that category. But of course, except indirectly, those practical successes do not depend on him alone. Bhutto's sound judgement has also secured for him the support of many



President and Prime Minister, flanked by the Chiefs of Staff, take the National Day salute.

"Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (right) *uniquely equipped to meet the need of his country and his time".*

Photo: *Karsh of Ottawa.*

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able men whose education (like his own) has been in the West, in Britain or America. This should be some reassurance to those who still see him as an erratic "Easterner".

It should also reassure those who may misinterpret his action in taking Pakistan out of the British Commonwealth: an act which seemed impulsive at the time but which had a long-term rationality behind it. When the record of the years from 1965 to 1972 is studied, historians may well conclude that it was Sir Harold Wilson rather than Bhutto who forced that issue.

In any case, we must recognise that the crude dichotomy of East and West is now out of date. The Third World is no longer an intermediate, it is an independent system. The emergence of China, its' break with Russia, the defeat of America in Vietnam, have transformed the politics of Asia; and Bhutto, with his unequalled grasp of political realities, has shown that, in such a world, Pakistan is neither a mere tool nor a mere concept. Like Jinnah a generation earlier, he has shown that it is a real society, capable of independence, able to engage the loyalty of its members and command the respect of the world.

H.T-R.

Role of Leadership 2

Political leadership in its most elevated (or romantic) form is to be numbered among the noblest of human vocations, because it directly and immediately affects so many individual lives and the national destinies to which each one of them, in greater or lesser degree, must inevitably contribute. Nations are the sum of the individuals comprising them. As collective entities they require guidance and direction, just as families have need of advice in their own domestic affairs. Without good leadership there can be no real national progress or purpose, no advance; instead, the prospect, indeed the certainty, of national – and consequently individual – decline.

Pakistan is fortunate in possessing a leader of outstanding quality. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is now recognized throughout the world as a statesman of the very first rank, a true leader among international leaders. He is at once a man of intellect, of scholarship, and a romantic, an orator – a well-to-do reforming radical in the Whiggish mould, combining imaginative insight and practical ability with a somewhat modish style or manner. To many minds, this is the most agreeable of mixtures.

It is, of course, surprising – surprising in the sense that really important political leaders are few and far between. They are seldom found in any country, in any era. Pakistan has produced one of the very few with claims to such distinction. Mr Bhutto, in short, is a most unusual person, of quite exceptional character and accomplishment.

His physical presence, his appearance, is undoubtedly an asset. He looks what he is – a man of consequence, handsome, well turned out, compact, composed, collected, with an air of stability, soundness and authority and yet of originality as well, even of inspired idiosyncrasy. Again, it is an appealing combination. In my own estimation, he is a brilliant iconoclast, of broad, ecumenical political outlook, who will always do what he believes to be in his country's best interests irrespective of party doctrine. Several things follow from this, and not the least of them is courage, a bold independence of spirit, and contempt for mediocrity in the conduct of national affairs. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is engaged in the pursuit of excellence and is reluctant to accept anything less.

Politics, as Bismarck observed and Mr Bhutto well understands, is the art of the possible. He has been called upon to govern a nation brought into being by the extraordinary circumstances of the British withdrawal from the old India in 1947. He was then nineteen years of age. In one way or another, in small ways when he was young, in ever larger ways as he grew older, he has since been involved in his country's progress, until today he is its leader – a Prime Minister who has also been President and is everywhere acknowledged as the authentic voice of Pakistan, a worthy successor to its founder, the Quaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah, and the trustee and custodian of Jinnah's ideals and aspirations. It is a splendid inheritance; and at the same time a grave responsibility, challenge and opportunity.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto first became a minister (in Ayub Khan's administration) when he was only thirty, and in the ensuing eight years held a variety of portfolios – Commerce; Fuel, Power and Natural Resources; Kashmir; National Reconstruction and Information; Tourism; Minority Affairs; and finally Foreign Affairs, in which he made his wide reputation abroad. It was an abundant preparation for what was to follow after his dramatic resignation, on grounds of principle, from the Ayub Government in 1966, his formation of the Pakistan People's Party a year later, his movement against the ruling establishment in 1968, his subsequent imprisonment and his eventual call to office as President in 1971, at a moment of supreme trial for his nation.

Thus we can see that besides his own innate vision and insight Mr Bhutto has the advantage of experience in a variety of offices in the Government of Pakistan. No national leader could have served a better administrative apprenticeship.

By birth and temperament he is of the East: yet he knows and understands the West. He provides a bridge – a bridge of incalculable importance not only to Pakistan but to the wider world. Pakistan is a link with both worlds, East and West. Geographically in Central Asia, the country has many associations, and shares many sentiments with Europe and the West, while enjoying increasing influence and respect among the nations of the East.

Touching both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, as it does to the North, Pakistan is at once in intimate physical contact with two of the world's three super-powers. The implications are plain. The delicacy, immediately apparent and in no need of emphasis, is such as to demand high qualities of statesmanship and diplomacy. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto possesses them.

In short, Mr Bhutto seems uniquely equipped to meet the needs of his country and his time. Other strengths and characteristics apart, he has the inner will, the toughness and resilience of spirit, to match any conceivable challenge to Pakistan's integrity as a free, independent state of great promise. He is a natural leader of persuasive and commanding calibre, as we can see from his record through the years. He was sometimes dissenting, even rebellious, never compliant for the sake of false harmony or personal advantage. He was always ready to challenge the prevailing rule when he thought it wrong – and that, one hopes, is the standard by which he would wish to be judged in the supremacy that he now enjoys.

G.H.

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Insignia

The national flag emphasises Pakistan's profound commitment to Islam and the Islamic world.

The Flag

With the approach of national independence in mid-1947, among the first concerns of the leaders of Pakistan was for an expression of the new country's sovereignty. Jinnah's decision to be head of the new state was a vital assertion by him in the emergence of Pakistan as a permanent political entity which the Indian National Congress had begun describing as "nothing but a temporary secession of certain territories from India that would soon be reabsorbed". (*Emergence of Pakistan* by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali). The timing of this act was, therefore, of major psychological importance.

Among other symbols of sovereignty, the designing of the national flag was given high priority. The design was keenly debated and finalized in New Delhi. The crescent and star were adopted as the main motif, as they were in the forty-year-old flag of the Pakistan movement; but to the flag of Jinnah's Muslim League was added a white bar to "represent the minorities".

Lord Mountbatten, who, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali says, took an interest in designing the flag, suggested that the monogram be "tilted forty-five degrees to give the crescent a more realistic resemblance to the rising moon". This was accepted.

The first sample flag of this design was stitched by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan's tailor, Master Abdul Hakim, who later came to Karachi from Delhi with a caravan of Muslim refugees. On 12 November 1975, while Governor of Sind, she gave the tailor a testimonial for stitching the first flag of Pakistan.

The newly designed flag was formally presented to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947 by Liaquat Ali Khan. The Assembly approved the flag, which four days later was unfurled ceremoniously at dawn in Karachi and the four provincial capitals, as the military guns boomed out thirty-one gun salutes to the new state.

The Pakistani flag is dark green with a white vertical bar, a white crescent and a five-pointed heraldic star.

The green and white field represents peace and prosperity for all Pakistan's people; the crescent represents progress; and the five-rayed star represents light and knowledge.

The National Anthem

Composing a national anthem for Pakistan was not as simple an exercise as a musical arrangement for Radio Pakistan's *ad hoc* signature tune. In the first two years several arrangements were tried but nothing was finalized. Then came an occasion on which a national anthem was a must: in March 1950 the Shahanshah of Iran was to pay a state visit to the country – the first visit to Pakistan by a head of state. Protocol required that Pakistan's national anthem be played on the Iranian monarch's arrival in Karachi, but a national anthem was not yet ready.

Composing one became a high priority project and a Pakistani composer, Ahmad G. Chagla, was assigned the task. He was well-versed in the classical music of South Asia and had studied Western music at Trinity College, Cambridge, under Sir Henry Wood. Within two weeks, Chagla had composed a tune which was used as an interim national anthem when the Iranian state visit began. The anthem lasted one minute and twenty seconds. This was the tune formally adopted by the Pakistan Government in 1954; a delay of almost four years because the versification of appropriate words, which along with music would constitute the national anthem, took time. These verses were composed by Hafiz Jullundri.

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The stamps (top), *issued since 1947, highlight a wide range of sites and achievements of the country.*

Launched without a currency, Pakistan now prints its own (examples above) *and some other countries'.*

Blessed be thou sacred land,
Happy be thou beauteous realm,
Thou symbol of high resolve,
Land of Pakistan.
Blissful be thou citadel of faith.

Pak sar zamin shad bad
Kishwar i haseen shad bad
Tu nishan i azm i aali shan
Arz i Pakistan
Markaz i yaqeen shad bad.

The order of our sacred State,
The might of brotherhood of man,
May nation, country and State,
Shine in glory everlasting
The goal of ambition.

Pak sar zamin ka nizam
Quwwat akhuwwat i awam
Qaum, mulk, saltanat
Painda tabinda bad
Shad bad manzil i murad.

Our flag of Crescent and Star,
Guide to progress and achievement,
Am embodier of past, glory of
the present, soul of the future.
Shadow of God Omnipotent.

Parcham i sitara o hilal
Rahbar taraqqi o kamal
Tarjuman mazi shan hal
Jan i istiqbal
Saya i Khuda i Zuljalal.

Postage Stamps

Nowadays postage stamps feature a nation's history, its culture and scenic beauties, its flora and fauna. They are informal ambassadors of goodwill on every letter and package sent abroad, and are now increasingly being used to focus public attention on national events or international causes.

Pəkistan's efforts to bring out her first stamp on 14 August 1947 to mark her emergence as a sovereign independent state were not successful due to the short margin of time available. It was decided, therefore, to overprint Indian stamps with the word "Pakistan" and introduce them on Independence Day. Unfortunately the Government of India Press, Nasik, which had been entrusted with the work, could not complete it in time, and the first over-printed series consisting of nineteen stamps were not introduced until 1 October 1947. The first series of Pakistan's own postage stamps, consisting of four stamps devoted to the commemoration of Independence, were issued on 9 July 1948. Three of these depicted the building in which the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met, the entrance of Karachi Airport, and the gate of the famous Lahore Fort; the fourth stamp had the motif of the crescent and star with leaf pattern in the Saracenic style designed by the Pakistani artist, A. R. Chughtai. These were followed by the first regular series of Pakistani postage stamps – a set of twelve – issued on the first anniversary of Independence (14 August 1948).

A year after the death of Quaid-e-Azam, Mohamed Ali Jinnah (11 September 1948), a memorial set consisting of three stamps was issued to commemorate the first anniversary of his death. Since then a further five stamps have been issued in commemoration of Mr Jinnah. During 1976, the centenary year of his birth, the Post Office issued a set of four double stamps in eight values in honour of the founder, and a stamp in 23 carat gold powder is to be issued on the actual date of the centenary, 25 December 1976.

Up to 1976, twelve sets of definitive stamps were issued. Twenty-six sets of special stamps have also been brought out to focus attention on such subjects as sports, small industries, archaeological monuments and wild life. Among these was an important series connected with the campaign to save Mohenjodaro. In addition, 147 commemorative postage stamps have been issued on other occasions of national and international interest.

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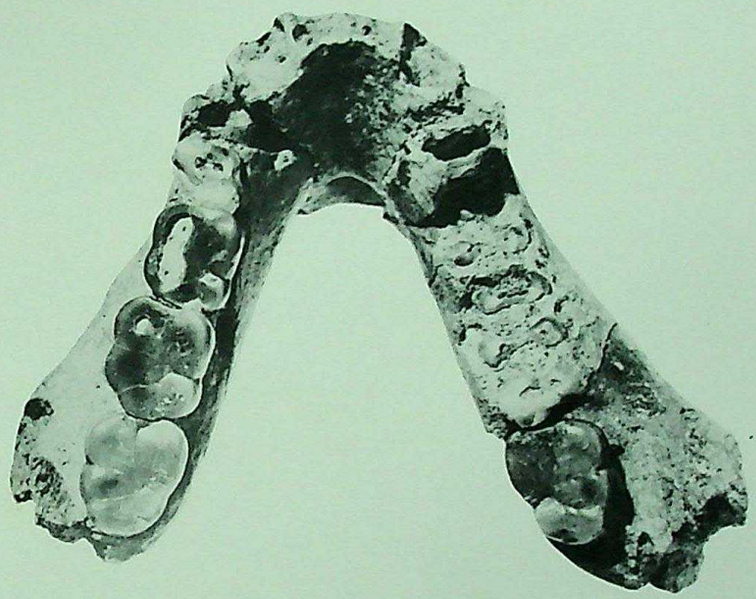
3 History



To the ancients the land that is today Pakistan was a continent that took its name from the great river sweeping southwards from the highest mountains in the world. Along its banks and among its tributaries there grew up civilization after civilization, luring successive waves of conquerors — until in our own century the land came into itself in free and modern statehood, Pakistan.

Man's ancestors of ten million years ago inhabited what is today Pakistan – as proved by the discovery of the jaw of Ramapithecus by a team led by Dr. David Pilbeam in 1976.

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The Indus Valley Civilizations

ABOUT the end of the first half of the third millennium BC, a city civilization was born in the Indus Valley. The transition from village life was so sudden that outside inspiration seems probable. We know that the merchants of Mesopotamia undertook sea voyages over the Persian Gulf to Bahrain and Oman, and they may well have penetrated the Indus Valley.

Indus seals, beads and other finds discovered at Tell Asmar, Ur and Kish in Sumer, and at Susa in south-western Iran prove that such contacts with the ancient East continued, probably through trade, between 2500 and 1700 BC.

This earliest civilization of the Indus valley was quite distinct, however, from that of Mesopotamia. The valley itself, a long, navigable river irrigating a vast belt of fertile land protected by sandy and desert regions, was favourable to the growth of intensive trade, and to the development of a common administrative and defence system.

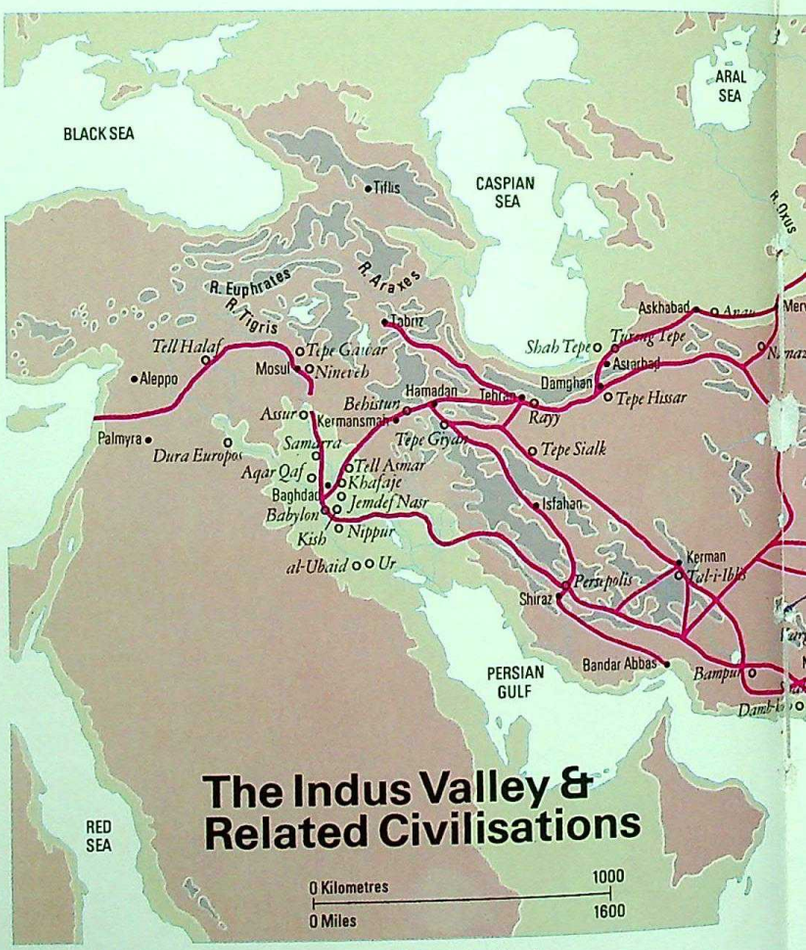
Over one hundred settlements have now been discovered, from Sutagen-Dor in Makran to Rupar, where the river Sutlej leaves the foot-hills of the Himalayas, and Lothal in Gujrat. Many seem to have been commercial and industrial centres. Some were distant trade outposts, others were frontier fortresses.

For evidence of the cultural relationship between the Indus civilization with other contemporary cultures and the civilizations of countries further west is a survey of the intervening hilly region of Baluchistan. Here are the remains of an Indus civilization proper at Dabarkot in the north, and at Kulli and allied sites in the south. They contain not only pottery – evidence of a connection with the Indus civilization – but also terracotta Mother Goddess figurines, humped bulls and bangles, terracotta toy carts, incised stone vases, perforated cylindrical vessels and copper mirrors.

Excavations at Nal in central Baluchistan revealed a cemetery with a large collection of fine polychrome pottery. Pieces from other sites have been classified both with the polychrome ware of Nal and with the black and red pottery characteristic of the Indus sites. Among the most conspicuously recurrent designs on this pottery are the horns of the wild goat or ibex. Such animals are found on Iranian pottery as well and, although the treatment is different, this has led scholars to connect Baluchistan with Iran.

The repertoire of the Baluchi and the Indus vase-painters included both representational and geometric patterns. As on the painted ware of Iran, they are executed on the shoulders and necks of the vessels. Several finds at Mohenjodaro have indicated the contemporaneity of the Indus civilization with certain phases of the Mesopotamian cities, but the volume of evidence from the Sumerian sites is much greater. Tell Asmar, Kish and Ur have yielded seals of the typical square shape with Indus script, and their discovery in strata indicates the approximate age of the Indus culture. A cylindrical seal found at Tell Asmar shows animals peculiar to the Indus region – namely, elephant, rhinoceros and crocodile – which were unknown in Sumer. Votive offerings discovered at Tell Agrab – among them a steatite vase depicting a Sumerian god seated before a temple in which a humped bull of the Indus type is standing before a sacred manger – indicate that the bull cult had travelled to Sumer from the Indus valley. A green steatite vase was unearthed from the lower levels of Mohenjodaro bearing the same intricate pattern as a double vase of steatite discovered at Susa in Iran. The fragment from Mohenjodaro is greenish-grey, the only such piece to have been discovered in the Indus valley, which means that it was almost certainly imported from the west.

From the Baluchi sites come a number of cylindrical stone vases with incised geometric patterns. Small square vases incised with triangles and chevrons also occur at Mohenjodaro. The decoration is similar to that on the stone vessels from the Bampur sites in south-east Iran. Mohenjodaro has also yielded vessels of a hard dark grey stone incised with a finely executed design which represents a hut. Similarly designed vessels are common



at Susa in Iran, in Sumer and at Mari in Syria.

Vessels of this type are indeed much more common in Iran and Mesopotamia than in the Indus valley. They probably originated in Sumer between about 2800 and 2500 BC and, during this period, may have been imported into Iran. A Mohenjodaro merchant on his return from Sumer or Iran perhaps carried a few complete vases, which were later broken and discarded.

Perforated pottery vessels are found in considerable numbers on the Baluchi and the Indus sites. The majority of these vessels are tall and cylindrical. Outside the Indus valley, this type most frequently occurs in Iranian sites. Many of the Iranian specimens are in the form of a footed chalice or a flat-bottomed bowl.

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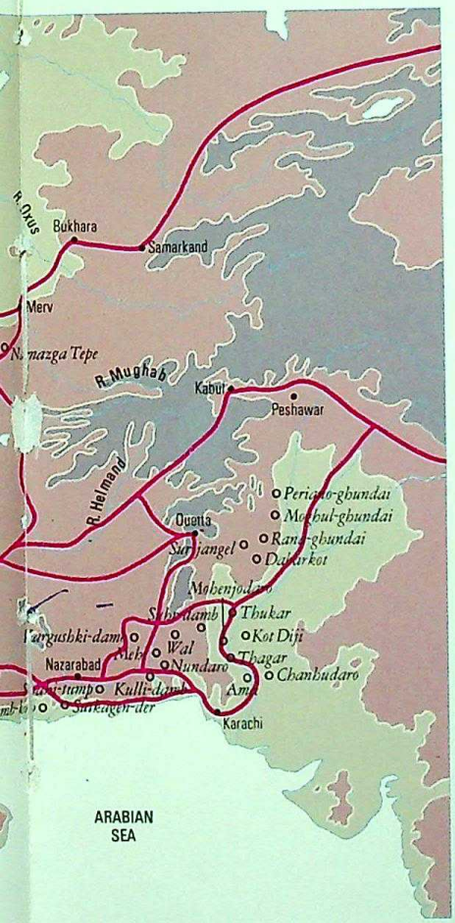
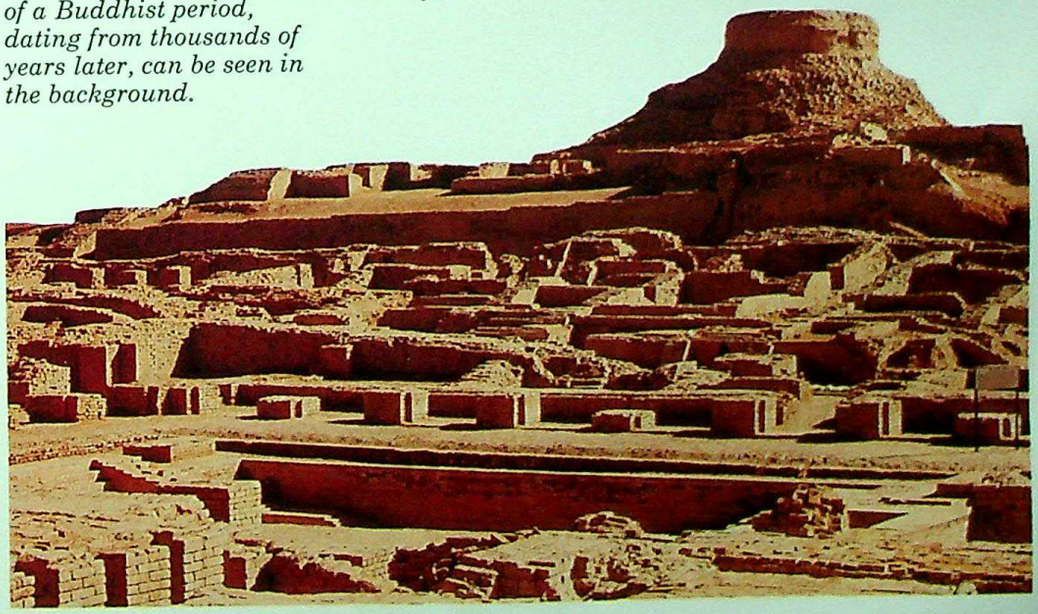
Etched cornelian beads occur fairly frequently in the principal sites of the Indus valley. In Mesopotamia, they are found at Tell Asmar, Kish and Ur. In Iran, such beads are common at Susa, Hissar and Shah Tepe. Their surface was whitened over by some process and then a design in black was etched by means of a metal salt. The favourite patterns include an "eye", a figure-of-eight motif and a very elaborate design consisting of nine compartments, one in the centre and eight around it. These beads are among the most important links between the cultures of the Indus valley, Iran and Mesopotamia. At Hissar, among other objects, bronze rods or pins, surmounted with animal figures, were unearthed from the burial places, along with small, narrow-mouthed vases of pottery and metal. With them, a cross-shaped rod representing a pair of animals was found in a pottery vase which contained black antimony powder. The antimony must have been used as black eye-paint, applied with the rod, in the still prevailing Eastern fashion. Similar antimony pots and rods have been discovered at many sites in Iran and the Indus valley.



Close resemblances between antiquities of southern Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley have indicated links between the two cultures. In the foreground of the citadel area of Mohenjodaro (below) *is the Great Bathing Vat, which may have been used for communal bathing. A* stupa *of a Buddhist period, dating from thousands of years later, can be seen in the background.*



Cast bronze pins with animal heads are distributed throughout the Indus sites, and are also widespread in Mesopotamia, Turkey, Iran and Russia. Other objects which these cultures had in common are gold fillets with perforations at the ends; bronze coiled bracelets and finger rings, double-headed animal protomes, bird whistles and zoomorphic vases.

On the Indus sites, bracelets and finger rings were made in bronze, faience, shell or pottery. The metal types generally consist of a single wire, but coiled specimens also occur. Such bracelets and rings are common at Hissar and Shah Tepe.

Double-headed animals provide another interesting link between the cultures of the Indus valley, Iran and Mesopotamia.

Present evidence clearly indicates that the Indus civilization was followed by a long period of cultural disintegration. At Harappa the last Indus phase was succeeded by a culture whose people built small and ill-ventilated brick dwellings and produced painted pottery. The little Indus town at Chanhudaro in the Nawabshah district incorporated two successive primitive cultures, known respectively as Jhukkar and Jhangar. There is a marked absence of material continuity between the great civilization and its low-grade successors.

An event of some importance which occurred in the Indus valley after the final passing of its great civilization was the arrival in the Punjab, after an interval of about 600 years, of the nomads known as Aryans. They had no taste for city life and left the major centres of the Indus civilization as empty ruins. In due course, however, less advanced communities settled on the Indus sites. Only in the coastal regions of the south did the old civilization blend with later cultures which, in the first millennium BC, merged eventually into recorded history.

F.A.K.

The civilization on site

The ancient civilization of the Indus valley came to take its place among the earliest centres of urban culture in the Old World with the recognition of the nature of the city-mounds of Harappa and Mohenjodaro in 1921-22. Since then, half a century's field work and research have advanced our knowledge of the geographical extent of the cities, towns and minor settlements of the culture, and amplified our knowledge of their nature and content. They have also clarified the relationships of the Indus area with outside cultures and established the date, within reasonable limits, of the mature phase.

It must be confessed, however, that many aspects of the civilization have obstinately resisted elucidation: its

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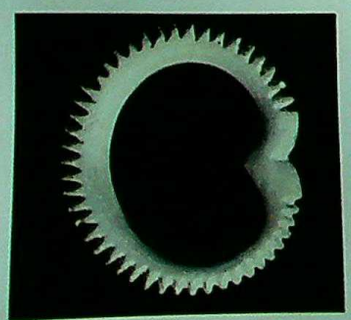
The small "dancing girl" of Mohenjodaro, with her slim figure, displays Dravidian features.

The dead were interred with pottery and jewellery. Skeletal remains reveal a Mediterranean strain.



Terracotta bangles (above). *found at Harappa, were the adornment of the majority of people. The rich would wear copper.*

origins and early development, the causes and nature of its end and the language and interpretation of its inscriptions are among the unsolved problems which render the study of the Indus civilization of perennial fascination to students of the ancient world. In this brief survey, therefore, ignorance must be admitted as well as the positive achievement of archaeology in recreating a forgotten kingdom of antiquity.

The well-known facts are that in the Indus civilization we have knowledge of an urban culture, occupying a huge area largely within the modern political boundaries of Pakistan, which can be reasonably estimated to have existed between 2500 and 1750 BC. It was centred on the river Indus, and at its maximum extent contained within what is very roughly an equilateral triangle with sides of about one thousand kilometres, one of which is formed by the coast of the Arabian Sea, with its apex on the river Sutlej hardly more than two hundred kilometres south of the Himalayan ridge.

Within this province two major cities some 560 kilometres apart had virtually identical material cultures throughout the duration of its civilization, as well as a number of smaller urban settlements and coastal trading posts. Their architecture was consistently of burnt brick, or of mud-brick faced with fired bricks; accomplished wheel-made and often painted pottery was mass-produced throughout the area; a competent metallurgy produced tools and vessels (though few weapons) in pure or alloyed copper; a vigorous naturalistic art was expressed in small-scale stone, clay and bronze sculpture or on engraved stone seals. These latter also bore incised inscriptions in a non-alphabetic script which to this day scholars have been unable to decipher. That organised authority existed is implicit not only in the uniformity of the arts and crafts of the province but in the stereotyped lay-out and planning of its major towns in a manner unknown elsewhere in western Asia. They had citadels embodying provision for communal corn storage and grain preparation; effectively installed wells and domestic and public drainage systems; so too was there a uniform and rigorously maintained system of weights and measures.

Despite the civic identity suggested by citadels, none of the palaces or temples unearthed can be identified, nor is there evidence of military power, nor of monumental art or inscriptions. This civilization was maintained on the surplus of effective cultivation of cereals and pulses, melon, sesame, dates and cotton, and the domestication of cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs and cats. The ass, horse and camel seem to have been sparsely employed. The Indus valley was singularly self-sufficient for all but a few imports, and while in touch with trade centres in Iran, the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia, these contacts seem minimal and indirect.

The economic background of any ancient civilization in the Old World was that of efficient agriculture. Town-dwelling populations are agriculturally non-productive and a food surplus was required to feed them while they engaged in other skills. In western Asia a mixed farming economy, based on the cereal crops of wheat and barley, and a livestock consisting of domestic sheep and goats, cattle and pigs, had evolved among originally hunting and gathering peoples by the seventh millennium BC. Upon this basis the urban civilizations of Mesopotamia,

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Elam and Iran developed from the fourth millennium BC. The Indus civilization as we know it developed from the middle of the third. There is, however, indirect evidence of cereal cultivation in Rajasthan in the eighth millennium and agricultural villages in the hills of Baluchistan from the beginning of the third, while at Mohenjodaro there are twelve metres of unexcavated settlement below the present ground surface and the nine metres of excavated building levels are of around 2,000 BC. There is no concrete evidence that the Indus civilization came to Pakistan from the west. It is more likely to be an ingenious development from a rural peasant background shared with prehistoric Afghanistan, Iran and Turkmenia.

The twin cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro share (with Kalibangan in Rajasthan and probably other, unexcavated sites) a town plan with a defended citadel to the west and a lower town laid out, at Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan, on a regular grid of streets between built-up blocks on a north-south, east-west plan. At Harappa, this area is unexcavated or destroyed. Harappa and Mohenjodaro have citadels covering an area four hundred by two hundred metres, and the latter, at least, may in its total plan have comprised twelve major blocks, forming an almost square rectangle one kilometre across. The architecture is of fired brick, with main streets some ten metres wide, and the building line was rigorously maintained over centuries of reconstruction. Within the blocks agglomerations of rooms and courts, apparently belonging to private houses, shops or inns show no great disparity in size or pretensions except for one group of what may be workmen's quarters, similar to another at Harappa.

Clearly, the citadels were the centres of civic authority however administered and of whatever nature. At both sites, artificial platforms six to seven metres high had been built (at Mohenjodaro on the ruins of earlier buildings). Harappa retains substantial remains, Mohenjodaro, traces of fortifying walls. At the latter a complex group of buildings crowned the citadel, difficult to interpret in detail, but including one which seems to be an assembly hall, and another a great bath with encircling rooms. Adjacent to this was the massive foundation of a granary with floor ducts to allow circulation of air, having an area of nearly 850 square metres. At Harappa no plans of buildings within the citadel survived, but in the lower town to the north were twelve smaller granaries with practically the same total area, workmen's quarters, and circular working platforms for grain pounding.

The implications are impressive: organization and control are everywhere apparent, not only within the city, but over the cereal production of the surrounding countryside. Quantities of grain involved may be very roughly estimated from military practice in the Roman provinces, where a granary area similar to one in an Indus city would have held some 2,300 cubic metres of grain, which would constitute the yearly ration of six thousand men. If no more than a reasoned guess, it conveys something of the magnitude of the operation. Although there are defensive walls, the metal equipment of the inhabitants is, by all western Asiatic standards of the time, curiously deficient in inventiveness and effective weaponry. No building displays the power or

This female figure was probably a totem.

This clay figurine may have been a household god.

The Mother Goddess cult was common to Mesopotamia, and to the river civilization of the Nile.

A similar Mother Goddess figure found at Harappa.

This terracotta dog, found at Harappa, could be a toy.

The pictographic scripts on the steatite seals found at Mohenjodaro have not yet been deciphered.

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magnificence of a despotic ruler or of the gods, and here again the contrast with the contemporary world of Akkad or Elam is apparent.

Such conscious planning and ordered economy as is implied by this archaeological evidence is not confined to the twin cities. Pottery and metal types are standardized throughout the settlements. Cubical stone weights are widespread, maintaining a remarkably consistent accuracy within a curiously individual system based on the ratio sixteen, binary in the lower and decimal in the higher ranges, with fractional weights in thirds. Linear measurement in a decimal system of "feet" and "cubits" is again constant.

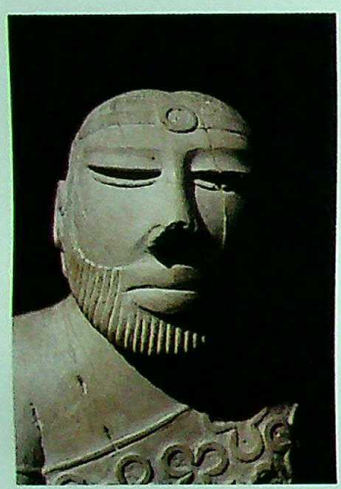
The formalized glyptic art of the engraved sealstones is uniform through the time and space of the Indus civilization, and with it goes the equally formal and unchanging script used on these seals, on tablets, pottery and as graffiti, but no monumental inscription is known. Consisting of about three hundred signs, the script cannot be alphabetical, and is never cursive, always consisting of formal, pictorial symbols. It can be shown to have been written from right to left, and no inscription contains more than about twenty characters and may consist of only one. Though a total of some two thousand inscriptions are known, none is bilingual with a parallel text in a known language which might aid decipherment in the manner of cuneiform or the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Many attempts have been made but none is convincing. The language is most unlikely to be Indo-European and suggested affinities with the Dravidian language group are possible but unproven.

As with the inscriptions, the visual arts represented by the seals, sculpture in stone, modelling in clay or casting in bronze are minor and intimate rather than of the monumental quality appropriate to temple or palace display. From their iconography inferences have been made on the religion of the civilization, but without texts they amount to little more than guesswork. It is possible, however, that there was a background of Hinduism. An overall impression of the culture is of traditions established, accepted and conserved unchangingly in every department of life. The most likely agents for the enforcement, transmission and maintenance of such a complex of traditions might be thought to be the type of self-perpetuating corporation provided by a priesthood, rather than any secular dynasty.

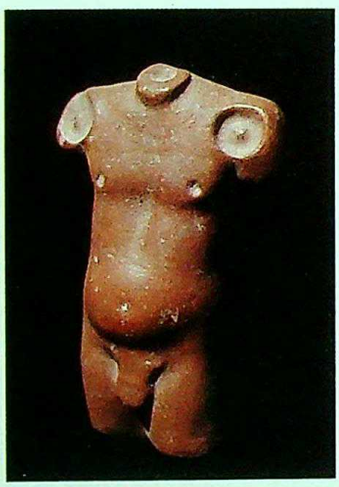
Transport by land and water is attested over the whole area by ubiquitous toy cart models in pottery and, very occasionally, copper, and by a few representations of boats with masts and sails. Land traction would have been by oxen, although the metal models and some of the animal figurines may indicate the occasional use of horses – but the general situation in western Asia would imply this latter sophistication to have developed late in the history of the Indus civilization. To a large extent the economy seems to have been relatively self-sufficient, drawing its supplies of raw materials from no very distant sources. It seems likely that copper came from deposits in the west of Pakistan or in Rajasthan. A little luxury trade is indicated by the minimal contacts with the lapis lazuli traded from Badakshan or the chlorite stone vessels originating from the region of Tepe Yahya, over one thousand kilometres away by any likely caravan route and so representing over two months' travel. Slight contacts may also be detected with Mesopotamia through commercial middlemen in the islands of the Persian Gulf, less than a fortnight's sailing from the Indus mouth, but the importance of the small coastal settlement of Lothal in Gujrat as a port has been overemphasized. Cotton has often been suggested as a possible staple export, and spices, as in later antiquity, might well be another.

If the origins and genesis of the Indus civilization are still obscure, they may be presumed to have had their economic foundations in an increased command of food production in common with other areas of the ancient world, for example Mesopotamia and China. What is less easy to view as a particular instance of a general phenomenon is its end.

At all the excavated sites there was a final period of decline in the civic standards that are so apparent in the heyday of the civilization. This is well documented at



The bearded steatite bust represents the king-priest of Mohenjodaro. He wears a loose robe on which the trefoil pattern is engraved in relief – a pattern common also to the Sumerian "Bull of Heaven".



The red sandstone torso, 3ft. 9ins. high, is a realistic portrayal of the middle-aged physique.

Most figurines from Harappa were female – suggesting prevailing "Mother Goddess" worship.

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Mohenjodaro with shoddy buildings or the squalid subdivision of earlier houses. Then comes an end with evidence of violence and killing at Mohenjodaro and the towns are deserted with at most, on some sites, sporadic reoccupations by peoples of alien traditions and a lower technological level.

Many explanations have been offered. There is the verdict of death by natural causes owing to flooding. There is exhaustion of the environment by over-cropping, over-grazing or by excessive deforestation to obtain fuel for firing the millions of bricks used in building. These and other interferences in the ecological balance may all be contributory. But the natural equilibrium established between man and landscape need not have been the only delicately poised factor in the Indus civilization.

Even more than its ancient contemporaries, this civilization presents itself as one of extraordinarily elaborate organization, inherently fragile in its very complexity. A less sophisticated, even more rough-and-ready social organization might have greater powers of resilience in the face of adversity, or might have had less danger of becoming effete from the long preservation of unchanging tradition. On the evidence, this is a necessarily subjective judgment, but it does accommodate the many forms – ecological pressures from without, social decay and governmental paralysis from within – which adversity might have taken.

There is in addition one other external factor to be considered – that of likely invasion and conquest by an alien people. At some date within the second millennium BC, the speakers of Sanskrit arrived in north-western India from the west, later commemorating their conquests in the religious verse which has survived in part as the *Rig-Veda*. It is difficult however, to establish whether decay and invasion were simultaneous because neither the end of the cities nor the advent of the Aryans can be precisely dated. What can be inferred suggests the former to have occurred early, and the latter late, in the second millennium. Up to date research indicates nevertheless that the invasion factor cannot be entirely disregarded, although it would be rash to use it alone. The onset of a Dark Age, that melancholy and recurrent episode in the history of civilizations, is never susceptible to simple explanation, and the end of the Indus civilization poses the problem in classic terms.

S.P.

The Kushan Era

The history of the territory which now constitutes Pakistan begins with the acquisition of the name, Sapta-Sindhu, "The Land of the Seven Rivers", which occurs in the *Rig-Veda* (c. 1500 BC), the religious hymns of the Aryans. After the decline and fall of the Indus Civilization, the Aryan tribes emerged, their nomadic hordes gradually becoming civilized. On the plateaux and terraced fields of the hill region, they preserved their heroic tribal pattern, but in the fertile river valleys the tribes fused into one rural way of life. The Aryan language, now remembered as Sanskrit, dominated. Life was organized on a local system with a long history. The Aryan conqueror was distinguished from the conquered, who was given the servile name of *dasa* or bond slave, and their relationship led to a discriminatory social system of caste distinction. The conquerors were *arya* or nobles, and they constituted the privileged castes. They claimed the riches of the land fed by the great river, known to them as Sindhu, now surviving in the name of Indus. This name later signified the whole Indus territory, now comprising Pakistan. The Persians, in their old inscriptions, modified it to *Hind*, and in the classical account of the west it was softened to *Ind*. This name appears in an account of Alexander's campaigns.

At the beginning of the first millennium BC, bronze technology was gradually superceded by that of iron. This change helped in the concentration of military power in the hands of the few, called *Rajan* or royalty, who, with the help of their collaborators, the *kahattriyas* or warrior caste, made a bid for territory. We read of the great kingdom of Gandhara with its twin capitals, Pushkalavati (modern Charsadda in the North-West Frontier Province) and Takshasila (Taxila, about twenty miles from Islamabad) and another kingdom, Sindhu – Sauvira (*Sauvira* meaning "the Land of the Heroes" and now surviving in Siraiki, a dialect of southern Punjab). In central Punjab, the Madra tribe, increasing in authority, founded the city of Madrapura, spelt Manda-hakur by Al-Biruni. This city was situated on the river Ravi, the ancient Iravati and its new name, Lahore, became popular in the mediaeval period. The Aryan tribes fought a great war, *mahabharat*, (Bharat being one of the tribes) in Kurukshetra in eastern Punjab – the gateway to the Ganges valley – and inaugurated an age of big kingdoms. The Gandhara ruler, Pukkusati, advanced eastwards in the sixth century BC.

Internationally, still greater changes were taking place. The Persian empire had forged ahead into Iran and with the improved technology of iron, Cyrus and his successor Darius built up a mighty empire, incorporating the kingdoms of the Indus Valley and redividing them into four *satrapis* – Gandhara, Makae (Makran, i.e. Baluchistan), Sattagudai (the Gomal Valley) and Hidus (i.e. the plains of Punjab and Sind). Under Darius, Scylax of Caryanda sailed down the Indus and explored the secrets of the valley. From one province of Hidus alone, the Persian realized an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold dust (equivalent to £1,290,000 in currency before World War II). Tribute bearers from this province, leading bullocks and carrying on their shoulders poles slung with loads, are depicted on the palace walls at Persepolis.

This extension of the Persian empire's eastern dominions brought the Indus valley within the orbit of the ancient civilizations of the Orient. The imperial road ran from Persepolis to Taxila and this provincial capital reaped the fruits of Oriental learning. Princes, scholars and commoners came to the University of Taxila for higher education. A new system of alphabetic writing, called Kharoshthi, written from right to left, was evolved at this time. The syntax of Sanskrit was perfected by that greatest of grammarians, Panini, who might have taught at Taxila. The local currency was linked with the new system of Persian coinage of Daric weight related to *karsha:* hence the coin named *karshapana*. Above all, the Persian administrative system secured peace and prosperity. It also made a deep impression on the minds

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of political thinkers such as Kautilya (also known as Chanakya), who educated Chandragupta, the future Mauryan Emperor, in his seminary at Taxila. Kautilya's book, *Arthasastra,* reveals the considerable influence of the Achaemenian system on him.

In the great army that Xerxes led against Greece, there was a contingent of soldiers from the territory that was to become Pakistan. Herodotus relates: "Hidus wore cotton dresses, and carried bows of cane, and arrows of cane with iron tips. Such was the equipment of the Hidus, and they marched under the command of Kharnazathres, the son of Artabates . . . the Paktuans wore cloaks of skin, and carried the bow of their country and the dagger. Their commander was Artyntes, the son of Ithamatres. The Utians, the Mukai (Makae, i.e. Makranis) and the Paricanians were equipped like the Paktuans. They had for leaders Arsamenes, the son of Darius, who commanded the Utians and the Mukai. They were equipped as footmen, but some were on horseback and some in chariots – the chariots drawn either by horses, or by wild asses."

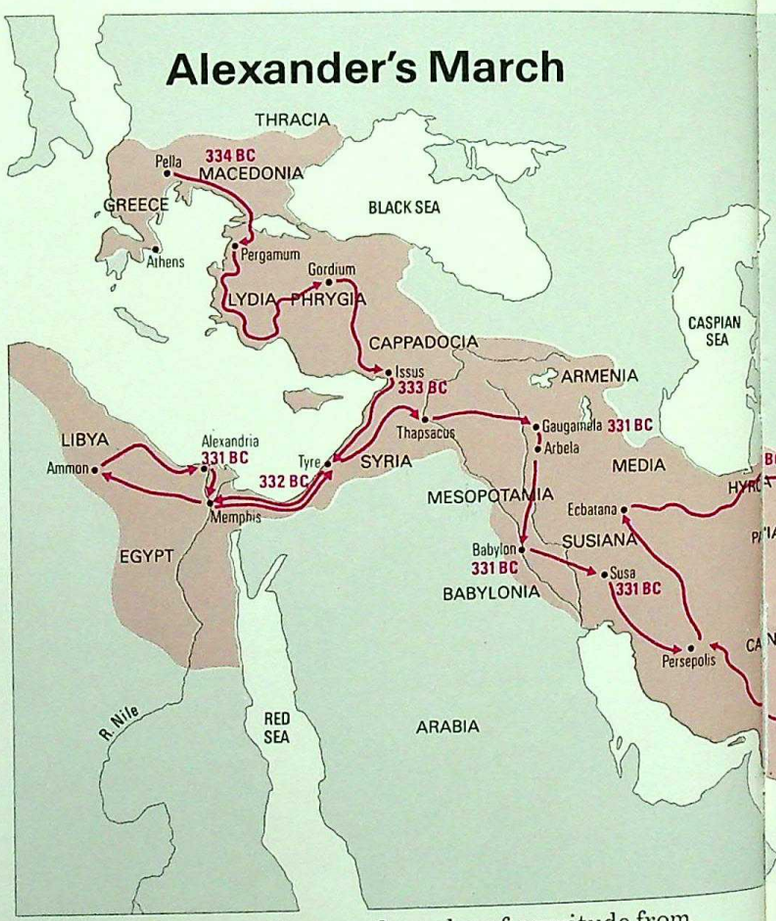
Even in the battle at Arbela, Darius III was able to summon troops from his eastern territories to resist the Greek invasion of Alexander. Arian testifies that: "The Hidus were allied to the Bactrians who in turn were allied to the Sogdians who had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command of Bessus, the viceroy of the land of Bactria . . . There were a few elephants, about fifteen in number, belonging to the Hidus who live this side of the Indus." The alliance of the Indus peoples prompted Alexander to advance further east and crush them in their own homes.

Actually, the defeat of Darius in 331 BC created a political vacuum in the Indus region and led to conflicts among the local chiefs. Among them, Astes was supreme in the land of Pushkalavati, and Porus dominated the Jhelum and the Chenab and more. His power aroused the jealousy of Ambhi, ruler of Taxila, who allied himself with Sanjaya, the brother and opponent of Astes. They sought Alexander's help to achieve their ends. Alexander advanced further to subjugate the remainder of the Persian empire and to satisfy his pride, his advance nevertheless being resisted by every tribe that he met on the way.

In 327 BC, Alexander regrouped his forces under the shadow of the Hindu Kush in his newly-founded city of Alexandria and chose the northern route to enter the subcontinent. He divided his army into two parts, the first being led by himself through the territories which are now Nawagai, Bajaur, Dir and Swat, the second by two of his officers directly to Pushkalavati, which was captured after a siege of thirty days. Alexander himself fought many battles, but the biggest was at Massaga, not far from Chakdara in Dir, against Assakenians who resisted with 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry and thirty elephants. Alexander himself was wounded, but he captured the city. Later he occupied Ora (Udigram) in Bazira (Barikot) in Swat and marched over the hills to the Indus which he crossed near Hund. At Taxila, Ambhi welcomed the invader. The fiercest battle was fought against Porus, on the banks of the Jhelum. The bravery of Porus so impressed Alexander, that he appointed him governor of the area from the Jhelum to the last point of his advance on the Beas.

From here Alexander started his journey home but was unable to return along the same route. Instead, he sailed down the Indus encountering other fierce tribes. The most severe resistance was put up by a confederacy of Oxydrakai and Mallois (Malavas) who lived at Multan. Alexander was again wounded and when the rumour of his death spread, 3,000 Greek colonists, settled by him in Punjab, left for home. After recovering, Alexander advanced to the mouth of the Indus, sent part of his army home by sea and himself returned through the desert of Baluchistan, hearing on the way of the murder of Philip, the *satrap* of the territory west of the Indus. Leading a sick and starving army, the exhausted Alexander at last reached Babylon to die in 323 BC.

Justin wrote of the end of this great campaign that the people of the Indus territory, "after the death of Alexander, had shaken as it were the yoke of servitude from their necks and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandracottus (Chandragupta). This man was of humble origin but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for, having offended Alexander by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot and, while he was lying asleep after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him, licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity, he drew together a band of robbers and instigated the Hidus to overthrow Greek authority . . . Sandracottus, having thus acquired a



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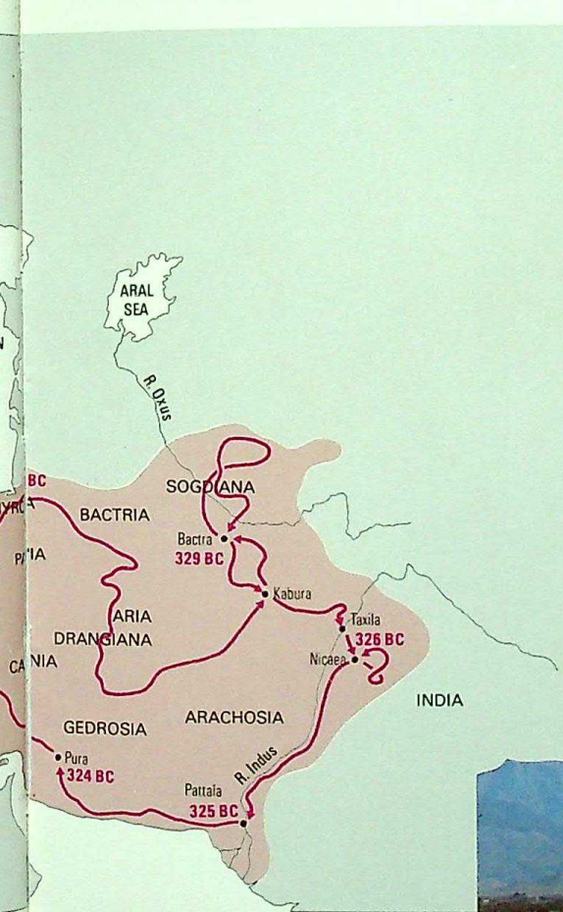
throne, was in possession of India when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

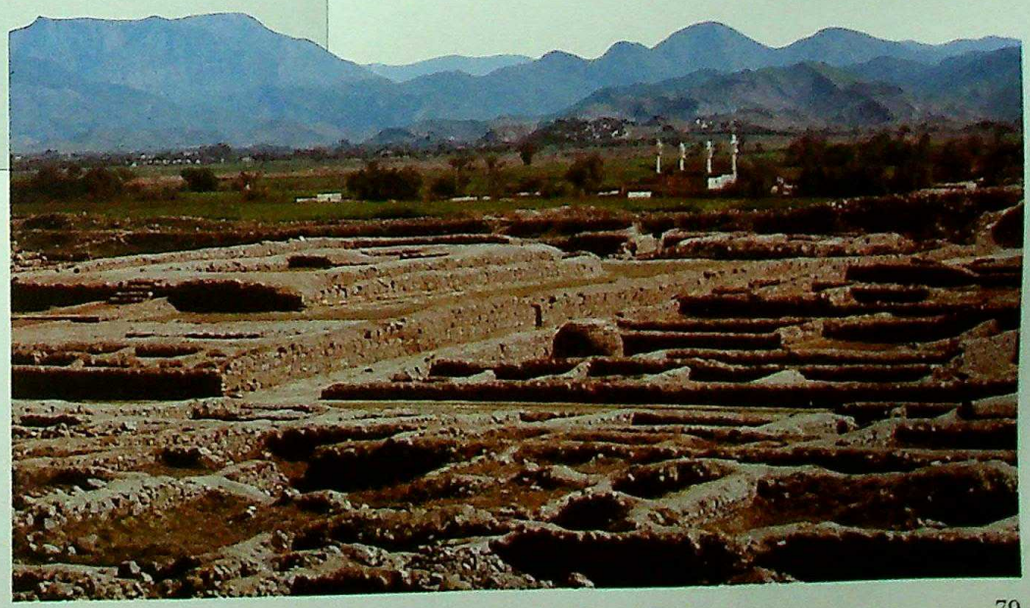
Taught at the University of Taxila by Kautilya, Chandragupta laid the foundation of the Mauryan empire in the Indus Valley. Later, by recruiting local forces, he defeated the Nandas, occupied the Ganges valley and pushed into the south down to Mysore in southern India, forming the first subcontinental empire. In 306-305 BC, when he successfully resisted the invasion of Seleukos, his empire extended westward up to Herat and the Hindu Kush. He married into the family of Seleukos and received Megasthenes as the Greek ambassador at his new capital Pataliputra (modern Patna). His grandson Asoka, who as a prince came twice to Taxila, rounded off the conquests by annexing Kalinga on the eastern coast of the subcontinent. These conquests entailed much human suffering which eventually caused Asoka to become remorseful and repentant. He began to preach *dharma* (morality) and sought salvation in Buddhism.

Following the example of Darius, Asoka recorded his laws in monumental inscriptions on rock throughout his empire and had engraved on pillars his sermons of peace. At Shahbaz Garhi near Mardan and at Mansehra near Abbottabad, the inscriptions proclaim the moral lessons in Kharoshthi. His practical efforts for humanity were on a similar scale: "everywhere has Priyadardin (Asoka), beloved of the gods, established medical treatment of two kinds: medical treatment for men and medical treatment for animals. Wherever medical herbs, wholesome for men and wholesome for animals, are not found, they have everywhere been caused to be imported and planted. Roots and fruits, wherever they are not found, have been caused to be imported and planted. On the roads wells have been caused to be dug and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast."

The enduring achievement of Asoka was the spread of Buddhism and his name is associated with many Buddhist monasteries in Pakistan. But while his message of the faith lingered on, his empire could not survive his death in 231 BC. Political changes in Central Asia influenced the course of history. The Greeks who had been settled

The influence of Greek civilization in the region of the Indus, as borne by Alexander and his army, was significant. Certainly the movement of ideas, East to West, as well as West to East, was taking place irrespective of conquest. Some Greeks settled in the land that is now Pakistan and present-day people in the Northern Areas bear traces of this ancestry.





Taxila was the site of a great centre of Buddhist learning which produced a unique combination of Hellenistic and Oriental religious art. Excavations have revealed the remains of three ancient settlements. Once a province of the Achaemenian Empire, Alexander conquered Taxila in 327 BC (see map above), later ruled by the Mauryan Dynasty, reaching its zenith under Asoka.

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by Alexander in Bactria made a bid for independence, carving out a Central Asian Greek kingdom which incorporated the Indus Valley. The expedition itself was led by Demetrius, while Menander integrated the conquered territories into a well-knit dominion. Antialkidas held his court at Taxila. These Greeks inaugurated a new system of coinage, introduced Hellenistic city planning, popularized the Greek language and created a taste for Western classical art. Menander took a personal interest in Buddhism, which under the new rulers, made considerable headway.

In the first century BC, the Greeks were invaded by Scythians who penetrated right down to the mouth of the Indus. The Indus delta was for long after their conquest known as Scythia. They pushed as far as Gujarat and ruled there for four centuries. Their kings bore the title of *svami*, which survives in the Sindhi word *sain*. In the meanwhile, the Parthians advanced into the northern region. Their famous king Gondophares held his court in Taxila in the first century AD, when tradition speaks of the visit of the Christian missionary, St. Thomas. All these changes culminated in the fruition of the Central Asian empire built by the Kushans who finally established their capital in Purushapura (modern Peshawar) in the late first century AD.

The Kushan empire extended from the Caspian to the Bay of Bengal and from Ural to the Arabian Sea. Originally from the Chinese border, the Kushans imbibed the spirit of the old Persian empire and revived the glory of a mighty power. Their empire on the Indus lasted for generations and their imperial title *Shao-nano-Shao* has survived in the *Shahanshah* of our time. The rule of the Shahis became proverbial and their fame is recorded in early Muslim chronicles. Their second emperor Kujul Kadphises started the Kushan gold mint and established peace and order to enable the flow of regular trade along the historic Silk Route to China. The third ruler, Kanishka, was famous as a conqueror, patron of the arts, lover of religion and benefactor of learning. He is said to have convened the fourth Buddhist council probably at Peshawar, and built there the famous Kanishka-Vihava which became a Buddhist pilgrimage centre for at least seven centuries. Buddhist monasteries were built all over the Indus region, their monks carrying the message of the Buddha into Central Asia and China. Under the Kushans, Gandhara became the second home of Buddhism.

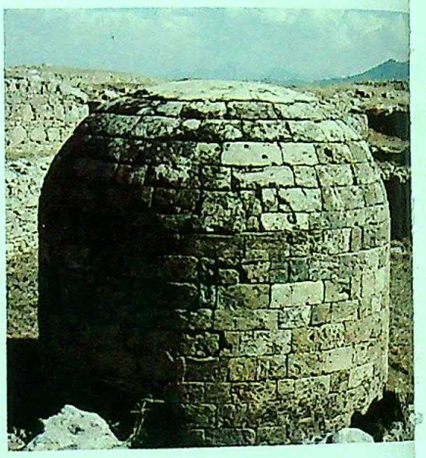
The prosperity resulting from the Kushans' encouragement of international trade and commerce led to unprecedented urbanization. Trade routes were opened up from the Roman world to the Chinese empire. The Bagram treasure unearthed in Afghanistan gives a glimpse of the luxury of the royal courts. This affluence also helped in the creation and support of the world famous Gandhara art.

Themselves far from sophisticated, the Kushans inherited the artistic tradition of the Asian Greeks and with their international contacts it reached great heights. It was on the coinage of Kanishka that the figure of Buddha is known to be represented for the first time. Since this inception, Gandhara art has been full of Buddhist legends and the life of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. At the same time, the art still expresses a complete cross-section of the life of the time. The period of the Kushans is the Golden Age in the history of the subcontinent when the Indus empire was at its most civilized peak.

The peaceful reign of the Kushans, however, could not survive the new political challenges posed by political developments in Central Asia. First the great power of the Iranian Sassanians eroded its prosperity, and later the invasion of the Huns destroyed the empire. A new system of political hegemony took root in the sixth century AD, when petty chiefs developed a type of feudal economic order. This culminated in the dismemberment of the country and the rise of new monarchies mostly under Brahmin domination. Buddhism lost ground to Hinduism. It was then that the Brahmin Chach dynasty came to power in Sind and Hindu rulers held sway in the northern region.

A.H.D.

Opposite. *The Fasting Siddhartha is now in Lahore Museum – a superb example of fourth century Gandhara work. The Buddha* (above) *was found near Sirkhap. The stupa* (centre), *became an object of worship.*



Far right. *This statue of a lion, remarkably resembling the lions of Delos in the Aegean, was found in Swat. It was carved by a nomadic Ionian tribe, the Awans, who later settled in Northern Punjab.*

Gandhara Culture

We know from inscriptions that the Emperor Asoka of the Maurya dynasty (273-236 BC) who ruled over most of the subcontinent, strongly supported Buddhism, which had already spread far and wide during preceding centuries. It now became the dominant element in the cultural life of the area of present-day Pakistan, both in the north and in the south. In fact, pilgrims from abroad considered Gandhara – the ancient name of the North-West Frontier Province – to be the second home of Buddhism after Bihar, where the Buddha was born and spent most of his life.

Hardly any art objects dating from before the beginning of the Christian era have come down to us. True, we have a large number of small terracotta figures, most of

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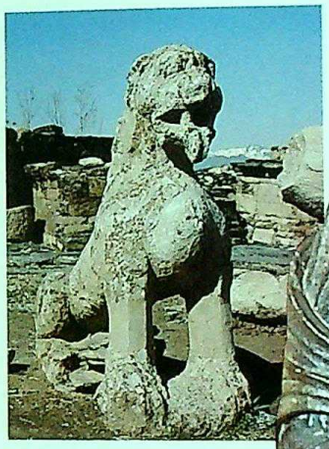

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them representing the age-old autochthonic Mother Goddess or Goddess of the Earth, who remained popular at village level in spite of the introduction of Buddhism. However, these figurines are generally very difficult to date, and are usually so crude that they should rather be classified as folk art. A few small images in stone depicting this Mother Goddess have survived and are truly works of art. They were probably made for patrons wealthier than the average villager, who could afford only the cheaper, fired-clay figurines.

After the introduction of Buddhism, monasteries sprang up all over the country. In the north-west, where stone was easily available as building material, many remains of monastic establishments have been discovered. Those at Taxila were so famous that the city became a great centre of learning. In the plains of Punjab and Sind – areas without stone quarries – fired or sun-dried bricks were the standard material. Since this medium is not very durable, practically all the monasteries in the greater part of Pakistan have disappeared, and can only be rediscovered by excavation.

The principal object of worship in these religious centres was a stupa or burial mound containing a relic – if possible of the Buddha himself or of one of his disciples, but usually of some less important person. A few of the largest stupas have a core which goes back to Mauryan times. The Dharmarajika stupa at Taxila was almost certainly built by Asoka and contained a relic of the Buddha. It was a pious custom to enlarge these relic mounds continually, so the core is sometimes old, although their outer appearance suggests a date many centuries later. Apart from such brick stupas, many smaller ones have been discovered, sometimes in the remains of a chapel. The relic caskets enshrined in these monuments often have the shape of a miniature stupa in stone or metal, but many are simple round pots of stone, carefully turned on a lathe. Occasionally they were more elaborate – like, for example, the famous casket of Kanishka, excavated from the remains of the great stupa near Peshawar, which was erected by a well-known Scythian ruler of that name in the late first century AD.

From Achaemenian times onward there have been contacts between the subcontinent and countries further west, but in the last few centuries BC these relations increased tremendously, because of the Bactrian kingdom founded in Afghanistan by the successors of Alexander the Great, who later extended their influence into northern Pakistan. The Parthian and Scythian rulers who succeeded the Bactrian kings on this side of the border inherited their love and admiration for Hellenistic culture, as can be seen from the many excavated objects which were originally imported from the Eastern Mediterranean, and in the course of time were imitated by local artists.

As Buddhism was the backbone of life in the north-west, the art of Gandhara was basically indigenous in character, though its style soon became strongly influenced by Hellenism. However, in its initial stage, the indigenous elements were still very clear, as they are, for instance, in an early relief depicting the Buddha's descent from heaven, in which – true to tradition – the Master was not represented in human form but was merely indicated by the symbol of his footprints and other circumstantial evidence. In the first century AD, this convention of using substitutive symbols was abolished and, in later reliefs showing the same event, the Buddha appears in human form, between Brahma and Indra, on the triple ladder leading down from heaven.

Although it is often claimed that Gandhara invented the Buddha image, this is not quite true. A number of very early sculptures prove that Gandharan artists began by representing the Master in almost exactly the same way as their contemporaries belonging to the school of Mathura in the Gangetic plains. However, Hellenistic influences soon made themselves felt more strongly in both architecture and sculpture, as a result of which the originally indigenous conception of the Buddha image received a stylistically new form.

In architecture the typical indigenous curved gable

was soon joined by the classical triangular pediment, and though the indigenous round pilaster, crowned by a bell-shaped capital, remained in use, the flat Hellenic pilaster with a Corinthian capital became far more popular. Western motifs such as atlantes, tritons and putti carrying garlands became common decorative elements, used over and over again, while the Hellenistic influence in architectural panels became more pronounced.

In sculpture, the Western ways of representing facial expressions and the characteristic treatment of drapery were especially admired and imitated. In the early nineteenth century, these Hellenistic elements in the art of Gandhara attracted the attention of Western scholars. Indeed, until the beginning of the present century, the school of Gandhara received greater acclaim from art-historians than any other style in the subcontinent.

From the early second century AD onwards, the north-western workshops turned out sculptures by the hundreds – good, bad and indifferent. The best examples are truly beautiful. Some of the Buddhas convey an unsurpassed serene spirituality. Among the finest images are the representatives of the so-called Bodhisattvas,

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saviours of mankind, who have renounced nirvana in order to be able to reincarnate and help their fellow men on the difficult path to salvation. Although many images represent Maitreya, the future Buddha, the most popular Bodhisattva was undoubtedly Avalokitesvara, Lord of Mercy, who is usually depicted with a lotus in his left hand.

The normal medium was schist, which is difficult to work as it has a tendency to split. Many sculptures, especially those decorating walls, were, however, executed in stucco which is easier to model. Occasionally laymen had themselves represented as worshippers, and thus we can recognise the pious Scythians, in pointed caps and trousers or long-sleeved dress, who commissioned most of this work.

Whereas the many images of Buddhas and of Bodhisattvas were meant for worship, the purpose of the countless narrative reliefs was edification and decoration of religious monuments. Often the scenes represent an event in one of the Buddha's previous incarnations. These so-called *jataka* stories were immensely popular in the earlier schools of art, because in these reliefs the troublesome convention of substituting symbols could be avoided. However, the artists of Gandhara, who were no longer hampered by this restriction, preferred to represent events from the Buddha's last life; so the overwhelming majority of the reliefs show incidents in the life of Prince Siddhartha and his later career as Gautama, the Buddha.

The innumerable finds at Taxila, and at neighbouring sites, demonstrate the richness of the Gandharan civilization: (far left) *a plaster cast of a miniature stupa,* (centre left) *a copper mirror,* (above left) *an abundance of jewellery (displayed on a wax-work model),* (below left) *an oil lamp and* (right) *a representation of Bodhisattva (or Buddha before he achieved full enlightenment), known as the Bodhisattva Maitreya, from Mohra Moradu monastery. This unique figure wears two contemporary Kushan garments.* Below right. *A stucco head of the Buddha.*

Of course, the various occasions on which Brahma and Indra, two of the most important gods of Hinduism, were said to have paid homage to the Master are often depicted. Lesser deities, belonging to the realm of folk religion, were eventually incorporated into Buddhism owing to their popularity among the villagers. Thus the *yaksis,* or tree spirits, and *Hariti,* originally a goddess of smallpox but later a protectress of children, found their way into the Buddhist art of Gandhara.

Towards the middle of the fifth century, the flourishing

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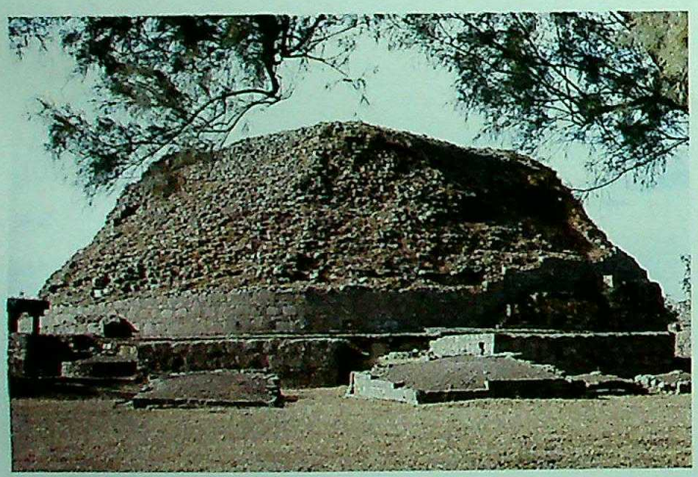
Intricacy of stone building is demonstrated by a monastery wall (right) *at Mohra Moradu.* Immediately below, *a monastery at Sirkhap, the city built by the Bactrian Greeks, shows niches divided by trefoil arches and Corinthian pilasters. Each niche contained a figure of Buddha.* Further below. *The remarkable Dharmarajika stupa may have been built by Asoka to house a relic of the Buddha.*



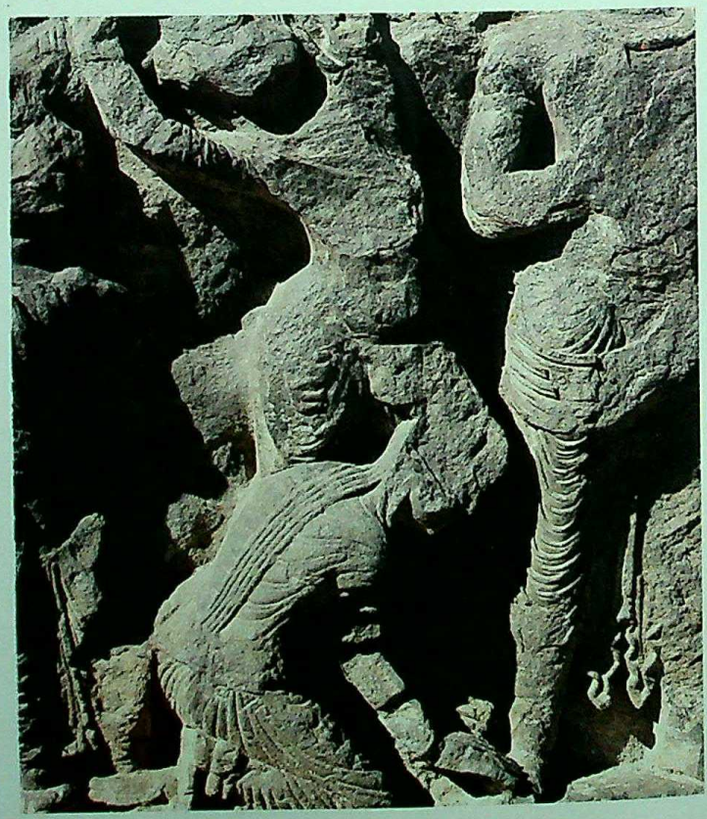
Buddhist culture of the north-west was destroyed by the invasion of the Hephthalites or White Huns, as a result of which the monasteries were burnt and cultural life came to a complete stand-still.

Whereas the architecture and sculpture of the hilly north-west until this period of disaster are fairly well documented, we know far less about the plains of Punjab and Sind. There is no doubt, however, that here too Buddhism was the prevailing religion, for the remains of several stupas, occasionally decorated with beautiful stucco sculptures and dating from the late sixth or seventh century, have been discovered in both Upper and Lower Sind.

From the early fourth until the late sixth century, the north of the subcontinent was ruled by the powerful Gupta dynasty who for a long time withstood the assaults of the White Huns, though they finally capitulated the north-west. During the Gupta period, Hinduism gained in importance, which also had an effect on Punjab and Sind. In 1890 Sir Aurel Stein discovered the remains of a Gupta temple at Murti in the Salt Range. In Sind, the Hindu sculptures excavated in the lower layers of Bhambore, the ancient city of Daibul, and the marvellous brass image of Brahma found near Mirpur Khas and now a prized possession of the National Museum in Karachi, confirm the emergence of Hinduism. The artistic products of this period display the refined and elegant simplicity which is typical of the Gupta and post-Gupta style.

After the conquest of Sind by Islam, both Buddhism

Swat, the ancient Buddhist land of Udyana, is rich in sculptural relics, like these slabs carved in green schist depicting scenes drawn from the life of the Buddha (below and below left), *excavated at Butkara.*



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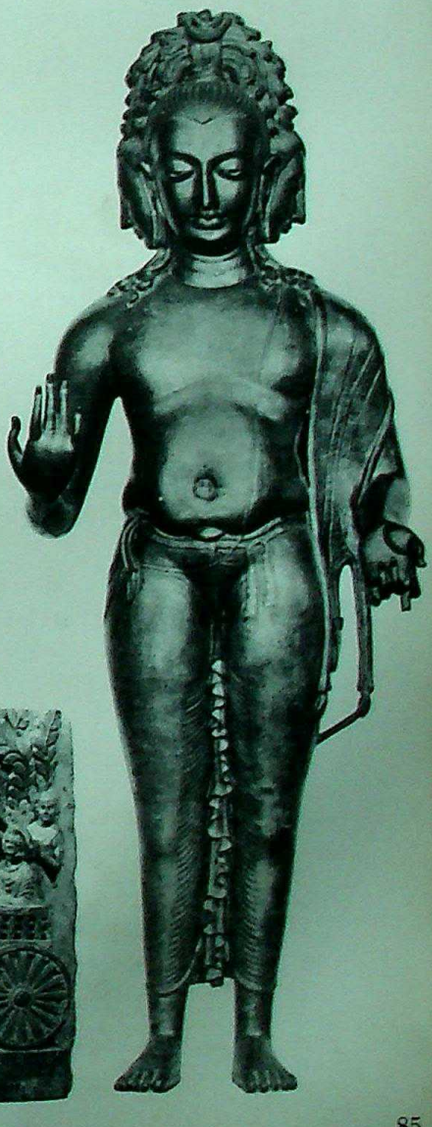
and Hinduism continued to flourish, thanks to the liberal attitude of the Arab governors. This peaceful co-existence with Islam lasted well into the tenth century. Some of the Buddhist votive tablets excavated in Sind date from the eleventh century.

When the White Huns overran the north-west, Buddhism took refuge in the mountainous regions. Its continued existence in the secluded valley of Swat can be seen from archaeological remains, especially bronzes discovered there. After the sixth century, when cultural life slowly recovered from the devastations of the White Huns, Hinduism became the most important religion in Punjab. A number of fine sculptures in white marble, or chocolate-brown potstone, as well as the remains of several temples in the Kunar valley and at Kafir Kot, date from the early mediaeval period (seventh to late tenth century) and show the dominance of Hinduism.

Gradually the influence of Islam increased in both north and south. After the tenth century the artists – who had served Buddhism and then Hinduism so well – placed their abilities at the disposal of Islam in the subcontinent.

J.E.L.L.

In their shrines (stupas) and sculpture the Buddhists expressed delight in divine handiwork.



The pieces on this page typify Gandhara sculpture. The well-rounded Mother Goddess (left) *of mica schist dates from the first century* BC. Below. *A Scythian worshipper, from the second century* AD *was found at Swat. The architectural fragment* (above right) *dates from a little later.* Immediately below. *A Buddha is depicted descending from heaven.* Bottom. *Siddhartha is shown going to school. The latest piece is Brahma* (right) *cast in brass and found in Sind.*

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The Muslim Advent

Exactly who were the first Muslims to set foot in the subcontinent is obscure, but it seems not improbable that Muslim traders from the coastlands of Arabia and the Persian Gulf touched at ports along the western coast of the peninsular and in Ceylon very soon after the rise of the new faith in the early seventh century AD.

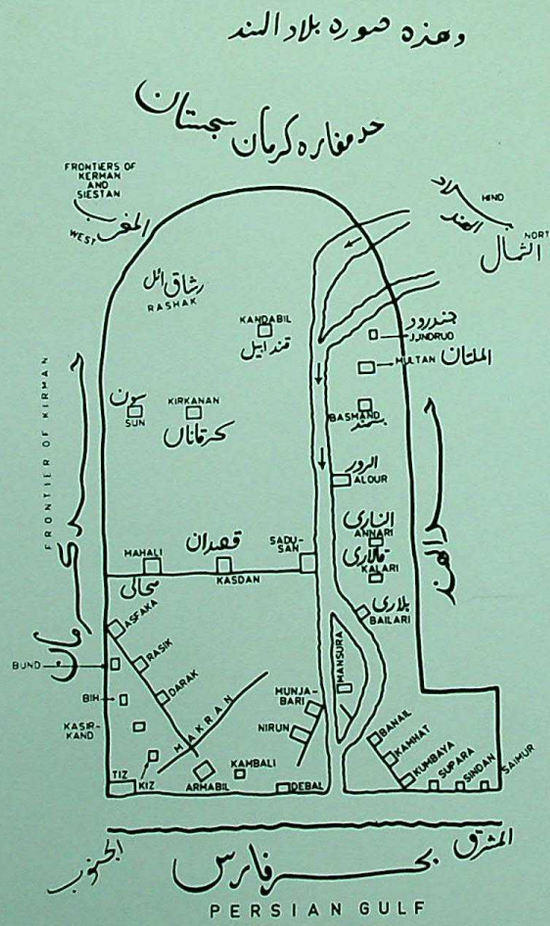
The first genuinely historical data tells of Arab troops, fired by the great excess of Islamic religious enthusiasm which had just overthrown the Sassanid empire in Persia, raiding into what is now Baluchistan. The coastal region of this province was, even in early Islamic times, known as Makran, and its aridity and sparse population – then as now – made it a formidable barrier to Muslim penetration overland to the Indus valley: communications here have always been much easier by sea. Exploratory raids into Makran from Fars and Kirman are mentioned from the Caliphate of Uthman onwards (644-656), but no lasting political authority was established over the very few settlements of the interior. We know virtually nothing of the ethnography or religious position of the indigenous population there although it is very likely that the present-day Baluch people did not arrive until the tenth or eleventh centuries.

Some of these forays reached the Indus valley, but the first permanent foothold of Islam was achieved during the opening years of the eighth century, during the Caliphate of al-Walid bin Abd al-Malik (705-715), a reign which saw other Muslim victories in places as far apart as Spain and Central Asia. About the year 711, a youthful Arab general called Muhammad bin Qasim al-Thaqafi was deputed by the great governor of Iraq and the East, al-Hajjaj bin Yusuf, to lead an expedition from Shiraz in southern Persia against Sind. The Islamic historian, al-Yaqubi, states that al-Hajjaj encouraged Muhammad bin Qasim and the general commanding the Arab troops in Central Asia to make simultaneous attacks as the two prongs of a grand pincer movement against the Chinese empire and the Far East. In the light of the spectacular successes already achieved by the Arabs, such dreams were by no means impossible. Muhammad bin Qasim's force comprised six thousand Syrian Arab tribesmen, and the operation was carefully planned. It moved through Makran, securing the towns there as it passed.

We are ill-informed about the state of Sind on the eve of the Arab invasion. The ruler is named as King Dahir, son of Chach (Sassa in Arabic sources). According to the thirteenth century Persian chronicle, the *Chach Nama,* he ruled over a vast empire extending as far as Kashmir and modern Uttar Pradesh in the east. In reality, he seems to have had a much more modest kingdom, comprising lower and middle Sind, as far north as the town of Rur (modern Rohri on the Indus opposite Sukkur), with his capital at Brahmanabad and his principal port at Daibul on the Indus delta (the position of which has still not been determined with any certainty, despite excavations by the Pakistan Department of Archaeology at Bhambore and other possible sites). The Islamic sources say that after Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest, a number of local Indian princes in Sind became vassals of the Caliphate, so that Dahir's unitary state there may only have been a temporary achievement, and fragmentation the norm.

The dominant religion in Sind at this time was probably Buddhism, since the Arabs gave the name *budd* to every idol and temple which they found there, and they used the title *samani* (in Prakrit *samana,* meaning Buddhist monk or ascetic) for the representatives of the local people with whom they negotiated; but Brahmanism or Hinduism, which was at this time gaining over Buddhism in the subcontinent, must also have been widespread.

Daibul fell to the Arab besiegers in 711, and its great Buddhist stupa (*dewal*) whence Daibul, or in Arabic *manarat-al-budd)* was overthrown. Magnanimous in the hour of victory, Muhammad bin Qasim offered quarter to the local people; he then proceeded to found the first mosque ever to be built on the soil of the subcontinent, and settled four thousand Arab families in a new section of the town. He then led his army against Niran (near



This diagrammatic map of the Indus Valley was made by Ibn Hauqal who lived from 943 to 976 AD.

modern Hyderabad), whose priests surrendered the town peacefully, and against Sadusan. The Arab ranks were swollen by the addition of four thousand Zutt or Jat auxiliaries; the Indus was crossed by a bridge of boats, and a final confrontation with Dahir and his host took place in 712 near Rawar. Dahir was killed and his army scattered, after which the Arabs occupied the capital

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Brahmanabad (near the site where the later Muslim city of al-Mansura was to rise). Having secured that vital point, the Arab forces pushed northwards and captured Rur. Finally, the army penetrated as far as Multan, the goal set by al-Hajjaj in his instructions to his subordinate and, after a lengthy siege, Multan and its famous golden shrine, *bait-al-dhahab,* to the sun-god *Aditya* with all its treasures, fell into Muslim hands. Multan was for three centuries to mark the northernmost point of the Muslim advance in Sind: the story of the *Chach Nama* that Muhammad bin Qasim conquered as far as Kashmir can hardly be true.

Within the occupied towns, Muhammad bin Qasim established a social and religious framework of life which reflected the early Islamic policy of tolerance. The conqueror proclaimed the general principle of freedom of religion, allowing Buddhists and Hindus to be included among the "People of the Book" or "Protected Peoples", as Jews and Christians had always been and as the Zoroastrians of Persia had become. This tolerance was dictated, no doubt, partly by expediency. The Muslims in Sind were a tiny minority in a sea of alien, potentially hostile non-Muslims. The process whereby Islam became the majority faith in Sind extended over many centuries.

Muhammad bin Qasim fell from power, and was killed when the new Caliph Sulaiman came to the throne in 715, but his pioneer work of carving a foothold in the subcontinent for Islam had been well done. It is true that the impetus of spectacular military expansion was spent for some three centuries, and that Sind became a peripheral province of the Caliphate, where the power of the central government in Damascus or Baghdad was felt only intermittently: but the Muslim community in Sind put down strong roots; further contingents of Arab settlers probably arrived to reinforce the original colonists; and Islam dwelt there at peace with the indigenous faiths until the next great wave of expansion under the Ghaznavids in the eleventh century. The Italian scholar F. Gabrieli has justly said that "present-day Pakistan, holding the values of Islam and Arabism in such high esteem, should look upon the young and luckless Arab conqueror, Muhammad bin Qasim, almost as a distant *ktistes* (founding father), a hero of Indian Islam".

Not a great deal is known about the subsequent history of the Arab presence in Sind. Governors were sent out periodically by the caliphs, and after 750 by the new dynasty of Abbasids in Iran. Until the ninth century these governors continued to forward tribute to the Caliphate, for it is recorded that in 820, under al-Mamun, the revenue sent amounted to one million dirhams. Being so remote from the centre of power, Sind became a favourite refuge for rebels and sectarians, who could flee there quite easily by sea from the Gulf. Control over the local Indian rulers was probably intermittent, with periods of renunciation of tribute or of lapsed adherence to Islam when the Arabs' political authority was weak. Thus we learn that the native princes of Sind submitted to the Caliph Umar bin Abd al-Aziz in 718, having heard of his famed piety and justice, and the son of Dahir became a Muslim; under the Caliph Hisham, however, Dahir relapsed, and punitive expeditions by the Arab governors were necessary.

Bhambore lies 40 miles east of Karachi on the mouth of an old Indus channel, formerly an inland port and identified as Daibul, which fell to Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 AD.

Rather more is known about Sind in the tenth century, since it is described by various Muslim travellers and geographers of that period. Arab families continued to be politically dominant in the Muslim centres of power. Ibn Hauqal, whose account of the Islamic world is based on his journeys in the middle decades of the century, describes the general prosperity and the cheapness of food in Sind. There had been cultural assimilation to the Indian ways of life, in that the dress and hair style of Muslims and infidels had become identical. They mostly wore a characteristic short tunic, though some classes, notably the merchants, had long flowing robes like the Iraqis and Persians. The languages of Sind were the indigenous Sindhi tongue with some Arabic, and in Makran the local Makrani with some Persian.

Politically, there seem to have been governors in each principal town, virtually independent of each other, generally owing a moral and spiritual allegiance to the Abbasids in Baghdad (as evidenced by mention of the Caliph in the Friday *khutba* or sermon), but no longer sending revenue. The governor of the largest town, al-Mansura (named after the early Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur, 754-775), was in Ibn Hauqal's time a Qureshi, i.e. of Meccan origin, a descendant of Habbar bin Aswad, who had seized power in that town. The position in Multan was similar; at Jundur, just outside, was the military camp of the governor, a descendant of Sama bin Lu'ayy. Multan's position was an exposed one, with

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powerful Hindu kingdoms like that of the Hindu-Shahis or Waihand or Udabhanda on its northern flank and warlike Rajput princes to the east. Its governors nevertheless preserved it as a bastion of Islam, although deriving revenue and strength from its shrine to the sun-god *Aditya*. They appropriated all offerings brought by Hindu pilgrims, handing on only a part of them to the idol's custodians; and when Hindu potentates menaced Multan, the governor threatened to destroy the idol, thus causing them to withdraw. The traditional Islamic sciences flourished at this time in the Muslim towns of Sind. Zeal for the faith was sharpened by the proximity of hostile, infidel powers; Ibn Hauqal again notes how assiduously the Quran, the traditions and the Islamic law were cultivated. The later compilers of biographical dictionaries, such as al-Samani and Yaqut, note a certain number of scholars with the gentilic of *al-Sindhi*.

Pre-Islamic pottery displays floral patterns and stylised bird, animal and fish motifs.

Much jewellery has been excavated at Bhambore including a large variety of beads, some of terracotta.

In the course of the tenth century, some of the towns of Sind, and particularly Multan, came to give their allegiance to Shahi rulers rather than to Baghdad. Al-Mansura at one point acknowledged the suzerainty of the great Buyid Amir in Persia, Adud al-Daula (949-983). More lasting were the links with the Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt and North Africa, the Abbasids' great rivals. The maritime connection of the Sind ports with the Arabian and Red Sea shores had always been maintained, and Ismaili propaganda came to Sind via the Yemen. Sind was, in fact, the scene of one of their most successful missions in the eastern Islamic world. Sources from the end of the tenth century state that the ruler of Multan recognized as his suzerain the Fatimid in Egypt and sent presents: the descendants of Sama bin Lu'ayy had obviously changed their allegiance from the Abbasids. Ismailism struck deep roots in Multan. Although the ultra-orthodox Mahmud of Ghazni attacked the town in 1006, and in 1010 deposed the local ruler Abul Fateh Dawood, Ismailism nevertheless continued to be strong there and to retain its links with the Syrian and Egyptian centres of the sect. The present-day Ismaili or Maulani communities of the extreme north of Pakistan, in Chitral, Hunza and Gilgit, may conceivably have had connections with the Sind groups, and there may also be a continuity with the Ismaili communities of Gujarat and Khandesh in modern India.

Sind was thus firmly won for Islam, but there are also signs that a knowledge of Islam was at this time percolating from southern Afghanistan into what is now the North West Frontier region of Pakistan. The rise of the Saffarid brothers Yaqub and Amr bin Laith in the later decades of the ninth century was important for the spread of Islam into eastern Afghanistan; the Zunbils or local rulers of Zamin-Dawar (the modern region of Kandahar) were humbled, and Kabul and Bamiyan, centres of the Turk-Shahi dynasty, were occupied. Quantities of Buddhist and other idols and temple treasures were captured, some of which were forwarded as presents to Baghdad, where their public display caused a sensation. Islam was thus certainly brought to the borders of modern Pakistan, and there are even signs of Muslim missionary activity at a slightly earlier date. In the Peshawar Museum is a celebrated inscription, in both Arabic and Sanskrit, attesting the presence of Islam in the Tochi valley of Waziristan in the year 857; it records the erection of a building, presumably a mosque, and must be one of the earliest Islamic inscriptions in the subcontinent.

In both Islam and Christianity, missionary efforts on remote and dangerous frontiers have often been undertaken by unorthodox and schismatic elements, so it is possible that there were at work in the valleys running down to the middle Indus, adherents of the early Islamic Khariji sect (represented today by the Ibadis of Oman, East Africa and North Africa), for Afghanistan was one of their last refuges, and as late as 982 the inhabitants of Gardiz in the Paktiya province of modern Afghanistan are described as Kharijis. Otherwise, the only Muslims in the upper Indus valley until the Ghaznavid invasions must have been small colonies of merchants, known to have existed, for instance, in the Hindu-Shahi capital of Waihand near modern Attock.

Because of the Arab presence in India during these early centuries some knowledge of the Indian way of life percolated back to the centres of Islam. Since Islam is a complete system of belief, containing everything necessary for a man's conduct in this world and his salvation in the next, there was no reason beyond sheer intellectual curiosity why Muslims should be interested in India. But a few Muslim scholars did show some interest; for one thing, the subcontinent was popularly famed as a home of esoteric lore and magic. From the time of the

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Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur, missions came from Sind to the Baghdad court, bringing native Indian scholars and certain Sanskrit texts. The Indian knowledge of medicine, mathematics, astronomy and philosophy was especially esteemed, and various translations were made into Arabic. The Barmakid Vizier, Yahya bin Khalid, sent an agent to India around the year 800 to collect medicinal herbs and drugs and to acquire knowledge of Indian religions – information used by several later Islamic authors between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

The towering figure in the introduction of Indian culture to the Islamic world is, however, a scholar from Khwarazam in central Asia, Abu Raihan al-Biruni, who died in about 1050. He was able to observe Indian customs and lore, and was the first Muslim scholar to become a competent Sanskritist. The outcome of his studies was his great book on India, *Tahqiq ma li'l Hind* ("An Enquiry into India and its Civilization"), a compendium of all the knowledge which he could collect on Indian subjects. It was written in a remarkably dispassionate vein. Abu Raihan al-Biruni's purpose was not in any way polemical, and although he remained a firm Muslim and condemned such features of Indian life as the servitude of the caste system, the blinkered self-satisfaction of the *pandits* and the degraded Hindu view of women and marriage, he felt a certain attraction towards the pure, theoretical philosophy of the Hindus, just as he did towards that of the ancient Greeks. Al-Biruni had no successor, but his work must be regarded as one of the great achievements of inter-cultural contact in mediaeval times.

C.E.B.

From Arabs to Mughals

The decline of the centralized authority of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad (750-1256 AD) was followed by the emergence to power of the Turks of Central Asia.

The Turks established themselves in Afghanistan in the late ninth century, and in 962, Alptagin, a Turkish officer of the Samanids, had installed himself at Ghazni. It was one of his successors, Abu Mansur Subuktagin, who, after his accession in 976, considerably extended his kingdom. His conquest of Lamaghan after his defeat of Raja Jaipal in two battles, exposed the weakness of the Indian armies and he followed these victories with further incursions into the territory. Lamaghan and Parhawar were annexed and roads constructed for military and commercial purposes.

Years ago, as today, bridges of boats were built to cross the Indus and its tributaries. Alexander and Akbar used the same device.

Abu Mansur Subuktagin's son, Mahmud, succeeded him in 977, and carried his campaigns into the heart of Aryavarta in the north and the rich Hindu kingdom of Gujarat on the western coast. The Abbasid Caliph, Qadir Billah, bestowed upon him a *khilat* and the title of *Yaminuddaulah Amirul Millat*, or "Right Hand of the State and Protector of the Believers". His authority extended from Iraq to the Ganges, and from Khwarazam to Kathiawar. Sultan Mahmud's brilliant military exploits spanning a period of thirty-three years, earned for him respect and admiration far beyond the frontiers of the subcontinent. But his preoccupation with military campaigns did not distract him from his zest for the arts and encouragement of literary activity.

He commissioned architects of repute to beautify Ghazni by building mosques, bridges and works of public utility. He set up a state university, equipped it with a large library and attracted to his court some of the leading men of the time, the most eminent among them being

Pre-Islamic carving, which embellishes this tomb at Chaukundi, depicts anklets and bracelets, denoting the resting place of a lady.

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Abu Raihan al-Biruni (973-1053). Al-Biruni is regarded as one of the greatest Muslim intellectuals – a philosopher, mathematician, astronomer and cultural historian.

The Ghaznavids annexed Punjab up to Hansi, and Lahore replaced Multan as the administrative, cultural and spiritual centre of Islam in the subcontinent. Their successors, the Ghuris (1148-1206), with their capital at Firuzkosh, pushed the frontiers of the empire beyond the Jumna. Muhammad Ghuri, who took the title of Shahabuddin Ghuri, had been appointed governor of Ghazni in 1173 by his elder brother Ghiyasuddin. He conquered Multan in 1175, Uchh in 1176, and finally wrested Ghaznavid Punjab from Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids, in 1186. After the defeat of Prithvi Raj, the ruler of Ajmer, at the battlefield of Tarain in 1192. Shahabuddin Ghuri captured Ajmer and Delhi and, later, his Turkish slave officers captured Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kalpi, Badaun, Qannauj, Benares, Koil and Meerut. Bihar and Bengal fell in 1199 and 1200 respectively.

By 1206, the year of the death of Shahabuddin Ghuri, the stage was set for the expansion and consolidation of Muslim rule in India. Hindus of all classes accepted government services and worked in the fields of agriculture, trade and industry. They were granted the status of *zimmi*, or allied people entitled to protection, and complete security of life, property and freedom of worship was guaranteed both in deference to *Shariat* and to political expediency.

The Ghaznavid and the Ghuri dynasties were Central Asian by origin and outlook. Both ruled their conquered territories from capitals outside India. After the death of Shahabuddin Ghuri in 1206, political and military conditions changed rapidly in Central Asia. His successors, following the cataclysmic Ghuzz and Mongol invasions, were thrown on their own resources, having been cut off from their compatriots across the north-western mountains.

Shahabuddin left no sons. His Turkish slave-officers became his co-heirs. There was a triangular struggle between his three leading officers – Tajuddin Yildiz, Nasiruddin Qubacha and Qutbuddin Aibek. Aibek succeeded in maintaining his authority in Lahore and the eastern provinces. After his death in 1210, following a war of succession, he was succeeded by Shamsuddin Iltamash, one of his former slaves. In 1211, Iltamash made Delhi his capital and is justifiably regarded as the founder of the Sultanate dynasty; the city replaced Lahore as a seat of Muslim administration.

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, therefore, the foundations of Islam in India had been laid. During the later period of the Abbasids, Persian had replaced Arabic as the vehicle of Islamic learning. Muslims in the subcontinent developed their own political, economic and religious institutions and their own centres of learning and pilgrimage. Allegiance to Islam, and the idea of belonging to a world-wide Muslim community, stimulated cultural proliferation.

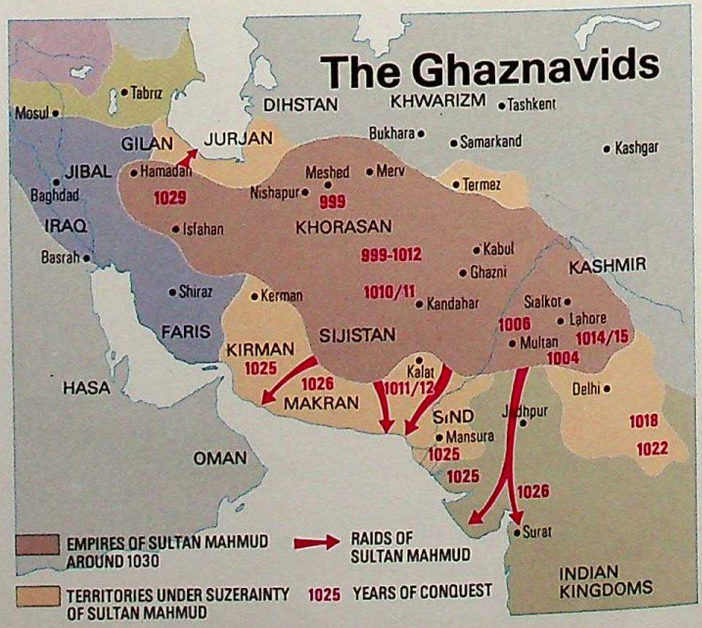
Between 1206, when Qutbuddin Aibek succeeded to the territories of Shahabuddin Ghuri, and 1526, there were five different dynasties with thirty-three kings. This illustrates the failure of the Turks and Afghans to establish a stable political system which could withstand both internal revolution and foreign aggression. When forced by circumstances to recede to their homeland, there was still a Muslim ruler at Delhi and in the capitals of the Muslim provinces.

The first of the five dynasties is generally known as the Slave Dynasty, because most of the governing class were either originally the slaves of Shahabuddin Ghuri or their sons. In the tenth century, a new institution had been developed, known as the imperial slave household: first the Abbasids, and later their successors, recruited a large number of Turkish slaves, and trained them as soldiers and statesmen. Turkish slave bureaucracy, therefore, made a great contribution to the new states which were established in Central Asia and later in India.

The Slave dynasty was replaced by the nondescript Khaljis who, though originally Turks, were identified with the Afghans on account of their long residence in Afghanistan. Under the second ruler of this dynasty, Alauddin Khalji, another wave of southward expansion began, but his greatest achievement was to establish a powerful monarchy. He succeeded in making the administration efficient and honest, and in stabilizing prices, even though some of his measures were not approved by the orthodox.

The fall of the Khaljis ushered in a new dynasty founded by Tughlaq, commonly known as Ghazi Malik, who later took the title of Ghayasuddin. His son, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who succeeded him in 1325, was a most remarkable ruler. In his determination to maintain power he curbed the influence of the Hindu *rais* and *rajas,* the Muslim military aristocracy, the *ulema* and the *Sufis,* or Muslim mystics. Thus he made enemies and at last died fighting at Thatta in Sind. His successor, Firuz Shah, was an easy-going man who tried unsuccessfully to make the government correspond to the dictates of *Shariat* and by his policy of appeasement and compromise, barely succeeded in maintaining superficial peace. He lost most of the outlying provinces and left the empire

The Ghaznavids brought Islam to the north-west of the subcontinent, first by sea and later over the mountains.



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Monumental tombs at Chaukundi date from the pre-Islamic era to the eighteenth century. The tombs of men are decorated with horse and rider motifs.

in considerable disarray. After his death there was an effort to set up independent principalities and this finally destroyed the unity of the empire. During the reign of Firuz Shah's successor, India was invaded by Amir Timur (Tamberlaine), in 1398.

The Tughlaqs were succeeded by the Sayyeds who were in reality deputies of Amir Timur. The Lodhi Afghans displaced the Sayyeds and for a while re-established the supremacy of Muslims in Delhi, Bihar and Punjab. The Lodhis were good soldiers but individualists – so that their tribal disagreements wrecked their statesmanship. They patronised learning and re-established orthodoxy, but could not withstand the invasion of the Mughals under Babur in 1526. With the coming of the Mughals, a new and perhaps the most glorious epoch of Muslim rule in the subcontinent began.

The Turks and the Afghans who held sway in the subcontinent for nearly three centuries had to face the threat of foreign invasions, the growing insurgence of the conquered people, the rise of heretical movements within Islam, the disobedience of their own officers and of religious pressure groups.

The spread of Islam in the subcontinent cannot be ascribed to the use of force. During the course of centuries, military and political power was occasionally used to secure conversions, but compulsion in such cases were the exception rather than the rule. In the north, the Muslim mystics and theologians followed in the wake of armies and whenever the Muslims succeeded in establishing their authority the mystics set up their *khanqahs,* or hospices, and the *ulema* their *madrassahs,* or schools, and mosques. Islam spread quickly in urban centres, because the political authority of the Muslims was well established there.

The expansion of Muslim rule weakened the foundations of local religions and set in motion a social revolution which prepared the way for the adoption of a universal faith. As a result, individual families and ethnic groups accepted Islam, which did not demand a violent break with the past. Its intellectual culture opened new horizons and its social and political system offered opportunities of advancement. Dr. Cantwell-Smith states the problem thus: "The environment in which the religion has had to relate its adherents to God has been

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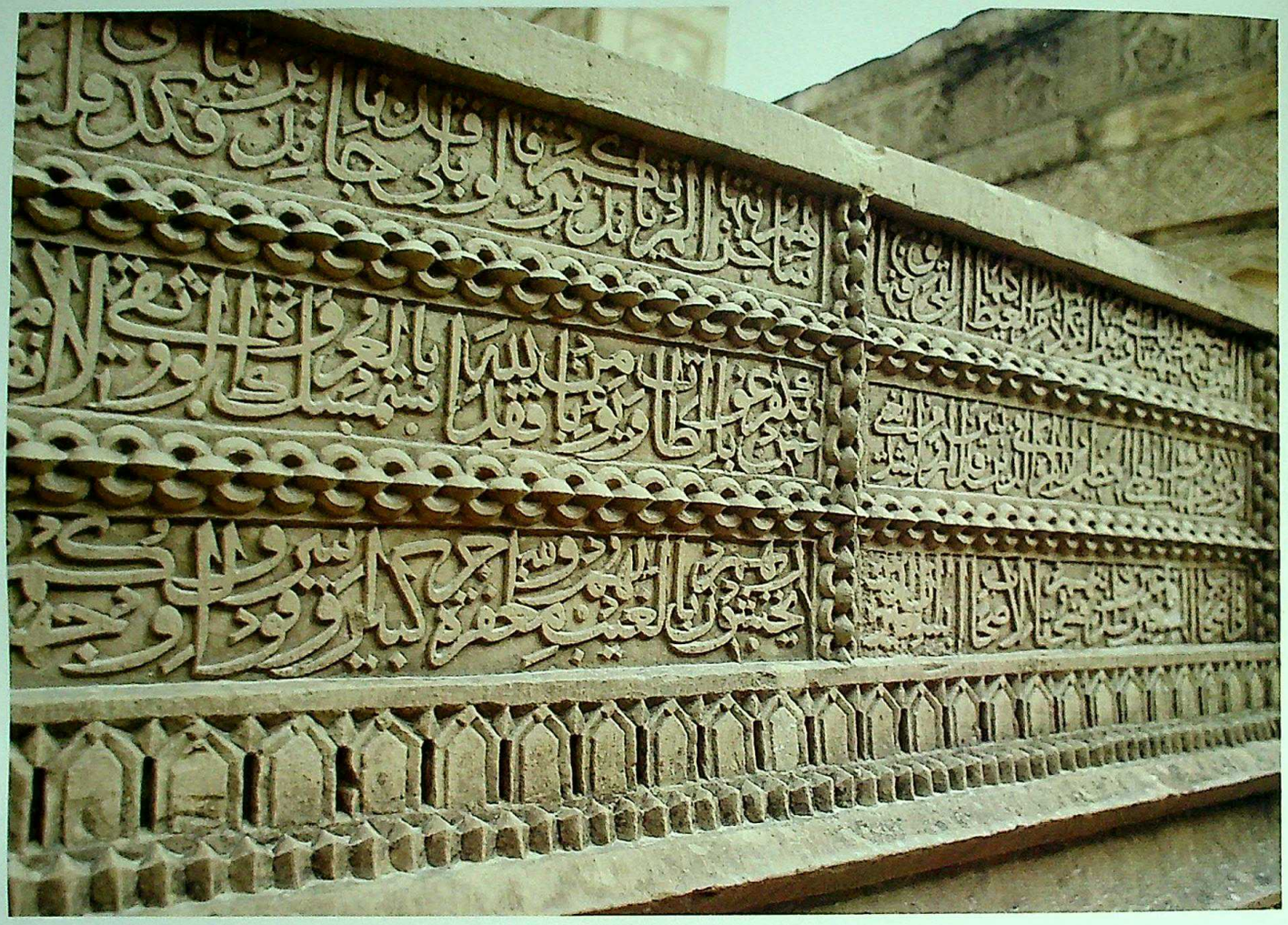

Each grave on Makli Hill at Thatta indicates by style the dynasty of its occupant, and frequently includes Quranic inscriptions.

a peculiarly complex and recalcitrant one. Most saliently India has been the only major part of the Islamic world in which the community has continued to be a minority; only here has the religion proved of large scale, sustained, socio-cultural creativity where its adherents' task has been to live out their lives Islamically in a society of which most members have had other visions."

The Muslim people and princes of the Indian subcontinent played an important role between 1200 and 1500 while the rest of the Islamic world was shaken to its foundations by violent convulsions and revolutions. The Delhi Sultanate in its more vigorous days was the resort of as many as fifteen unfortunate sovereigns in exile from Muslim Asia, who were often accompanied by men of learning. As a result, the court at Delhi became celebrated as the most elegant and magnificent in Islam. Cultivation of the arts was encouraged under royal patronage in Delhi and splinter states, into which the former territories of the Sultanate had been fragmented. The poet Amir Khusrau, who died in 1325, was made royal librarian, granted a state pension, and elevated to the rank of the highest amirs. He was equally at home in Persian, Turkish and Hindi.

The period 1200–1500 was also remarkable for the spread of Muslim mysticism throughout India. The influence of Muslim mystics and their teaching are important with regard to the history of the Muslims and to the conversion of Hindus. To this subcontinent Islam brought a new religion, a new civilization, new ways of thought and new values. Its rich traditions of art and literature, of culture and refinement, of social and of political institutions were established. The Sufi presentation of Islam helped to overcome religious barriers and fired the imagination of many Hindu reformers, leading to the rise of neo-Hinduism and culminating in the *Bhakti* movement which prompted several Hindu and Muslim spiritual leaders to advance the theory of the unity of all religions.

"Islam introduced in India," states Pannikar, "a conception of human equality, a pride in one's religion, a legal system which in many ways was an advance on the codes of the time . . . The new spirit which the Hindu monarchs of Rajputana and of the Vijaynagar dynasty displayed, as champions of *dharma* and as upholders of religion, was the direct result of the contact with Islam . . . Religious factors became active in the secular policies of Hindu kings as a result of Islam."

Mediaeval Hindu theism, the rise of the *Bhakti* movement, the softening of the rigours of the caste system, the release from choking religious rituals, can all be traced to the influence of Islam. Equally, the rise of vernaculars to the status of regional languages was the result of the patronage extended to writers in these languages by Muslim rulers. The impact of Islam on Hinduism was deep and far-reaching in its subsequent manifestations.

A.R. et al.

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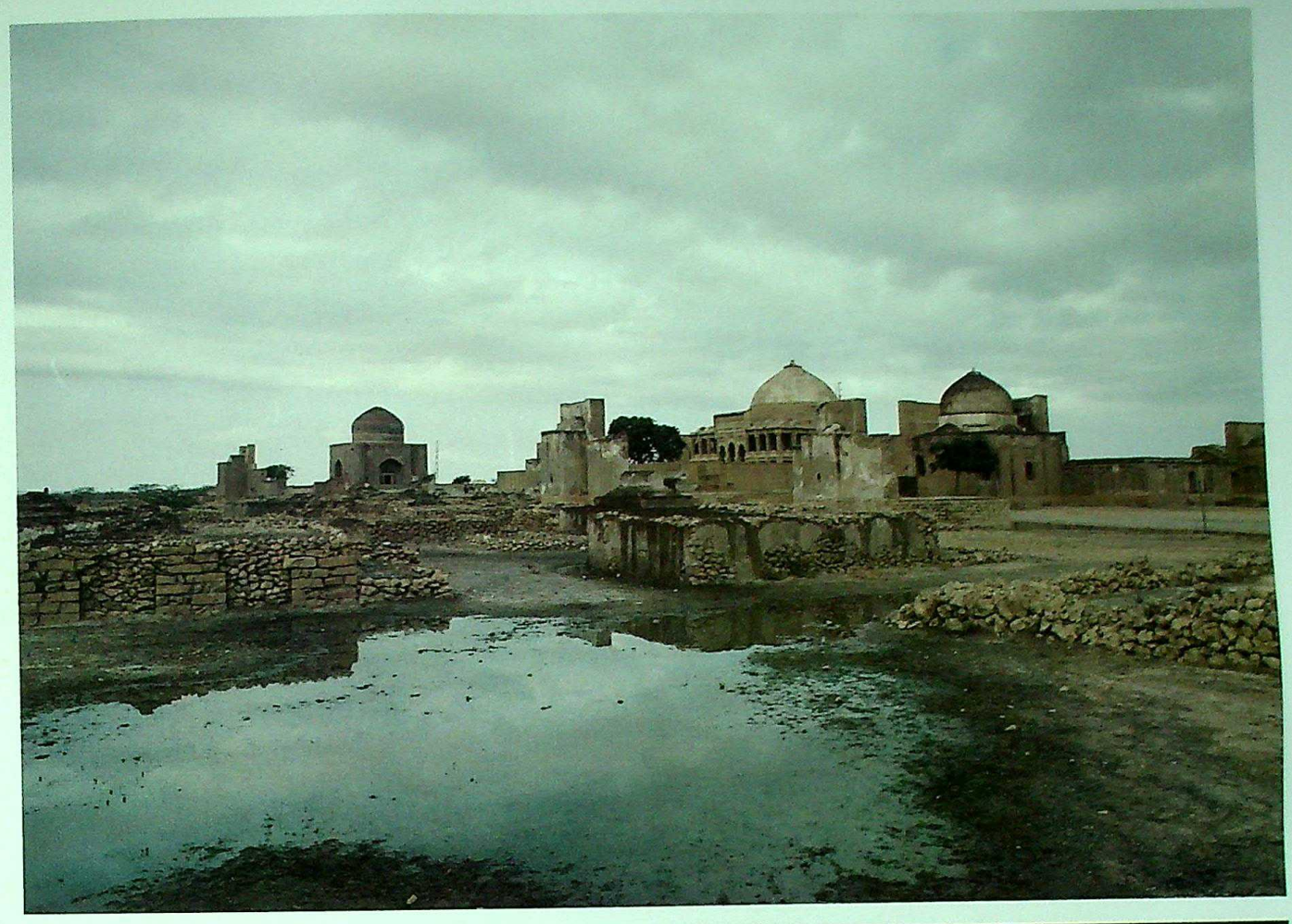

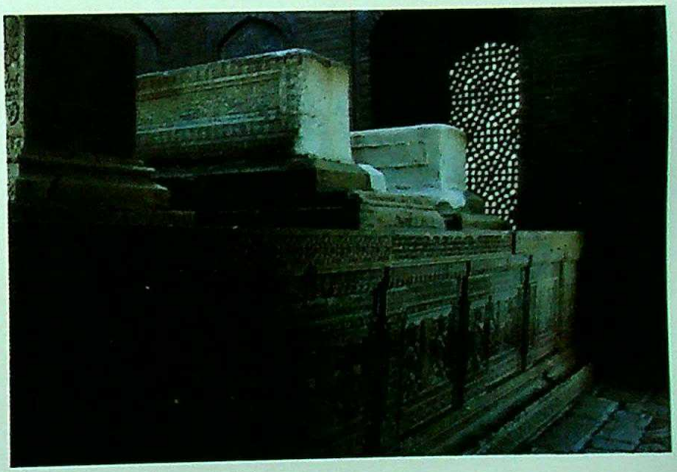

The necropolis outside Thatta on Makli Hill is six miles square and the largest in the world. Kings, queens, saints, scholars and soldiers are buried there along with many nameless individuals. The tombs are in three groups – those of the Tarkhan and Arghun periods and those of the Summa period. Each grave is a masterpiece of stone carving and perforated stonework.

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Mughal Ascendancy

India in the early sixteenth century was like a turbid sea between two tides. There was energy, there was power and enterprise but no unity. There was promise rather than performance, aspiration without achievement. This situation had developed in north India since the collapse of the Delhi Sultanate under the impact of Taimur's invasion in 1398 and of the Bahmini kingdom of the Deccan after the murder of Mahmud Gawan in 1481. Only the peninsula south of the river Kistna was united under the Hindu rajas of Vijayanagar.

The unity which apparently existed in the north was more apparent than real. The Delhi Sultanate had revived under the Afghan Lodhis, but its Afghan supporters were proverbial for their love of independence and dislike of authority. The empire was more a confederation of chiefs than a close-knit power unit. It was kept together by the tact of Buhlol Lodhi (1451-88) and, when Sultan Ibrahim (1518-26) was unable to sustain this quality, it was ready to dissolve. In barren Rajasthan the Rajputs had apparently revived enough to threaten the Afghans, but they too were divided into prestige and clan-conscious aristocratic units. In the Deccan the Bahmini successor states warred with each other and the southern Hindus by turns. North of the Kistna only in Gujarat was there firm government and prosperity.

It was on this scene of superficial brilliance and hidden weakness that Babur and his Mughal *baigs* erupted in 1526. Fifth in descent from Taimur, Babur inherited all the Timurid claims but only the small Farghana portion (north of the Hindu Kush) of the whole Timurid heritage. His Chaghatais were of mixed Turkish and Mongolian race: he himself had Mongolian characteristics while his son Humayun was more Turkish in appearance.

Babur had been ejected from Farghana by others with equal claims but more resources. He would have become a dispossessed wanderer had he not seized Kabul and its kingdom by a lucky stroke. Thence he started to raid the Indian plains in the traditional way, soon discovering that the Delhi kingdom was seething with discontent, and that Daulat Khan, the governor of the Punjab, was ripe for revolt.

The fifth raid was decisive. Daulat Khan handed him the Punjab; Ibrahim could only collect his unenthusiastic chiefs at Panipat, forty miles north of Delhi. In the battle here in 1526, Babur's cavalry's wheeling tactics, his new Turkish artillery and the disloyalty of many Afghan chiefs won him the day. He reached Agra without opposition, where his first act was to order the lay out of a Persian garden.

There followed a triangular power struggle between Mughals, Afghans and Rajputs. Rana Sangha, the hitherto victorious chief of Mewar, thought he saw an opportunity of restoring Rajput supremacy. But his hopes were dashed at Kanwaha, twenty miles west of Agra (1527) where Babur, with his new tactics, won against apparently hopeless odds. Two years later he dealt with the reformed Afghans on the banks of the Ghagra. Babur was now master of northern India from the Indus to the borders of Bengal, but he had achieved only the precarious power of a successful soldier, not yet consolidated by administration or sentiment. Before he could do more he died in 1530, at the age of forty-seven.

Babur was the forerunner, rather than the founder, of the Mughal empire.

Humayun's father saved his life but could not save his fortune. This "fair and fatal king" had all the social graces and many personal gifts, but these were stultified by self-indulgence. This created long periods of inattention to public affairs, and indecision which led to mistimed actions and lost opportunities. His conquest of Gujarat was followed by a period of inaction which enabled the Afghan chief, Sher Khan, to build up his strength. His conquest of Bengal was followed by inertia which left him cut off by monsoon floods. In two battles with Sher Shah he lost all that Babur had won and became a fugitive in Persia. While Sher Shah pursued his vigorous way, until killed in front of the fortress of

The Dynasty of The Great Mughals

- **Taimur** died 1405
- **Babur** 1526–1530
- **Humayun** 1530–1556
- **Akbar** 1556–1605
- **Jehangir** 1605–1627
- **Shah Jehan** 1627–1657 (died 1666)
  - **Aurangzeb Alamgir** 1657–1707
  - **Bahadur Shah** 1707–1712
    - **Jehandar Shah** 1713
    - **Alamgir II** 1754–1759
    - **Shah Alam** 1759–1806
    - **Akbar Shah II** 1806–1837
    - **Bahadur Shah II** 1837–1858
    - **X**
    - **Farrukhsiyar** 1713–1719
    - **X**
    - **Muhammad Shah** 1720–1748
    - **Ahmad Shah** 1748–1754

The Mughal dynasty reigned in the subcontinent from 1526 until 1858 and patronized a vigorous cultural life at their glittering imperial courts.

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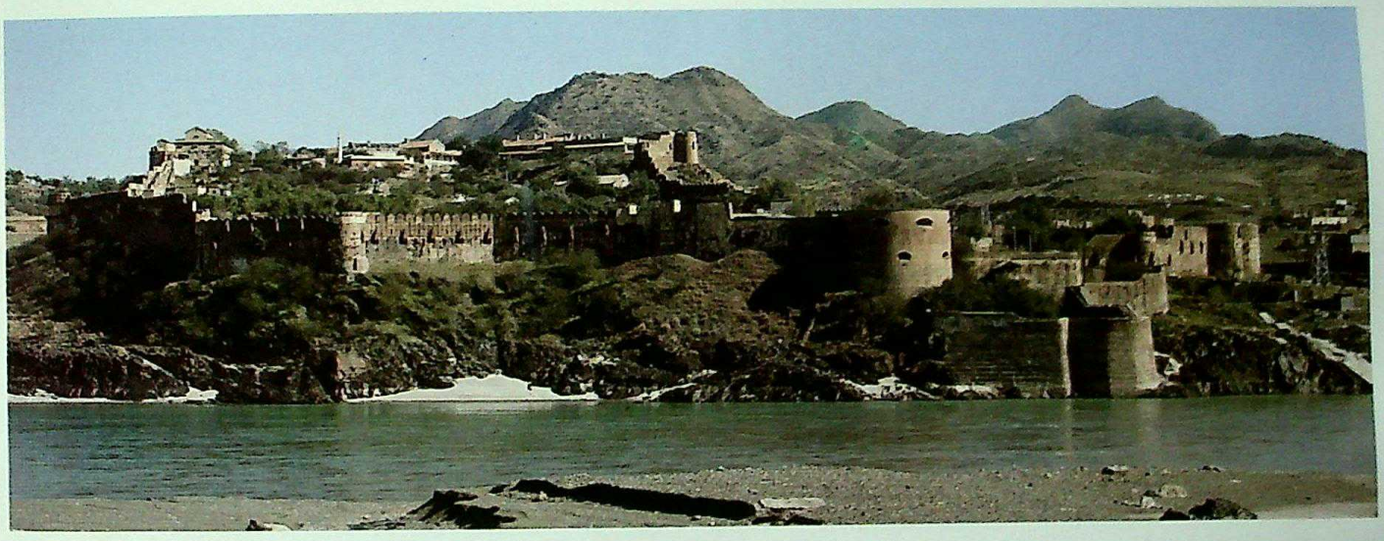
Kalanjar (1545), Humayun was painfully re-establishing himself in the north-west. He was assisted here by new dissension among the Afghans under Sher Shah's successors. A second battle at Panipat left Humayun master of Delhi once more, only to die within six months from the effects of a fall on his library stairs. Once more the Mughal imperial stone had rolled to the bottom of the hill of success.

Humayun's unfinished task was left to his thirteen-year-old son Akbar, then under the care of Bairam Khan. India owes much to the loyalty and ability of this royal servant. Without him, Akbar might easily have suffered the fate of the English Princes in the Tower. For while Babur was the forerunner, Humayun the "also-ran", and Sher Shah's government a prototype, Akbar was the actual creator of the Mughal empire.



The huge, austere fortress at Attock built by Akbar speaks of the strategic importance of this site on the Indus. Here it was crossed by Babur.

One side of Akbar was the orthodox Asian military conqueror, helped by the loyalty of a small core of loyal followers and by a genius for leadership and manipulation. He was fortunate too, in that the political condition of India continued to be divided and unstable. No other leaders of great talent emerged to weld the divided forces together. The various regions had vigorous but uninspired and jealous rulers who would fall one by one before a master hand. After Bairam had defeated the Hindu general Hemu at the second battle of Panipat (1556), and Akbar had assumed direct rule as he approached manhood in 1560, there followed a series of campaigns and conquests which left his dominion, at his death in 1605, a compact territory stretching from Kandahar in the north to the Bay of Bengal in the east. Rich Gujarat, beautiful Kashmir and fertile Bengal were his. In achieving them the most crucial moments had been the defeat of the Rajputs in 1568-69, the subsequent understanding with their chiefs, and the defeat of his younger brother Muhammad Hakim's opposition in 1580.

Akbar's claim to lasting fame and to world statesmanship rests upon his conversion of these *congeries* of lands and peoples into an organic Indian state. He not only had the talent for leadership, but the crucial, creative ability to unite. First, he faced the political problem of balance and conciliation between conflicting elements. There was a core of his Mughal followers who were reinforced by a stream of fortune-seekers from Central Asia and Persia. These were a minority of Muslims, since Muslims were a minority in the larger population of Hindus. Beyond them were the Afghan chiefs, scattered through north India from Peshawar to Bengal, embittered by their recent loss of empire, warlike and vigorous but fortunately (for Akbar) too proud and independent to combine easily. Then there were the Hindus, whose sword arm was the Rajput chiefs of Rajasthan. Finally, there were the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, still vigorous in spite of the break-up of the Bahmini kingdom.

Akbar distrusted the Afghans. To balance them he used other settled Muslim chiefs of Turkish origin and the *émigrés* from the west. His master stroke here was the alliance with the Rajput chiefs after his capture of Chitor and Ranthambor in 1568-69. Except for Mewar they recognised Mughal sovereignty. He also arranged marriages with Rajput princesses, chiefly from Jaipur, so that later Mughal generations became increasingly Indian by blood as well as by residence. This positive Rajput support secured general Hindu acquiescence and also provided a reserve of strength against possible Muslim opposition. It was this agreement which provided a stable foundation upon which Akbar was able to build the main fabric of his empire.

With this secure foundation we can turn to the pillars raised upon it to support, so to speak, the canopy of empire. The first pillar was that of leadership, which was vital for success. Here again the Mughals were fortunate, for the seven great Mughals included two men of genius, two of outstanding talent, and two of above average ability; even Humayun, though erratic, was a man of parts. Akbar, however, added a new dimension to the leadership concept. In the middle of his reign he underwent some kind of inner experience, as a result of which

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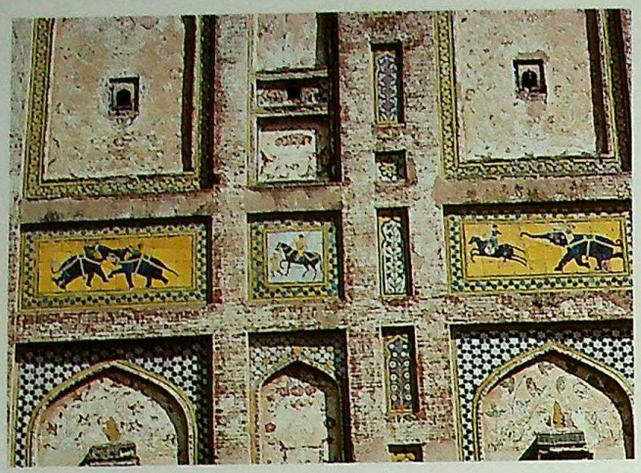
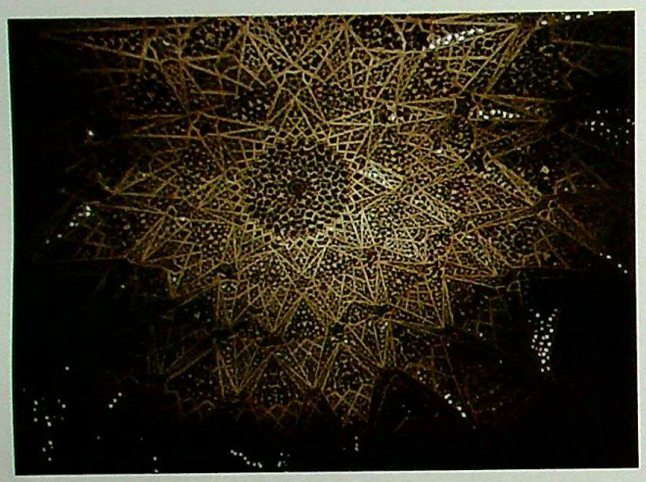
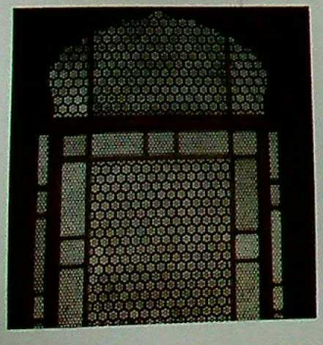
Lahore Fort





Top. *Narrative mosaics in the wall of Lahore fort were added by Jehangir.*

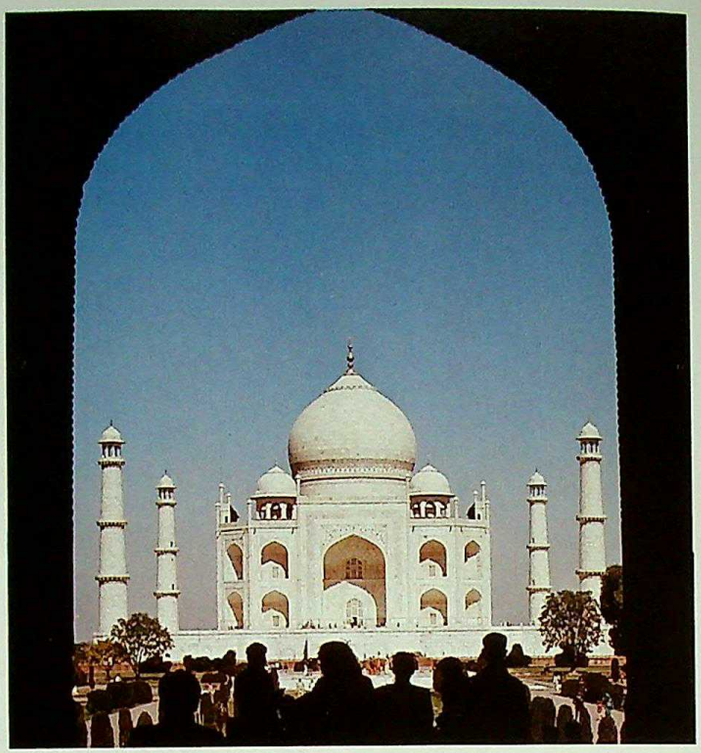
Above. *Tessarae reflect from the ceiling of Shah Jehan's* Shish Mehal.



From the balcony (above left) *Mughal emperors received daily homage.*

The fine windows (left) *are of Shah Jehan's Hall of Special Audience.*

The massive steps (above) *were built for the entry of Akbar's* 5,000 *elephants.*



he became what may loosely be called a freethinker. It was enough for him to be considered heretical by orthodox Muslims, but not enough for him to be claimed as a convert by hopeful Jesuit priests or keen-minded Brahmins. He established a Court cult which centred on himself, reverenced the sun and borrowed practices from varied sources. The cult collapsed soon after his death but left something permanent behind. This was a new reverence for the imperial person as God's representative on earth in temporal matters; he was surrounded with a halo of sanctity. Its symbol was the nimbus or halo with which court painters henceforth adorned Mughal imperial heads down to the nineteenth century. In this way, Akbar, without trying to make Hindus into Muslims or Muslims into Hindus, made the imperial office an object of reverence for all India.

The principle then, was the common employment of all Indians in the imperial service, and a common reverence by all for the emperor's person. This policy was completed by the principle of general religious toleration. Its manifestation was the abolition of the *jaziya,* or tax, on non-Muslims in 1579, which Akbar's successors maintained for a hundred years. The effect of these measures was the establishment of an Indian state embracing both communities as citizens, with a Muslim as leader and Islam as the established religion. The link between the two groups was the semi-sacred office of the emperor. The reality of this arrangement is testified by the fact that half of the Indian-born high officials were Muslim and half, Hindu. These numbered three-tenths of the whole number, the rest being foreign-born personal followers or immigrants.

To the two pillars of leadership, and communal toleration and cooperation, may now be added that of organization. A cohesive framework was needed to replace the feudatory chiefs and an accompanying system of land grants to supporters. This need was supplied by the *mansabdari* system, which provided a civil-cum-military imperial service to administer the more inaccessible parts of the empire directly.

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The Taj Mahal (left) *Agra, erected by Shah Jehan represents Mughal architecture at its perfection.*

Hiran Minar, the "Deer Tower", was dedicated by Jehangir to Mansraj, his pet antelope.

The system, as introduced by Akbar and developed by his successors, provided a service of thirty-three grades or ranks directly appointed by the emperor, responsible to and dependent upon him. At first they were paid in cash but later by assignments on the revenue in the form of non-hereditary grants of land revenue, known as *jagirs*. These grants ceased with the office and might at any moment be replaced by other grants. Though appearing generous in money terms, they had to cover the upkeep of a specified number of troopers and horses.

For purposes of administration the empire was divided into twelve (later eighteen) *subahs* or provinces. These in turn were sub-divided into *sarkars* or districts and *parganas* or sub-districts. In these units the principle of dual authority was enforced. Each *subah* and *sarkar* had one officer responsible for law and order and one for collecting the revenue, known in the *subahs* as the *nazim* and the *diwan* respectively. The *nazim* or governor commanded a body of troops but had no local money with which to pay them, while the *diwan* had money but no troops to suborn. *Nazim* and *diwan* were appointed direct from Delhi. To minimise the risk of their collusion, each was transferred after four or five years. The system was not perfect, but it did produce the most stable and long-lived government since the times of the Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries AD.

There remained the problem of how best to collect the revenue. Three-quarters of it came from the land, the remainder from customs duties and various local tolls. Here again, the system was made as positive as possible. Its architect was the Revenue Minister, Raja Todar Mal, and the system known as Todar Mal's *bandobast*. Land was measured and classified according to soil and crop, and then assessed for revenue at current prices. Annually thereafter, the demand was locally modified according to the season, the extent of cultivation, and the nature of the crops raised. Records were kept in the villages; the governor enjoyed the pomp, but the *patwari* turned the vital wheels of local administration.

A large class of middlemen involved in government service collected the revenue; central government then paid the salaries of the *mansabdars*. The remaining surplus was sometimes used productively, for example in the development of the Jumna canals, the digging of tanks and the building of roads. Much went into the financing of the great works which are the visible legacy of the Mughals to the subcontinent – the Taj Mahal, the Jamia Masjids of Delhi and Lahore, Wazir Khan's Mosque at Lahore, and the palaces and the gardens which the Mughals loved.

In fact, the productive share of the national product was modest; it was a weak point in the whole system and helps to explain the static economics of the period. Too much was drained off and too little put back into the country. Economic levels did not rise much except in pockets of industrial activity and valuable crops such as in Gujarat with its indigo and East Bengal with its silk. The country people are thought by some economists to have been as well or better off than their western European contemporaries; but they suffered from the lethal hazards of crop failure and famine, hardly known in the west, for which there was then no remedy.

The Mughals made an important contribution to the subcontinent's cultural heritage. It may be thought of as the addition of the Persian rose to the lotus in India's cultural garden. The Turks had brought in the Persian language for official purposes and it had married with Hindi to give birth to Urdu. Babur and his successors were wedded to Persian culture in all its forms and now greatly extended its influence. The emperor Muhammad Shah gave Urdu the status of a court tongue. Todar Mal ordered all local records to be kept in Persian instead of a local dialect. Persian became the language not only of the Court and diplomacy but of the whole administration down to village level. Like French, it is an infectious language, with a captivating literature, all of whose forms took root in India. Some of its great figures, like Abul Fazal and Badayuni, were themselves Indians. Down to Ghalib and Muhammad Iqbal, poets wrote with equal ease in Persian or Urdu.

There was Persian influence not only on literature but on the arts and manners. There was a creative union of architectural styles to produce the Mughal school of architecture, still practised in the twentieth century, and the Mughal and Rajput schools of painting. Persian manners pervaded the whole of the subcontinent as the

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norm of social behaviour. At the coronation of Sivaji the Maratha, half the insignia used were Mughal rather than Hindu in origin. The influence was so widespread as to change the face of India, though not so penetrating as to constitute a new hybrid culture,

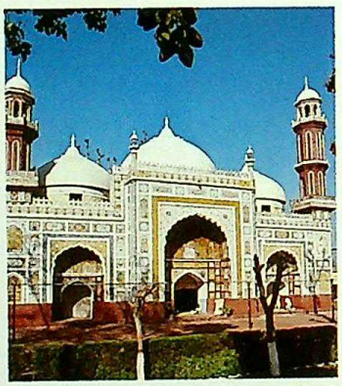
From Akbar the stately procession of the Great Mughals progressed to its end in the death of Bahadur Shah the First in 1712. Akbar's son Jehangir lacked his father's genius, but he was a shrewd, capable, determined if sometimes ferocious man. His achievement could have been greater had he not allowed alcohol to fuddle his brain. It would certainly have been lesser without the succour of the famous Noor Jehan. As it was, he kept the empire together and, with his capture of Kangra and aggression in the Deccan, left it a little larger than he found it. It was, however, as a patron of the arts that he achieved real distinction. His love of nature and his distinguished taste made him the creative patron of the Mughal school of painting.

Shah Jehan, impatient to succeed even at the price of rebellion, proved to be the most magnificent of Akbar's successors. His administration became a legend of just and stable rule, in retrospect something like a golden age. "Hail, O King, thou owest a thanksgiving to God," shouted a voice from the crowd as the emperor was going in procession. "The King is just, the ministers are able and the secretaries are honest. The country is prosperous and the people contented." His legacy to India was the Taj and the Delhi Fort and Jamia Masjid. His perceptive patronage both guided his architects to their great achievements and encouraged portraiture among his painters. In politics he maintained the aggression towards Deccan initiated by his forebears, so that only the two Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda were left by the end of the reign. The loss in 1637 of Kandahar, however, was a warning signal which no-one heeded.

It was the fate of Shah Jehan to be overthrown by the same means as he had employed against his own father. He ended his days gazing across the Jumna to the Taj while his third son Aurangzeb, after defeating his brother Dara in a famous war of succession, sat in his place. Aurangzeb was a complete contrast to his father; puritanical rather than voluptuary; keenly orthodox instead of easy-going in religion; determined, relentless and a master of dissimulation. His ascent to the throne cost the lives of three brothers, one son and two nephews.

Aurangzeb's long reign divides neatly into two about the year 1680. Until then, his rule was a good example of Mughal statecraft, wary in the north-west, aggressive in the Deccan, internal forces carefully balanced. The one major change was that Aurangzeb saw himself as the head of an Islamic state rather than as the Muslim head of an Indian state with a Muslim state religion. This led to the reimposition of the *jaziya* tax in 1679 and a cooling of relations with the Rajputs.

The second period began with Aurangzeb's march to the Deccan to suppress the Marathas and overthrow the two surviving Muslim kingdoms. He was now an old man, implacable in the pursuit of these aims, but increasingly pietistic and pessimistic and unable to combat the economic crises which deepened during his last years. Agrarian discontent took religious forms, such as the rising of the Sikhs and the Satnami rebellion, or tribal, such as the rising of the Jats. In the five years following Aurangzeb's death (1707-1712), his son Bahadur Shah, already an old man, strove to solve the problems his father had bequeathed. Incessantly on the move, never setting foot in his capital, he tried to deal with the

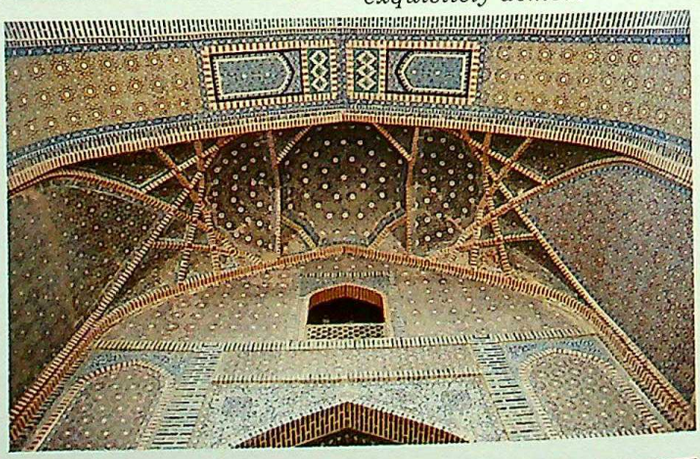


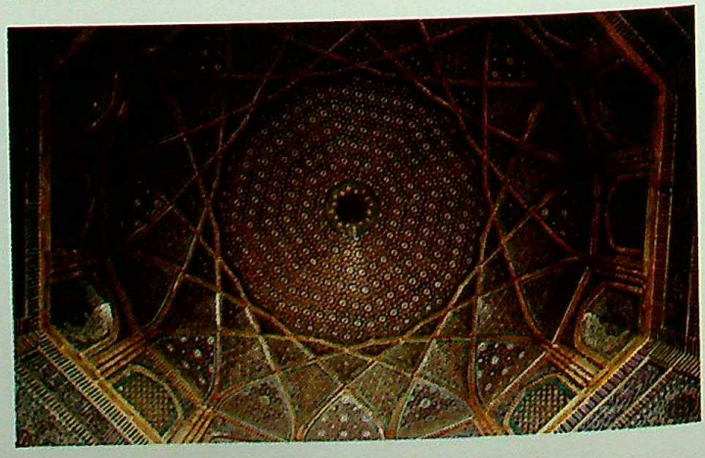
The Dai Anga Mosque (left) *was planned by Shah Jehan's* anga *or wetnurse, Zeb-un-Nisa, in 1635.*

The samadh (above) *of Jehangir.*

Shah Jehan built Shalimar Gardens in Lahore (top) *as a recreational place for his family.*

Below. *The mosque built at Thatta by Shah Jehan is exquisitely domed.*





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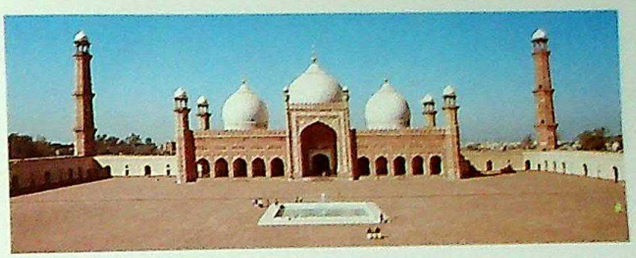

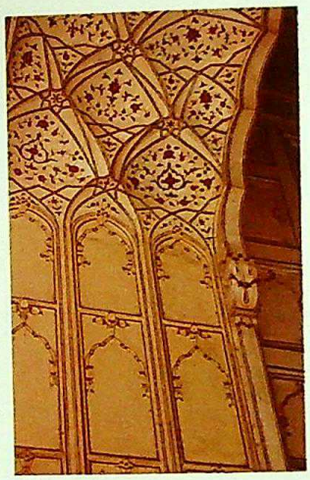

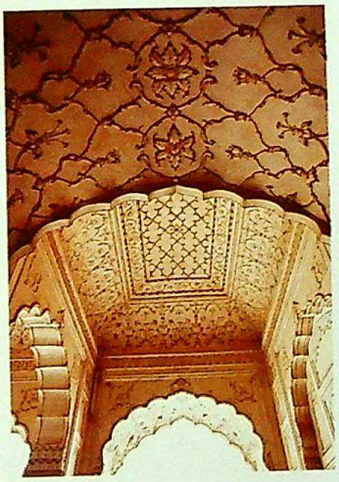

The Badshahi Mosque was built by Aurangzeb and has the largest courtyard of any mosque in the world. Its domes and minarets dominate the north-west corner of Lahore. The facade is of red sandstone with marble inlay in floral and geometric patterns. The arches are gilded.

Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats in turn. In five more years he might have made a lasting impression.

At Bahadur Shah's death the empire plunged into a series of wars of succession which hastened its decline. The Sikhs were driven to the hills in 1716, but the emperor was murdered soon after. When Muhammad Shah restored some dignity to the throne, his chief supporter Asaf Jah, disgusted by the Court's frivolity, established himself as the *nizam* (regulator) of the five Deccan provinces in 1724, thus founding the Hyderabad state. The next shock was the Maratha seizure of Malwa, which effectively cut the empire in two. Close upon this came Nadir Shah of Persia's famous occupation of Delhi, after defeating the Mughal forces at Karnal. He retired in 1739 with Shah Jehan's Peacock Throne and enough plunder to enable him to remit all taxes in Persia for three years.

Thereafter, the empire seemed to rally for a time and the first Afghan raid by Ahmad Shah Abdali was repulsed in 1748. Then there was a reverse and provinces began to drop away. Between 1739 and 1754 Kabul, Gujarat, Sind, Oudh and Punjab went in this way. Only prosperous Bengal remained loyal. It was a power struggle which finally destroyed the empire leaving Delhi the centre of a local kingdom until made a protectorate by the Marathas in 1785 and the British in 1803. There were renewed Afghan incursions in the fifties; the imperial death knell was tolled on the fatal field of Panipat in 1761. The confrontation was between the invading Afghans, supported by Muslim elements, and the Marathas, whose nationalism had developed into aggressive imperialism under a succession of able Peshwas. The sceptre of India was now the latters' goal, and they saw their chance of it, as the saviours of the divided Mughals from the intruding Afghans. The struggle which culminated at Panipat shattered the Maratha power for ten years; but the Afghan failure of nerve, and withdrawal from India on the morrow of victory, left north India without a recognized master for forty years.

So the empire fell and historians are left with the still unsolved problem as to why it fell. In fact, the collapse can be assigned to no single cause. Rather, one must look to a combination of several factors. There was certainly a failure of leadership among the Mughals after 1712; there was perhaps too much competing leadership among the nobles. Leadership rivalry or conflict is as good a formula for anarchy as any; the abler the rivals, the quicker it works. It is a fact that Aurangzeb left a series of pressing problems behind him. To treat India as an Islamic society and the Hindu majority as a dissenting minority was a political mistake, for it eroded positive Rajput support for the empire and upset the *rapport* which had existed between the two communities.

While this policy may have weakened the empire's power basis, it would not in itself have overthrown the structure. A far more serious factor was the Maratha entanglement. It was a heavy drain on the empire's financial resources, but more important still, it undermined the morale of the whole Mughal nobility, causing a sense of frustration, mounting losses and prolonged absences from home. Concentrating on control of the

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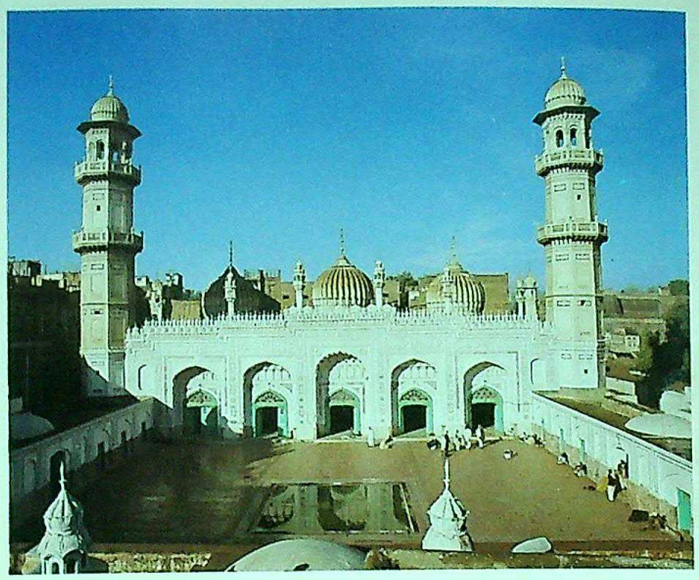
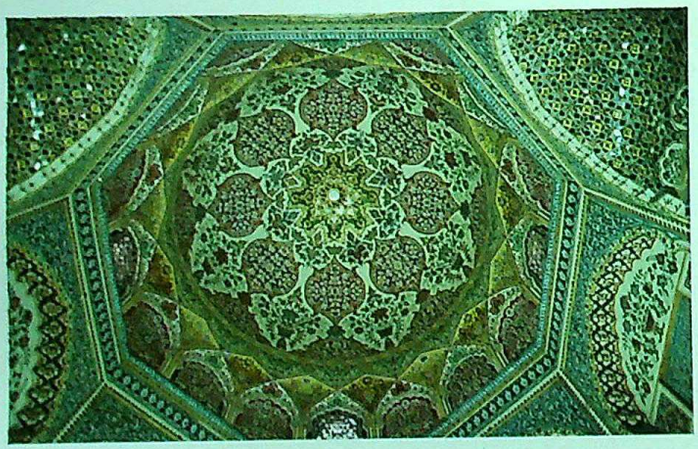
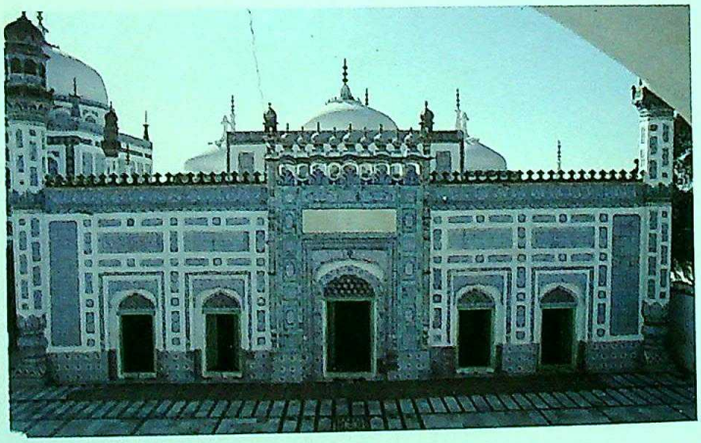


The Mahabat Khan Mosque (above and above right), *the largest in Peshawar, was built in 1630 by Mahabat Khan, Governor of Kabul, who resided in Peshawar during the summer months.*





Shah Abdul Latif, the poet-saint of Sind, selected a bhit, *or sand-dune, as his permanent abode in 1744.*

The mosque at Bhitshah begun by the poet, was completed by the Kalhoras and Talpurs.

Deccan weakened control of the north. The overthrow of the two Deccan kingdoms produced dislocation.

Above all, the prolonged conflict set in motion an economic crisis. Too large a proportion of the empire's resources was being used unproductively. Struggle and disorder in the Deccan both over-used existing resources and diminished the production of fresh ones. That is why Aurangzeb complained that he was like a physician who had only one pomegranate between a hundred sick men. This crisis steadily deepened as continued strife produced steadily increasing demands on steadily lessening resources.

Lastly there was a failure of nerve. Babur's sense of royal and cultural mission, Akbar's of creativity and Shah Jehan's of fulfilment all waned, leaving a void to be filled by self-defeating struggles for power. Aurangzeb saw salvation in the establishment of an Islamic state, but did not fully understand the economic decay at its roots. By the mid-eighteenth century Shah Waliullah, when looking for means to regenerate a threatened Muslim society, rejected the Mughal monarchy as effete and called for renaissance on the whole congregation of the Faithful.

The Mughal episode cannot, however, be abandoned on this note of disparagement. In all, the Mughals gave to India nearly two centuries of integrated rule, to Indian Islam its highest peak of cultural achievement, and to the ruling classes and their agents an overmantle of Persian culture. Finally, it produced a pattern of organized unity which, though in disarray by the time Clive seized control of Bengal, was yet coherent enough to set a precedent for Indians and a model for the British in creating their version of unity. Mughal India was the harbinger of united British India, and British India of modern India and Pakistan. Without the creative work of the Mughals neither of these last two states could have been fashioned.

P.S.

In the courtyard (opposite) *a place is reserved for* mahfil-e-sama, *the performance of spiritual folk music.*

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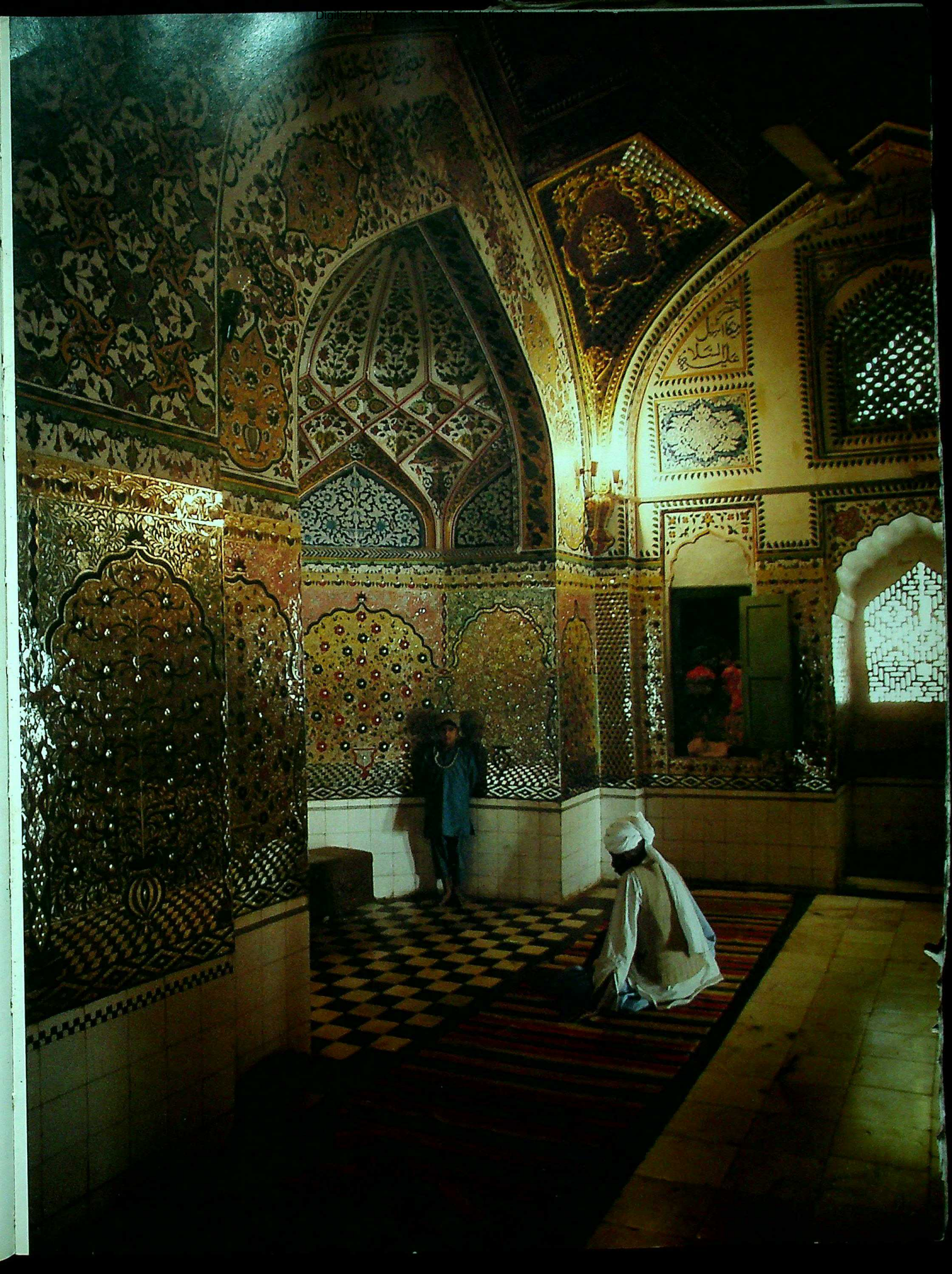

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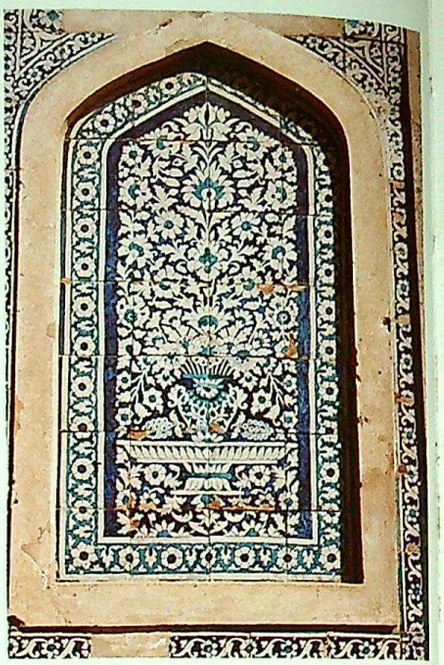

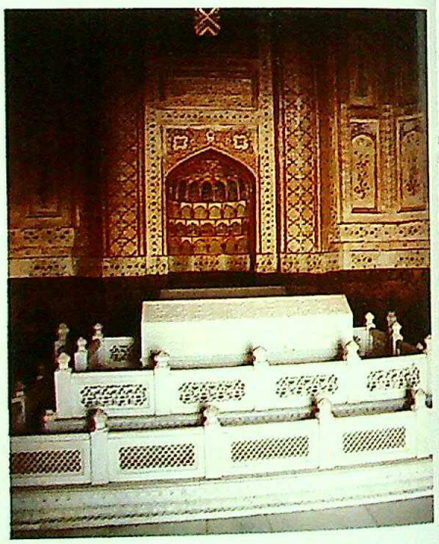

The tombs of the eighteenth century Kalhoras and nineteenth century Talpur rulers of Sind are noted for their floral painting. The most famous is that of Mir Muhammad Khan Talpur, decorated with blue glazed tilework from nearby Hala.

Confrontation with the British

In 1498, Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut on the western coast, making the Portuguese the first modern Europeans to penetrate the subcontinent in search of trade. The English ship *Tyger* sailed in 1583 to open commerce with India, carrying a letter from Queen Elizabeth I to "the most invincible and most mighty Prince, Lord Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia", but it was not until some years later, in 1608, that the first Englishman arrived at the court of Emperor Jehangir. Sir Thomas Roe was a distinguished ambassador at this court despite the fact that "frugality prescribed his allowance, his retinue, and even the present to the Mughal, with little conformity to the sumptuous prejudice of the most magnificent court in the Universe".

For the next 150 years, the East India Company remained a humble trading company requesting concessions from the court, in competition with the French, in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast. With the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughal Empire began its long descent into decay, but the signs of decline were as yet invisible, when, in 1715, the Company was able to obtain extra-territorial rights in Bengal from Emperor Farrukhsiyar. In the words of the writer and historian, John Strachey, these rights were "to prove nothing less than the beginning of the end of the independence of India".

The Mughals, who had been dealing with the Portuguese and the French as well as the English, could not possibly foresee that this course would lead to the conquest of a vast empire by an only moderately successful trading company, intermittently supported by the government of a small island in Europe, itself inhabited by less than six million people.

The process by which this conquest was achieved makes a strange and fascinating story, and is a subject of controversy even today. Bengal was the most prosperous

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province in the subcontinent in the eighteenth century, and it was here that the foundations were laid for the British Empire in India.

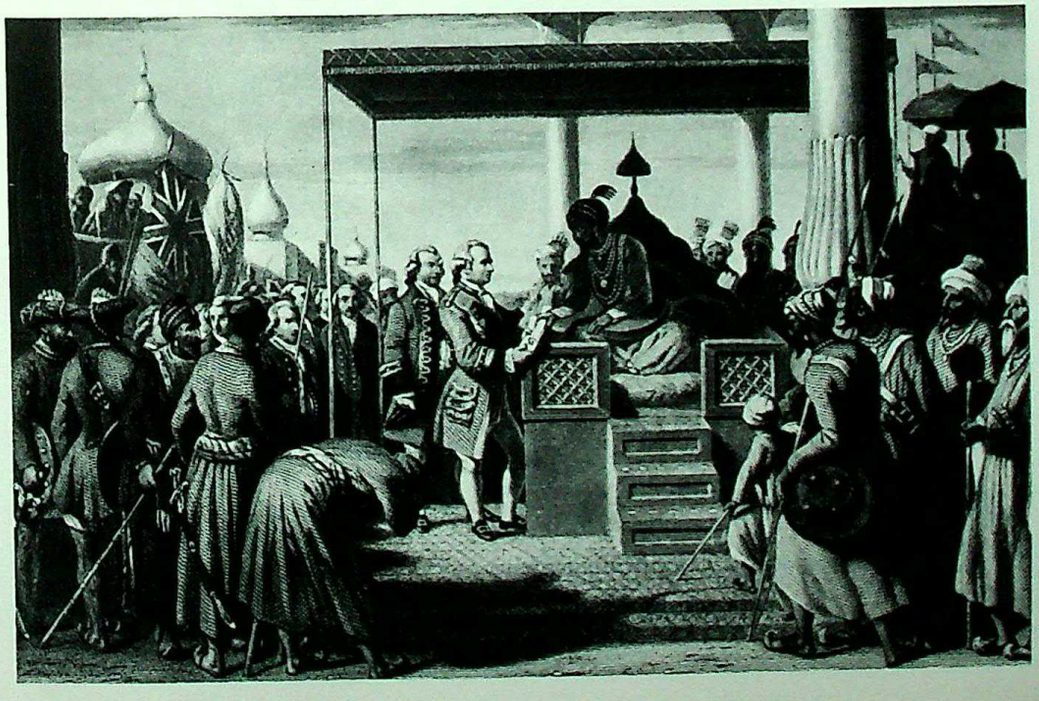
In April 1756, Alivardi Khan, one of the ablest governors of Bengal in the later Mughal empire died, and was succeeded by Sirajudaulah, a patriotic and impetuous young man. Sirajudaulah was surrounded by intriguing and ambitious relatives and opportunist *bania seths,* or petty merchants, ready to conspire with the East India Company servants who needed no encouragement to interfere in Bengal politics and stood to make vast fortunes out of gains from Indian territories. The inevitable confrontation came when the governor of the Company's settlement in Bengal gave refuge to one of Sirajudaulah's political enemies and, as a result, the latter attacked and captured Fort William in June 1756. The governor and half the garrison fled leaving the settlement to its fate. It was following the capture of the fort by Sirajudaulah that the so-called "Black Hole of Calcutta" outrage was committed, in which about sixty-four people were confined in a small cell where forty-three of them died of suffocation. This incident was used by the Company servants to launch what might be called the first atrocity propaganda campaign of modern times. Its object was to win public support in England for a predatory venture which would otherwise have aroused little interest. The Company's employees had a great deal to gain or lose in the power stakes of Bengal: a pliant nawab could mean fabulous riches.

The British Government responded with unusual vigour and turned over to the company the ships and armaments which had recently arrived in Madras for use against the French. Robert Clive, who had recently distinguished himself in the wars in southern India, was put in command of the British forces in Bengal. Calcutta was easily taken and within a short time, with the aid of the local enemies of the Nawab, Sirajudaulah was defeated at the Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757. Clive wrote of these events to the historian Orme: "fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics and the Lord knows what, in short there will be a fine field for you to display your genius in".

Clive installed Mir Jaffer, who was in league with Sirajudaulah's enemies, as the Nawab of Bengal and from this moment "private financial greed and public policy, so intertwined themselves as to commit the British inevitably to rule in India and to compass the ruin of Bengal". From gaining Bengal it was but a small step to direct confrontation with the decaying Mughal Empire. At the Battle of Baksar in 1765, which he won, Clive secured from the Emperor the *dewani,* or the right to the collection of revenues, of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. The East India Company now had formal control, and by 1818 the British were supreme in most of the subcontinent, the only areas still retaining independence being Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province – areas which today form Pakistan.

The overall progress of the British in India can be divided into five easily discernible stages. In the first, up to 1785, the Company state came into existence. From 1785 to 1798 the objective was the extension and consolidation of the British position. Then came the third period, from 1798 to 1805, when Lord Wellesley pursued his forward policy, confronting and defeating Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the Maratha confederacy in south India. A peaceful interlude occurred with the British involvement in the Napoleonic Wars in Europe from 1805 to 1813. The final phase of conquest was begun between 1813 and 1818. After that the British were to desist from further expansion until the conquest of Sind and Punjab

"The Mughals . . . could not possibly foresee . . . the conquest of a vast empire by an only moderately successful trading company, intermittently supported by the government of a small island in Europe, itself inhabited by less than six million people."



Robert Clive became first British Governor of Bengal in 1758. In a fanciful tableau, Clive is depicted with Emperor Shah Alam conferring the administration of the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the East India Company.

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which was complete by 1849.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, amidst fluctuating fortunes and wavering frontiers, there were a number of potent states in India. There was Oudh, ably ruled by Shujaudaulah; there was the Sultanate of Delhi, under the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, which came under Maratha control in 1785 and there was the Sikh rule established at the end of the eighteenth century by the dashing Sikh adventurer Ranjit Singh in Punjab. Rajasthan had its Rajput rajas – an easy prey for the Marathas. The Kalhoras had their brilliant but brief rule in Sind from the early eighteenth century until succeeded by the patriarchal and tribal rule of the Talpur family in the 1780s. Those with the best chance of challenging the British were the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Haider Ali of Mysore, who together effectively ruled central and southern India. Around 1780 it appeared that a coalition of the three powers would deal a decisive blow to the British, but Warren Hastings, proving himself a supremely able diplomat, bribed and bluffed his way out of the crisis, breaking the coalition and saving the Company, which remained in full possession of its territories.

Lord Wellesley, however, had to contend with a formidable adversary in the person of Tipu Sultan, the son of Haider Ali of Mysore. He combined the qualities of a warrior and an administrator, and with some justification he is regarded as a heroic figure. If Tipu Sultan realized that the British were the real danger to India, Lord Wellesley, who came to India as Governor-General in 1798, was no less aware that Tipu Sultan was the real barrier to British supremacy in central and southern India. Wellesley, with subtlety and skill, set about isolating Tipu Sultan. The Englishman neutralized the Nizam of Hyderabad with a subsidiary alliance and then attacked Mysore. Tipu Sultan met the attack with the utmost courage, but was killed fighting at the siege of Seringapatam. The British were rid of the most serious challenge to their predominance so far. In addition, Wellesley made a successful start in breaking the powerful Marathas. Although fighters, they were fatally disunited and incapable of forming a unifying force of opposition.

The years of Napoleonic domination of Europe were anxious ones for England and there was, as has been noted, little activity in India. With the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, however, the British were once again on the offensive. By 1818 their hegemony was complete, with its patchwork of British-protected "native states" and directly administered provinces. The only independent states left were the Sikh kingdom of Punjab, Sind in the lower Indus valley and towards the frontier the undefined region of Baluchistan and the Pathan tribes. Beyond that was Afghanistan, traditionally the route taken by the conquerors of India.

With Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and his possible designs on India, British fears about the safety of their Indian possessions were focused on the North-West Frontier. This menace was felt to be even more serious when the Franco-Russian alliance was formed in 1807. Even after the exit of Napoleon in 1815, the British viewed Russian influence at the Persian court and in Afghanistan with apprehension, and for the next half century the Russian threat was a determining factor of North-West Frontier policy.

The East India Company had treaty relations with Punjab and Sind. The river Sutlej had been fixed as the boundary between British and Sikh dominions, and the treaty relations with the Amirs of Sind were somewhat uneasy. An account by Dr. James Burnes who visited Sind in 1827 aroused renewed interest in the acquisition of the country, and shortly afterwards his brother, Alexander Burnes, was sent up the Indus (on the pretext of taking a gift of horses for Ranjit Singh) in order to report on prevailing conditions. It was not until the disastrous English expedition to Afghanistan in 1839, and the subsequent retreat of the British army in 1842,

Warren Hastings (1732–1818) became Governor-General of Bengal but was impeached (and acquitted) by Parliament for corruption.

Tipu Sahib, Sultan Shaheed of Mysore (1749–1799) persevered in the struggle against the British, but was finally killed in battle.

Sir Charles Napier (1782–1853) – combative, headstrong, and popular – annexed Sind in 1843 and became Governor of that province.

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that the acquisition of the country was felt to be vital for the defence of British India.

Consequently, Sir Charles Napier, an excitable and ambitious general, was sent to command the British forces and advance on Sind. The Talpurs, who were realistic enough to know that they did not stand a chance in any actual battle, prepared their defences but were careful to give no cause for precipitating any action by the British. James Outram, the British Resident in Sind, protested against the proposed action, pleading that the Talpur government was benevolent and patriarchal: "I say *patriarchal,* for, however we may despise the Amirs as inferior to ourselves, either in morality or expansion of intellect, each chief certainly lives *with,* and *for,* his portion of the people; and I question whether any class of the people of Sind, except the Hindoo traders, would prefer a change to the best government we could give them". Outram pleaded in vain. In a fiercely fought battle at Miani on 7 February 1843, Napier defeated the Talpur armies, annexed Sind, and sent back the triumphant news in code, "Peccavi".

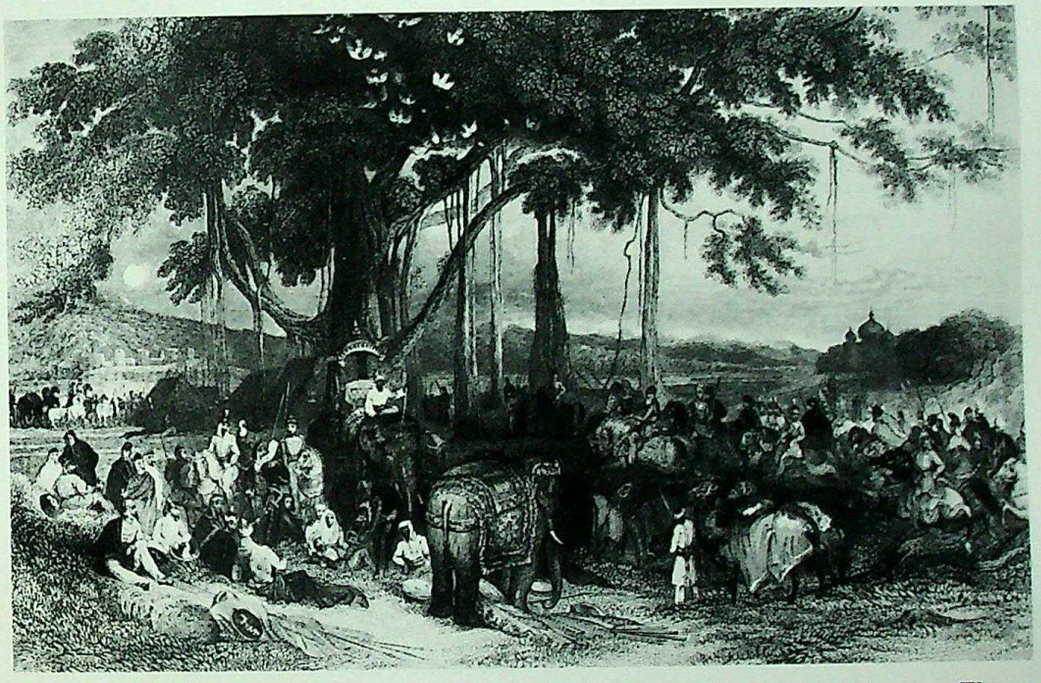
With the conquest of Sind, it was inevitable that Punjab would soon be added to the British Indian territory. After the death of Ranjit Singh, Punjab's condition had become chaotic. A succession of maharajas and pretenders died violently, and the army having usurped power acted in a cruel and high-handed manner. Rani Jindan, the regent, in an effort to break the power of the army, persuaded its leaders to attack the British. The first Sikh War began in December 1845, with the British victory in a desperately fought battle which turned in their favour as a result of treachery in Sikh ranks. The subsequent treaty gave Britain the Cis-Sutlej lands and the Jullundur Doab. Kashmir was also annexed and sold to Gulab Singh, an adventurer from Ranjit Singh's army, who had become the ruler of Jammu – the man of whom Herbert Edwards wrote "he was the worst native I have ever come in contact with, a bad king, a miser and a liar."

Punjab was taken in its entirety after Lord Gough, having been humiliated in February and March 1849 at the battles of Chilianwala and Gujrat, won an overwhelming victory. The British now annexed the whole area, including Peshawar, which had been conquered by Ranjit Singh in 1829. By defeating the Sikhs, the British had won the Indus Basin; the British Empire in India stretched north to the Khyber Pass in the North-West Frontier and west beyond the Bolan Pass in Baluchistan.

The next hundred years, until the British exit from India in August 1947, was a traumatic and revolutionary era for the newly subjugated peoples of Sind, Punjab and the Frontier.

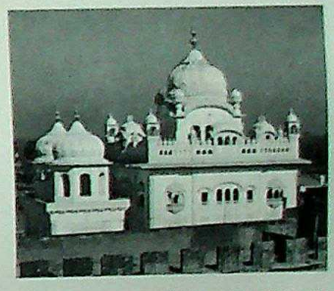
In spite of the inevitable tyranny of colonial rule and the errors made through not understanding local customs, the British were no longer the buccaneers of the early East India Company days, and they did not inflict on the Indus Valley the bitter experiences suffered by eighteenth century Bengal. British rule in these provinces was based on policies of restraint and expediency. Administrators, like John Jacob and Robert Sandeman, used not only force but diplomacy to pacify the Frontier areas. They formalized the *jirga* system, recognized the great Baluch and Pathan *sardars* and tribes and built up a successful frontier system for British India – although resistance was to continue in these areas for several decades. Pathan insurgence became particularly fierce when, in the face of Russian advance into central Asia, the British, fearing encroachment south towards India, sought to reinforce their defences by building forts and establishing garrisons in the tribal territories. It was in 1901 that Lord Curzon formed the North-West Frontier Province, including the settled lands beyond the Indus, with its capital at Peshawar. Quetta became the military outpost beyond the Bolan Pass and the capital of British Baluchistan.

H.K. et al.



Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), whose confederacy controlled Punjab, is portrayed encamped by the River Sutlej.

Ranjit Singh (top right) *enlisted French, Italian and other officers and built up an effective infantry, cavalry and artillery.*



The samadhi (above) *of Ranjit Singh erected opposite Lahore Fort on the site of his cremation, contains mosaics and marble work.*

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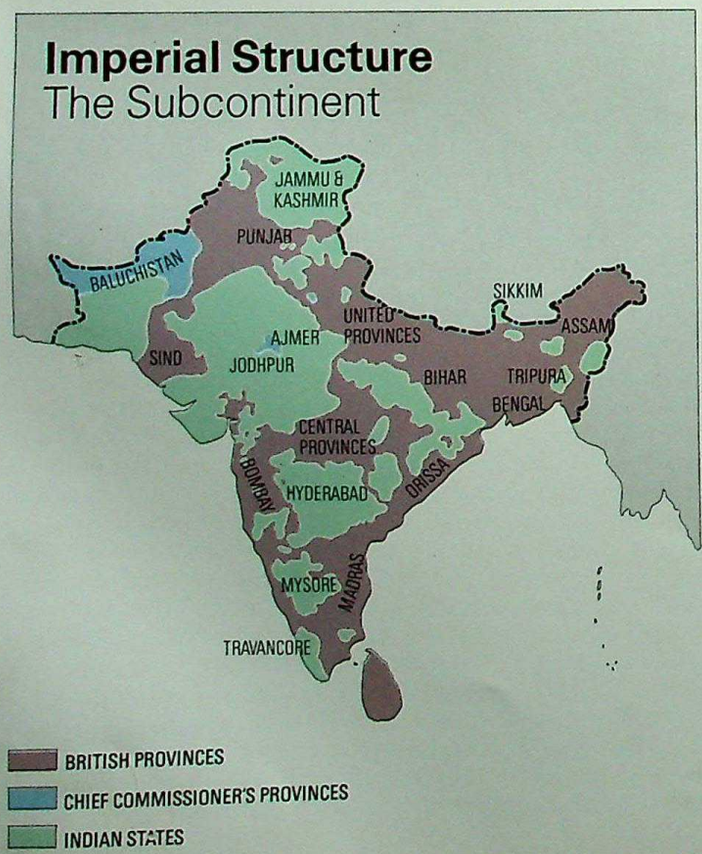
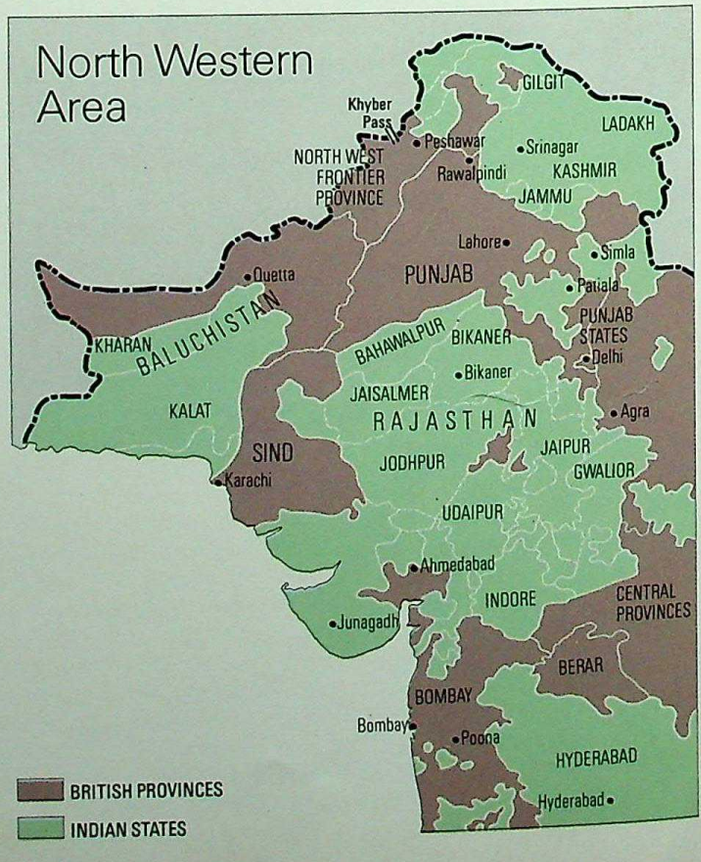
The "War of Independence" (or Indian Mutiny) of 1857 raised intense feeling on both sides and jolted Victorian England. It sounded the death knell of the East India Company's antiquated system of Government. Lucknow – illustrated here under siege by Muslim troops – was a major centre of fighting. Muslim feeling had been outraged by the rumour that pig fat was used to grease cartridges.





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The High Imperial Stage

By the middle of the nineteenth century, British rule in India appeared to be secure. Supremacy as the leading power had been established by the defeat of the Marathas in 1818. After the Second Sikh War and the annexation of Punjab in 1848, there was no rival left. But there were latent weaknesses that were to surface in the Mutiny and which later had a bearing on the partition of 1947 and the birth of Pakistan.

In the first place, the tradition that the armies of the East India Company were invincible had been shattered by the First Afghan War of 1839-42 and the disastrous retreat from Kabul. The Company's *iqbal* – habitual good fortune and success – was at an end. Equally important was a new and increasing arrogance on the British side which ranged from an insensitive disregard for Indian opinion by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, to occasional acts of boorish rudeness by recently-enlisted subalterns. In the first quarter of the century, the best men in the Company's service – Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Munro and Malcolm – had studied Indian languages and had respectfully enquired into the religions of the Hindus and the Muslims. In the second quarter of the century this imaginative tolerance became much less common, while an increasing number of the Company's servants professed a narrow form of evangelical Christianity.

This was one cause of the growing tension between the British and the Hindus and Muslims. As communications improved with Britain, more frequent leave was granted. English books and journals and even the more frequent presence of English women, all combined to turn the gaze of the British homeward and inward instead of helping them to accept India as their adopted land.

Finally there was the philosophical attitude summed up in the word Benthamism. In England this rational, materialist and progressive approach to public affairs was tempered by the conservatism of the landed aristocracy. The men sent out to India were in the main of the middle class, and many of them had been taught at Haileybury (the East India Company College) what was then called political economy, strongly tinged with the Benthamite creed. There were many administrators in India to whom, as for Bentham, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" was "the foundation of morals and legislation". They regarded hereditary privilege as an anomaly and the unequal distribution of property as an evil.

The application of these principles to India seemed to many Indians an attack on both religion and property. It gave equal offence to Hindu and Muslim. If the Hindu felt it an interference with religion to make *"suttee"* murder and to permit the remarriage of Hindu widows, the orthodox Muslim was hardly less disturbed by the attitude displayed by officers of this school of thought to *waqf* – land given as an endowment to a religious charity. Both were outraged by the eagerness to disallow the title of *zamindar*, a term which in most of India meant the holder of a right to collect land revenues from the cultivator and pay a proportion of it to the state. Such rights had often been granted to officials by Mughal emperors and they were often a family's sole security for the future, but they had not always been recorded in writing and the *zamindars* were looked on by the Benthamites as parasites on the community. This attitude threatened not only the rulers of princely states and great nobles but the much smaller owners of landed property who made up the army. In the same spirit and in the interests of progress Dalhousie made it his policy to annexe any state to which there was no natural heir and also any that, by his standards, was persistently misgoverned. Such annexations were widely felt to be unjust.

This was the background to the Mutiny in the Company's army. The trigger itself was strictly military: there had been a series of grievances over pay and allowances, due to pettifogging regulations stupidly applied, and to this source of unease was added the thoughtless introduction of cartridges greased with pork fat which were offensive to Hindus and Muslims alike. The cartridges were quickly withdrawn and that mistake would have been unimportant had it not been for the general feeling in the country that the British had abandoned their traditional policy of respecting the religions and institutions of India.

The Mutiny, when it came, was fought with severity and repressed with harshness; it left ugly memories on both sides. But the point to stress here is that the insurgents needed a figurehead behind which to rally, while the British needed a theory which would account for the shattering of their cherished illusions. When the mutineers fled from Meerut to Delhi, they compelled the unwilling old Emperor Bahadur Shah II to accept the post of figurehead. This enabled the British to believe in a widespread conspiracy to restore the rule of the Mughal emperor.

The period from the Mutiny until the introduction of the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909 began in a mood of estrangement between the British and most of the inhabitants of India, whether Hindu or Muslim. Against this the Queen's proclamation of equal opportunity for all appeared a pious intention of which the fulfilment was indefinitely postponed. It was a period in which the devotion of the British administrators to their work has seldom been equalled by any ruling class in the world. Ironically, with rare exceptions on the personal level, the work was in general negative or materialist. It was the duty of the administrators to keep order, to prevent theft and murder, to keep down the taxes, to improve the roads, to build railways and canals. In this they were impressively successful, but what were later called nation-building activities, such as education and the development of local government, took a low place in their priorities.

The prevailing spirit was still Benthamite but it was a Benthamism limited by extreme caution over interfering with the religions and cultures of the subcontinent, a caution based not on understanding and respect but on pessimism about the possibility of any rapid "improvement", that is, Europeanization. While a cold impartiality was the official creed, it was the Muslims who in the period immediately after the Mutiny were regarded with the greater suspicion. It was from the Mughal emperors that India had been won; it had been to restore the Mughal empire that the great conspiracy of 1857 had been hatched.

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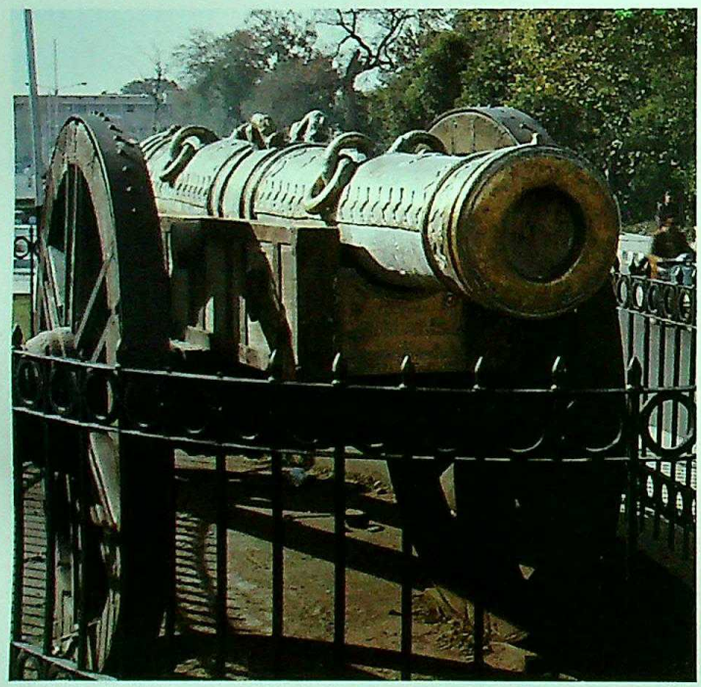
On the Muslim side, the realization was only slowly growing that the Benthamite creed of progress must operate to their disadvantage. The greatest happiness of the greatest number can hardly appeal to a people who form a minority of one in four. Freedom of opportunity came more and more to mean opportunity for the man who could pass examinations, and in western education the Hindus had already a long start. Though the Hindu social structure is tightly compartmentalized, the pantheistic nature of the Hindu religion enables it to accept ideas from all sources. In Hinduism, there are two sides to every truth. Islam on the contrary is the religion of a book and a prophet; it is strictly monotheistic and its theology is exactly defined and its ethics systematized. It is not surprising that most Muslims were still resisting any approach to education that was not based on the Quran and the Islamic tradition, at a time when Raja Ram Mohan Roy was beginning to encourage Hindus to learn all they could from the West.

Ram Mohan Roy began his life's work in 1814. It was nearly fifty years later that a leader of equal intellectual stature began to give similar advice to Muslims. Before the time of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Delhi there had been moments of revival within Indian Islam – the Barelvi movement, led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, and the Faraidhi movement – but his influence was far more widespread than theirs. He taught that the Quran should be interpreted in the light of reason and science and that the security, peace and tolerance of British rule in India entitled it to be regarded as a land of peace, *Dar-ul-Islam,* as opposed to *Dar-ul-Harb,* a land of war, as the religious leaders taught. It followed that the Indian Muslims should learn all they could from the West, and the fruit of this resolve was the foundation in 1875 of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which in 1920 became the Aligarh Muslim University. Sayyid Ahmad also taught that Muslims should stand aloof from the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, which implicitly aimed at unqualified majority rule. For Sayyid Ahmad this meant all that he most feared for Muslims. Majority rule would be Hindu rule and that would transform India once more into *Dar-ul-Harb.*

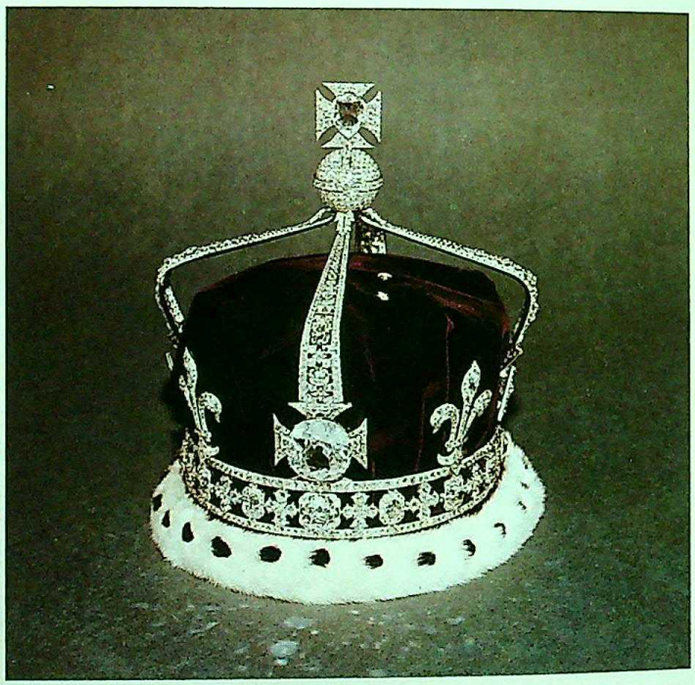
One practical result of pure British liberalism was agricultural debt in Punjab. It had been the policy to make no distinctions between classes of persons, to allow the laws of supply and demand to operate unchecked, to enforce legal debts through the courts and prevent resort to violence. This gave money-lenders, almost always Hindus, the opportunity to lend money at extortionate rates to cultivators, who were frequently Muslims, to allow arrears to accumulate and in the end to get possession of the land. Individual British administrators at the district level could seldom do much to mitigate the operation of the legal system but their sympathies swung to the peasant.

At the same time, throughout India, there was a shift of attitude among the British. With his new skills in the English language, it was the educated young man, frequently a Hindu, who was now regarded with suspicion as a rival. A genuine affection sometimes grew up in the army between the British officer and the frequently illiterate *jawan* (private), of whom about half were Punjabis, a major proportion of them Muslims, and nearly all of simple peasant stock. Belief in a Muslim conspiracy was replaced by belief in the martial classes. The *babus,* or clerks, might clamour for self-rule but the martial classes and the peasants would be faithful to the paternal rule of the British officer. This feeling at the level of district officer and battalion commander restored a warmth to British-Muslim relations. But agrarian debt in Punjab lent a bitterness to Hindu-Muslim feeling strong enough to survive Lord Curzon's Punjab Land Alienation Act, which aimed at keeping land in the hands of the traditional peasant classes.

This Act marked the abandonment by the British of the pure doctrine of Benthamite liberalism and a new readiness to protect certain classes against the results of unchecked economic competition. Few Britons believed



Zamzama, *made for Shah Wali Khan, was immortalized as Kim's Gun by Rudyard Kipling. It was used by Ranjit Singh in 1818, against Multan.*



The Koh-i-Noor was taken from Lahore and presented to Queen Victoria. It formerly belonged to the Persians, Mughals and Sikhs.

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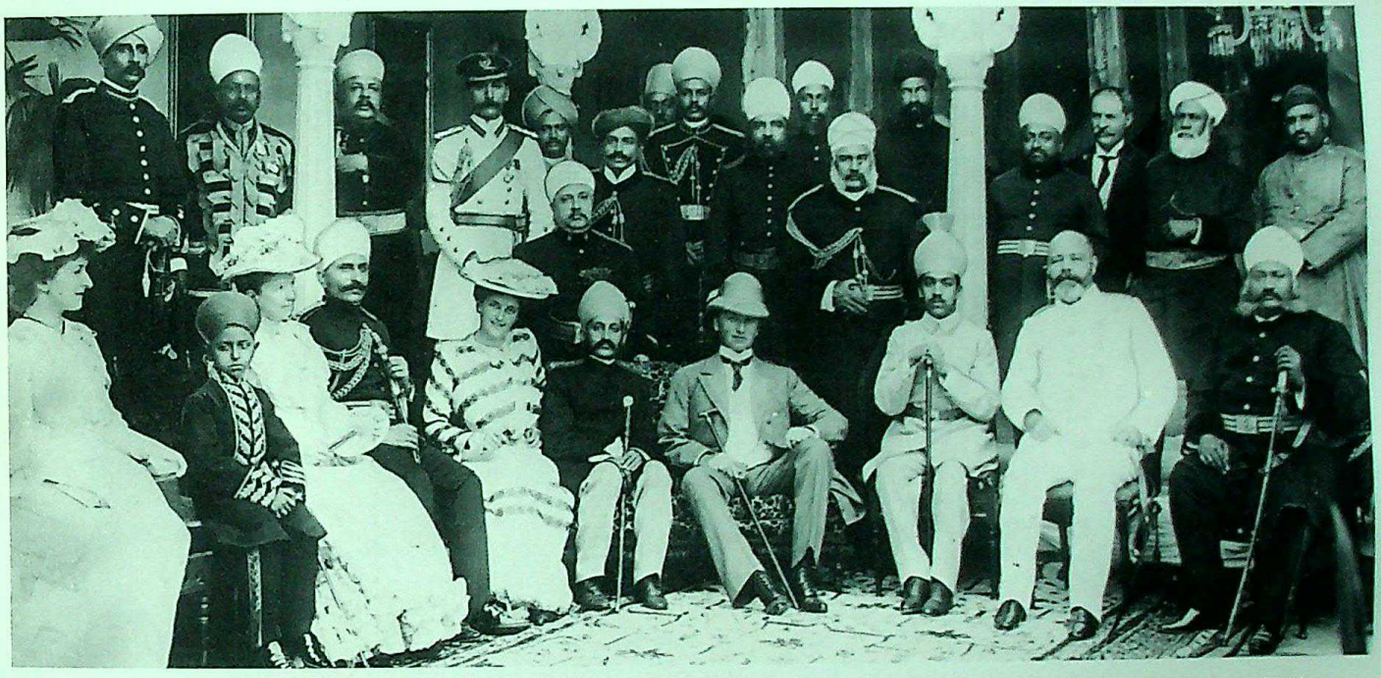
that a Hindu majority would act towards the Muslim and other minorities with the impartiality they felt they had shown themselves. The protection of minorities was, they believed, just, and the fact that it also provided a useful argument for delaying the transfer of power was no reason for not making use of it. This new protective paternalism was a factor in the partition of Bengal, announced by Lord Curzon in 1905. The province was administratively far too large and there was much to be said for dividing it. The opportunity was taken to separate the backward and largely Muslim eastern areas from the richer and predominantly Hindu west. There was a storm of protest. The educated and highly articulate middle classes of Bengal claimed that Bengal possessed a cultural, linguistic and national unity which overrode differences of religion. The government's eventually giving way to this agitation did not reassure those who believed that the cultural and national unity of Islam would be threatened under majority rule.

Constitutional development between the Mutiny and Lord Curzon's resignation in 1905 had been slow. One important step, the Local Government Acts of 1883-84, gave increased powers to District and Sub-divisional boards, which would henceforth elect a portion of their members. The intention of the Act was to educate local leaders in democratic procedure. It was a cautious move in the direction of majority rule. Again, in 1892, there was an increase in the powers of legislative councils. But by the time the next step came to be taken, the new mood of paternal protection had begun to replace the old assumption that advance, however cautious, must be in the direction of a popular involvement in which there would be no distinction of creed or caste. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 enlarged the legislative councils in the provinces and increased their powers. There was now an unofficial majority and most of the unofficial members were elected. The central assembly was also increased in size and powers, but here there was still an official majority, though a small one. It was another cautious step in the direction of parliamentary government, but a new principle was introduced. When discussion of these measures had begun in 1906, the Muslims had formed the All-India Muslim League and had begun to press for separate electorates which would elect a specified number of Muslim representatives. The Congress opposed any such idea as divisive; the League insisted that an open electorate would be unjust. Both were right, and here, in embryo, was the argument that led to Pakistan. Separate electorates for Muslims were in fact created at the centre and in some of the provinces. It was paternal protection.

In 1909, the possibility of the British leaving still seemed absurdly remote, but talk of constitutional progress and of self-government was in the air and, at the personal level, many British administrators and soldiers continued until Partition to feel sympathy for Muslim views. They approved of the straightforward realism with which many Muslims spoke to them about the future. Such Britons felt that Islam, with its kinship with the religions of Moses and Jesus and its affiliation with Greek learning, was intelligible, while Hinduism was alien and beyond comprehension. Not only would Hindu clannishness be a danger to minorities but it would be hard for Britain to maintain ties of friendship with an India in which the Indian National Congress loomed steadily larger. On the political level, however, the honeymoon of 1909 with the Muslims was short-lived. The Sultan of Turkey was still the Caliph of Islam. In the days of Disraeli, to support Turkey had been a corner-stone of British policy. But after the Balkan War of 1912-13, it seemed that Britain had decided to acquiesce in the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. Few Indian Muslims yet realized that Turkey was on the way to becoming a secular state. Meanwhile, the confidence born in all Asians since the defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905 had brought a new urgency to Indian nationalism in all its forms. Syed Ahmad Khan had died in 1898 and Indian Muslims began to feel that his message of co-operation with the British and borrowing from the West was not sufficiently dynamic.

His place as an influential thinker was taken by Muhammad Iqbal, who criticized the West for its super-



Lord Curzon, Viceroy from 1899 to 1905, seen with H.H. the Nizam at Aina-Khana, who found it impossible to accept the growing spirit of nationalism.

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ficiality and materialism, and preached the spiritual force of Islam as uniting all aspects of life and creating in Muslims a unity that was cultural as well as religious and bound them together into one nation. It was this thinking that provided the philosophy for Pakistan. But already, at the beginning of the century, there were Indian Muslims, mostly settled in areas where they were in a minority, who took the contrary view. They believed that they would have to live as neighbours with Hindus and that their best course was to cooperate with the Congress, exerting within it sufficient influence to make sure that Muslim interests should not be altogether forgotten.

The War of 1914-18 began with demonstrations of loyalty to the British by the representatives of a people who were still largely inarticulate. Indian nationalists, whether Muslim or Hindu, were bound to detest the autocracy and militarism of Germany and the unprovoked invasion of Belgium, but that simple reaction was overshadowed, as the war dragged on, by the conviction that if the war was being fought for freedom they should have some say in how it was waged. For many Indian Muslims this was intensified by Turkey's alliance with Germany. The Indian Army was fighting in Egypt, Iraq and Palestine against the Caliph of Islam; to some of the most active Indian Muslims, this outweighed other considerations to such an extent that they joined the *Khilafat* movement of the Ali (Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali) brothers and in the Lucknow Pact (1916) allied themselves with the Congress in return for recognition of the principle of separate electorates. The movement was ostensibly concerned with the safety and future of the *khilafat,* that is the office of Caliph, but in the minds of the peasantry was inevitably associated with the word *khilaf,* common in Urdu, meaning against, opposed to, on the contrary.

The movement lost its original grounds for existence in 1924 when the Caliphate was abolished in Turkey by the secular government of Ataturk. Even before that the alliance with the Congress had broken down. The announcement in 1917 by Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State, that the aim of the British Government was "the gradual development of self-governing institutions" sharpened the anxiety of Muslims, while it failed to satisfy the Congress. The delay before the inauguration of the new constitution in 1921 heightened both effects. From 1919 onwards the pace at which national aspiration would be realised was the overriding concern of political India. Under the leadership of Gandhi, the decision was taken to launch a mass movement that would involve the whole people, down to village level. Such a movement under such a leader was bound to assume a religious colouring, and to most Muslims this was bound to be a cause of apprehension. From now onwards, Muslims grew in their suspicions of the Congress; they were notably increased by Gandhi's attitude to separate electorates and his claim to represent the whole of India. There was further bitterness in 1937 when the Congress refused to give seats in provincial cabinets to the Muslim League.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, attempts by the British to push India into a generalized progress irrespective of creed, caste and family had led to the Mutiny. Ninety years later, a series of steps, more cautious, but in the same direction, led to the partition of the Empire to which it had been their proud boast that they had given unity.

P.M.

The Cultural Encounter

The cultural interaction of the British and the Indo-Muslim community evokes many images and raises more questions. The images range from *Kim* to cricket: the camaraderie between British Army commanders and their Muslim adjutants, British colonels playing polo, Sandhurst-trained Muslim officers showing off their military slang, the English addiction to afternoon tea, the Savile Row sartorial ostentation of the Muslim aristocracy and the lively interest in sports like hockey and football among the Muslim youth. At a higher conscious level, there was the sedulous cultivation by the Muslim politicans of the quirks and practices of English parliamentary debate. More lasting has been the agonised learning and self-conscious use of the English language by Western-educated Muslims, punctilious in grammar and lacking in life.

Any listing of such examples, random or comprehensive, is bound to appear lop-sided. The Muslim community took more from the British than the British were willing or obliged to receive in turn. This was natural; in a colonial situation, there could not be a parity in the influences exerted by one culture on the other. Moreover, these examples betray the superficiality of the whole phenomenon. British influence during, or as a result of, the British *raj,* appears lacking in depth, if one subtracts from it the impact of Westernization which is ubiquitous and is felt as much in societies that were never directly subjugated as in the formerly colonial ones.

An assessment of the penetration of British culture into the Indo-Muslim community will first have to answer the question: how does a Westernized (or Anglicized) Pakistani differ from, say, his Arab counterpart? How much Westernization is an irresistible consequence of the acquisition of science and technology and how much was brought about by the intimacy of contact between the rulers and the ruled? If the former proportion vastly exceeds the latter, what blocked the osmosis? Across what chasm were the two cultures encountering each other? If culture means the expression of a people's patterns of thought and feeling, were there no similarities between the two sets of patterns, no points of correspondence, on which some kind of a synthesis could be based? To answer the questions, one has to recapture the climate of the British *raj*.

The first phase of the encounter between the Indo-Muslim community and the British covers the period when there still existed Muslim sovereignties in India and the British were traders who eventually established themselves as vassals of the Mughals. Whatever were its political implications and its historical sequel, this was a phase when the governing attitudes on the two sides were conducive to some kind of learning from each other. The two main elements in the British attitude were a certain respect for the not-yet-extinct Mughal civilization and a watchful opportunism stemming from an expansionist impulse. The Indo-Muslim attitude was one of curiosity sustained by a total ignorance of the maritime revolution. It was during this period that many an Englishman, wishing to advance his career in India, would seek to acquire a proficiency in Persian to the point of composing verses or ornate epistles in the language of the

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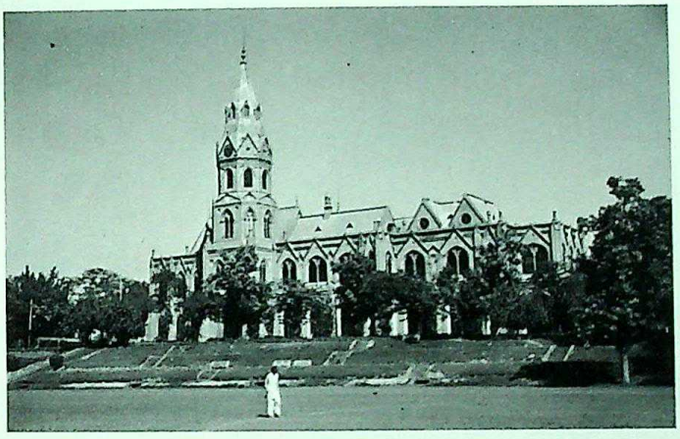
Indo-Muslim court.

However, even during this period when there were no barriers of domination or servility, the two cultures did not interpenetrate. This was due to several factors. First, the British merchant or mercenary soldier could not be a leaven in British society upon his return home. Secondly, the Englishman brought with him bourgeois habits of thought and behaviour which, despite a common language, were incomprehensible to the Muslim feudal class with whom he had to deal. The gulf between the bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy is unbridgeable. The one factor that could have narrowed it was religion: here was a department of life in which a sense of affinity could be established between Muslims and Christians because of the kinship of their faiths. But the record of British rule in India yields scant evidence that the Christian felt closer to the Muslim than to the Hindu or the Muslim preferred the Christian to the idolators. From the English side, the explanation lay not only in the memory of the Crusades and the historical



Government College, Lahore, a sample of Victorian architecture, exemplifies the imperial values that flourished during British rule.

rivalry between the Muslim and the Christian power, but also in the Englishman's entry into a social ambiance where the Muslim looked to him in distinguishable from non-Muslim. To the Muslim the Christian appeared, not as a believer in the Jesus who is revered in Islam as Allah's apostle, but as a follower of a Romanized faith garbed in an alien idiom and iconography.

If such was the gulf during the first tentative phase, it became immense during the second, when Muslim rule rapidly disintegrated and the triumphant British power convinced itself of its superiority, not only in military science, but also in standards of justice and diplomatic dealings, indeed in social and political intelligence. This coincided with the beginning of the industrial revolution in Britain, the acceleration of Britain's campaign of girdling the earth and, significantly in the subcontinental context, the coming of the evangelists and their determined assault on Islamic beliefs and sensibilities. The new temper was best expressed by Macaulay in his celebrated note on the place of English in India.

The Hindu, unburdened with a continuous literary heritage, seized the opportunity thus offered to assimilate Western science and scholarship. The Muslim, however, was still saturated with a complex tradition which had absorbed elements from Arab, Persian and Central Asian cultures as well as those drawn from the South Asian environment. In his cultural milieu, both the British missionary and the British educationalist appeared to be hostile, aggressive intruders, threatening his intellectual displacement. Decades later, the Aligarh movement, of course, took root and the Indo-Muslim community turned to Western education. But the result was no deep and lasting transformation of sensibility. This is evidenced in the domain of literature. Poetry being the Muslim's cherished art-form, a keen interest was shown in English poetical literature; but the Muslim studied it in isolation from its social context and detached from its links with corresponding developments in music and painting. He knew his Wordsworth and Tennyson but Turner meant little to him; he was acquainted with Donne and Milton, but not with Handel. English exerted a considerable influence on the development of prose and new verse-forms in Urdu and, more importantly, on the enlargement of its vocabulary. But what happened was no more than the application of a veneer – the grain remained stubbornly native.

The illustrative aspect of the domination of British culture in India in the third phase of the maturity of the *raj* in the mid-nineteenth century is a still unstudied field. What it shows is how difficult it is to implant categories of thought begotten by the social, economic and intellectual life of one society upon another and what reactions such implantation produces. The participation by the Indo-Muslim and the Hindu communities in the political processes and institutions of British India and the language of political discourse in the independence movements of both (with the exception of that under Gandhian influence) gave the impression for a time that a Hindu-Muslim elite had thoroughly absorbed the modes of Western political thinking. But it was an elitist political culture and it remained fragile. This is abundantly proved by political developments in Pakistan between 1950 and 1972 and in India after 1975. Howsoever evaluated, these developments were caused by the assertion of the native mentality by the power groups which have not internalized the disciplines of corporate behaviour that are the essence of Anglo-Saxon democracy. The gulf between the common Muslim and the common Englishman (in his own habitat) was vividly demonstrated in their contrasting attitudes to two such institutions, far removed from each other, as government and medicine. The depersonalized nature of both looked logical to the English mind, a bizarre phenomenon to the Muslim.

It would be uncharitable to decry that part of the cultural effort of the Indo-Muslim community which was launched specifically to make it respectable in English eyes. Its motive was a search for anchorage. To the degree that it sought to counteract that devaluation of the past which is one of the indices of colonialism, it too was a part of the liberation struggle. This is true even of the religious expositions, written in English, which sought to vindicate Islam in terms of the Victorian or Edwardian British middle class. But to the degree that its tone was exhibitionist, it was warped by the snobbishness which reflected a confusion of values and gave it a strong colonial odour. Unsurprisingly, its appeal is now eroded. This fact, coupled with the phenomenon that the specifically British culture today bears hardly a trace of the past imperial connection with the Indo-Muslim community, serves only to show the evanescence of a symbiosis which is not brought about in freedom between two peoples.

M.Y.B.

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Struggle for Independence

The growth of British power in the subcontinent led to the progressive erosion of the socio-economic life of the Muslims.

The first blow was struck in Bengal when, in 1698, the East India Company secured the *zamindari* (peasant proprietorship) rights and followed it up by depriving the Nawabs of Bengal of the prerogative to grant *jagirs* (estates) or appoint persons to high offices. The Muslim aristocracy and peasantry were the worst affected.

The next blow came when, in 1765, Clive extorted from the figure-head of a Mughal emperor, Shah Alam (1728-1806), the *dewani*, that is, the right to collect the revenue and run the civil administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Muslims were displaced from their position in Bengal's economic life. Their deprivation was, therefore, acute. The introduction of the system of permanent settlement in Bengal in 1793 by Cornwallis (1738-1805) dealt yet another blow to Muslim proprietary interests. Under this settlement, the lands of Bengal and Bihar were made over to the new *zamindars* (landlords), mostly Hindus, without any survey of the records of landed rights or even the boundaries of the estates.

The subsidiary alliance system under Wellesley (1760-1842), enabling him to extend the Company's control over the principalities that agreed to sign the alliance, the policy of their annexation or conversion into buffer states, and the doctrine of lapse and adoption, by which heirless rulers were not allowed to adopt heirs and their princedoms lapsed to the Company, were some of the devices which caused untold hardships not only to the Muslim landed aristocracy but to all the institutions, crafts and commerce which were directly or indirectly supported by it. It became difficult, for example, for the Muslims to maintain or endow their educational institutions. The Company resumed a large portion of rent-free lands on which *madrassahs* (schools) and other Muslim educational institutions were built. In certain cases, the Company also took over the Muslim endowments and diverted the funds to other purposes.

It was against this background of political decline and economic deterioration that two outstanding social and religious reformers appeared on the scene. Shah Waliullah (1703-1761) advocated that Islam was not merely a matter of belief and worship, but also a code of conduct affecting daily life. For bringing the people into greater contact with it, he translated the Quran into Persian – the first ever in that language – and thereby opened a new chapter in the history of Islamic studies in the subcontinent. His sons later translated the Quran into Urdu.

Shah Waliullah's work was carried on by his disciples, the most illustrious among them being Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi (1786-1831). He launched a movement aimed at the renaissance of Islam in the subcontinent and resistance to foreign domination. Declaring that India was *Dar-ul-Harb* (a land of war), he migrated to Afghanistan to organize his forces, and died fighting against the Sikhs at Balakot.

Apparently there remained no danger of an armed revolt against British rule after the death of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi in 1831. But the revolt did occur in 1857 in the shape of what is called "the Mutiny" in the West and the "War of Independence" in the subcontinent. It was attended by excessive retaliations and soured the relations between the British and the Muslims of the subcontinent for a long time to come. To the British it seemed that the Muslims were mainly responsible for the revolt, as it aimed at restoring the Mughal paramountcy. In comparison with them, their Hindu collaborators appeared more concerned with local territorial gains for themselves than with the revival of Muslim rule over the subcontinent. Consequently, Muslims were suppressed by the British in every sphere of activity in the subcontinent, while Hindus were favoured and encouraged. Leaving Muslims under this severe handicap, Hindus entered the British-run educational institutions, joined government services and took to trade, commerce and industry.

To enable Muslims to overcome the trauma of the loss of their power and their resultant alienation, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) sought to bridge the gap between mediaeval and modern Islam, and counselled the acquisition of Western education and the cultivation of scientific enquiry. He set up a Translation Society in 1864 which arranged for Urdu translations of English books on history, science and literature. In 1877, he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, later to become the famous Aligarh University. While, in the political field, Syed Ahmad Khan co-operated with the Hindu leadership on certain matters affecting the subcontinent, he projected a reading of the contemporary situation which denoted a clear separation of Muslim and Hindu interests. Speaking, for example, on the Self-Government Bill, he forcefully pointed out the danger of elections, without safeguards and on the British pattern, in a country where the Hindus and the Muslims were, in effect, "two different nations". For this reason also, Syed Ahmad Khan advised Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress which a retired British civil servant, O. H. Hume, had founded in 1885, and which was later dominated by theHindu leadership. For the Muslims, he founded the Muhammadan Educational Congress in 1886 (the word "Congress" was changed to "Conference" in 1890), which held meetings in various cities and spread the message of Aligarh to all parts of the subcontinent.

The religious prejudice of the Indian National Congress was demonstrated when the Viceroy, Lord Curzon (1859-1925), partitioned the province of Bengal in 1905 which had become an unwieldy administrative unit. The establishment of a Muslim-majority province of East Bengal provoked the hostility of the Congress which launched an all-out agitation, compelling the British to annul the partition of Bengal in 1911. The agitation owed its success to the participation in it by Hindus throughout India. But it deeply affected Muslim political opinion. This was manifested in the steps that were taken by Muslim leaders to lay the foundation of the All-India Muslim League at Dacca in 1906.

In the initial stages the League confined itself primarily to safeguarding exclusively Muslim interests, such as separate electorates and weightage for minorities in the central and provincial legislatures. But, apart from the annulment of the partition of Bengal, there were other concerns pressing upon Muslim consciousness in the subcontinent, which stimulated a widespread political awareness and involvement. and led to the League playing a more broad-based role. Among these were the

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Turko-Italian war (1911) in which the British declaration of neutrality was viewed as a betrayal of the Turks and consequently of the Muslims, the Balkan war (1912) which was regarded as an attempt by the western powers to drive Turkey out of Europe, and the refusal to raise the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, to the level of an affiliating university, which was interpreted as a determined British policy to keep Muslims from the mainstream of educational and intellectual advancement in the subcontinent.

In 1913, the League revised its constitution and included in its objectives "the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India". The change was to serve two purposes: to bring League politics into line with the nationalist movement in India and to compel the Government to revise its policy towards Turkey. This change was widely hailed by the advanced sections of Muslim opinion and persuaded Quaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah that he should enrol in the League.

One of the significant achievements of the Quaid, after joining the League, was to secure an agreement between it and the Congress on a scheme of constitutional reforms leading to self-government, known as the Lucknow Pact (1916). It earned him the title of "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" and demonstrated his eagerness to come to terms with Hindu leaders in the vital interest of securing an end to alien subjugation.

The British responded to the joint demand of the Congress and the League by promising political reforms after the First World War. However, when the War came to an end in 1918, the Treaty of Sevres (1920) was imposed on Turkey which led to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The Muslims had looked upon the Ottoman Empire as the last bastion of Muslim power. They launched a nation-wide movement in support of the Caliphate, known as the Khilafat Movement, whose chief protagonists were the famous Ali brothers – Muhammad Ali (1878-1931) and Shaukat Ali (1863-1938). Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1860-1948) offered to cooperate with the Muslims on the issue of the Caliphate and started *satyagarah,* passive resistance. The Quaid-e-Azam, however, was sceptical of the relevance of the issues that had thus been brought to the fore and questioned the feasibility of the Gandhian technique of civil disobedience and non-cooperation for meaningful political action. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi eventually called off the *satyagarah* on the plea that it had turned violent instead. Meanwhile, the Turkish Government itself abolished the institution of the Caliphate.

The Muslims and the Hindus of the subcontinent had yet another opportunity to come to terms with each other when the British Government appointed the Simon Commission (1927) to review the working of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms (1921) and to make recommendations for a new constitution for India. The Commission had no Indian members. The Congress decided to boycott it. The League was divided. Sir Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932), a prominent leader from Punjab, who had become the leader of a faction of the League, favoured cooperation, whereas the Quaid opposed it. The League session met under the Quaid at Calcutta and appointed a sub-committee to negotiate with the Congress. An All Parties Conference met in 1928 to draft a constitution for India. The report of the Conference was published in 1928. It was called the Nehru Report as the drafting sub-committees' chairman was Motilal Nehru (1861-1931). The Nehru Report came as a shock to the Muslims as its constitutional provisions virtually relegated them to the position of second-class citizens, permanently to remain a minority under the government of an unalterable Hindu majority.

Not to be deterred, Jinnah put forward his counter-proposals to the Nehru Report in an attempt to give a coherent and workable shape to the constitutional scheme for the independence of the subcontinent. These, which came to be known as the historic "Fourteen Points", envisaged: a federal constitution, a uniform measure of provincial autonomy, an adequate representation of minorities in all elected bodies, including the legislatures, a system of separate electorates, not less than one-third representation of Muslims in Parliament, an assurance that any future territorial adjustment would not affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Bengal, a guarantee of religious freedom to all communities, a constitutional provision that a bill would not be passed if opposed by three-fourths of the members of any community in an elected body, separation of Sind from Bombay, introduction of reforms in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, an assured share for Muslims in the services, safeguards for the protection and promotion of Muslim culture, the composition of at least one-third of the central and provincial cabinets by Muslim representatives and the condition that any change in the constitution must have the concurrence of the states forming the Indian federation. But the Congress was obdurate and rejected Jinnah's "Fourteen Points". His disappointment was acute and it was shared by Muslims throughout the subcontinent. "This is the parting of the ways," he said.

That was March 1929. In December 1930, Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), in his presidential address to the All-India Muslim League, articulated the proposition that Muslim-majority areas of the subcontinent should constitute a separate Muslim State. It was the first time that such an idea was put forward from the platform of a political party. Several contemporary thinkers (including some Hindu analysts) had, in some form or another, been advocating the division of the subcontinent as a solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem. Iqbal's idea of a separate state caught the imagination of the Muslims of the subcontinent. His poetry and philosophy had already kindled their enthusiasm for the pursuit of Islamic values in the context of the contemporary progressive society. Now he made them aware of the danger of the loss of their identity if, instead of lamenting the vanishing of their glorious past, they did not turn their minds to advancing their future prospects. Feeling that the Muslims of the subcontinent needed to be organized into a disciplined community and galvanized into preparing themselves for a decisive struggle, he singled out Jinnah as the one person capable of espousing their cause and leading them to their goal. Iqbal urged Jinnah to lead the nation.

Jinnah was a realist *par excellence;* he would not promote an idea unless it was translated into terms of concrete action in a specific situation. Between 1930,

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when Iqbal gave authentic expression to the idea of an independent Muslim State, and 1940, when Jinnah converted it into a national proposal, a number of developments occurred that promoted the idea of Hindu hegemony over the entire subcontinent.

Three Round Table Conferences were summoned in London by the British Government to work out a scheme for qualified self-government. The first ended in failure as Mahatma Gandhi, who had launched a civil disobedience movement, refused to attend. The second proved abortive as Gandhi, who came as the sole representative of the Congress, pleaded inability to accommodate Muslim demands, which were still far more modest than they eventually became. The third resulted in the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, announcing the Communal Award (1932), which conceded separate electorates to the Muslims. It was followed by the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935 by the British Parliament.

This British-promulgated constitution for India provided self-government in the provinces and envisaged their eventual federation, with Britain as the ultimate arbiter. Elections to the provincial legislatures were held in 1937 and contested by all parties, including the Congress and the League. The League did well in Muslim-minority provinces, but not so well in Muslim-majority ones, where parochial parties had entrenched themselves with British support in varying degrees. Out of the eleven provinces, the Congress formed ministries in seven, while the League entered into coalition ministries in the other four.

The Congress rule in the Hindu-majority provinces accentuated the fears of Muslims. Independent inquiries confirmed reports of discrimination against Muslims and suppression of their culture. The Congress flag flew on public buildings; *Bande Matram* (a song from the anti-Muslim Bengali novel, *Anand Nath)* was made the national anthem; Hindi replaced Urdu; cow-slaughter was banned; Muslim representation in the services was reduced; the Wardha system of education, which had pronounced overtones of Hindu revivalism was sought to be enforced; Gandhi's portrait was worshipped and school textbooks extolled the virtues of Hindu culture. The Congress rule produced a deep sense of insecurity and resentment among Muslims. Meanwhile, the Second World War broke out in 1939, and, taking advantage of Britain's difficulties, the Congress demanded the transfer of power as a precondition to cooperation in the war effort. The British refused to concede the demand, whereupon the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned. The Muslims observed the day – 22 December 1939 – as "the Day of Deliverance".

On 23 March 1940, at the League session in Lahore, the historic declaration, known as the "Pakistan Resolution", was moved by A. K. Fazlul Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, and adopted. "No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles: namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign." Endorsing it in his presidential address, the Quaid-e-Azam said: "To yoke together two such nations (as the Hindus and the Muslims) under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent. Mussulmans are a nation according to any definition of the term and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state."

The Pakistan Resolution spurred the Muslims of Bengal, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier into unprecedented political activity. They rallied round the Quaid, giving him unquestioning loyalty. A number of writers and thinkers expounded the rationale of the Muslim demand for a separate homeland. Chaudhri Rehmat Ali (1893-1951), a student at Cambridge, had coined in 1933 the word "Pakistan", by taking the letter 'P' from Punjab, 'A' from Afghania (by which name he preferred to call North-West Frontier), 'K' from Kashmir, 'S' from Sind and the suffix 'Tan' from Baluchistan.

The Congress reaction to the Muslim demand for a homeland was adamantly negative; Gandhi called it the "vivisection" of a sacred cow. Spurning negotiations with the League on the issue, it decided to intensify its campaign of forcing the British authorities to transfer power to the Congress alone. The war cabinet of Winston Churchill (1874-1965) sent Sir Stafford Cripps (1889-1952) to India in 1942 to negotiate with the Congress and the League leaders. Gandhi termed the Cripps proposals as "a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank". The Congress was not willing to wait until the end of the war. Since the Congress rejected the proposals, the League saw no basis in them for any practicable new arrangement. The Muslims, however, had the satisfaction that the proposals had at least implicitly recognized the possibility of a separate Muslim state through the provision by which provinces choosing to remain outside the Indian Union could form a union of their own. After the failure of the Cripps mission, the Congress launched the "Quit India" movement in 1942. The Quaid condemned the agitation and advised the Muslims to keep out of it. C. Rajagopalachari (1879-1972), a leader of standing in the Congress, attempted to convince Gandhi and the Congress to come to terms with Jinnah, but his efforts were fruitless.

Gandhi's "Quit India" campaign foundered in 1942-43, and there prevailed a kind of stalemate until the end of the World War. In the middle of 1945, however, the Viceroy was directed to convene a conference of the Indian leaders in Simla to formulate a basis for the setting up of a national government with the participation of both the League and the Congress. This too was unproductive because the Congress would not accept that the Muslim members of the proposed cabinet should be exclusively nominated by the League. Some weeks later, it was announced that general elections would be held in January 1946. The results of the elections gave striking proof that the Muslims ranged solidly behind the Quaid-e-Azam. In the Central Assembly, the League won all the Muslim seats. It also won a large majority of the Muslim seats in the provinces of Punjab, Sind, Assam, and Bengal and a substantial proportion in North-West Frontier. Province. A few months later, the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee (1855-1967), sent a three-member Cabinet

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The meeting on June 2nd, 1947 at which partition and independence was decided upon, involved (from the right) *Mountbatten, Nehru, Patel, Kripilani, Baldev Singh, Nishtar, Liaquat Ali and Jinnah.*

Mission to India. It proposed a centre with limited powers and the setting up of three groups of provinces: the Hindu-majority provinces, the eastern, and the western Muslim-majority provinces, each group having the right to frame its own constitution. The League accepted the proposed agreement in the hope that the scheme would mean a peaceful transition to independence and a fully sovereign Pakistan would eventually emerge through a constitutional process. The Congress also at first accepted the proposals. But, later, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, said that the Congress would enter the proposed Constituent Assembly, "completely unfettered by the agreement and free to meet all situations as they arise", and that the grouping of the provinces was not obligatory. The League's foreboding that the Congress had accepted the Cabinet Mission plan only to sabotage it, proved right. It was now compelled to revise its position and withdrew its acceptance.

On 20 February 1947, Attlee announced the British Government's "definite intentions to take necessary steps to effect the transfer of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948." Lord Mountbatten (b. 1900) came out as Viceroy, changed the time-frame and declared that the British would relinquish their authority on 15 August 1947. After a series of consultations with the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders, he announced what came to be called "the Partition Plan" of 3 June 1947. Under the Plan, steps were taken to ascertain the wishes of the elected representatives of Sind, West Punjab and East Bengal. Plebiscites were then held in North-West Frontier and the district of Sylhet in Assam, contiguous to East Bengal. These, like the consultative procedure devised for Baluchistan, yielded an overwhelming vote in favour of Pakistan.

On 11 August 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam inaugurated the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and on 14 August Mountbatten arrived in Karachi and formally proclaimed the transfer of sovereignty over its territories to the new State.

A.Q., S.R.W. et al.

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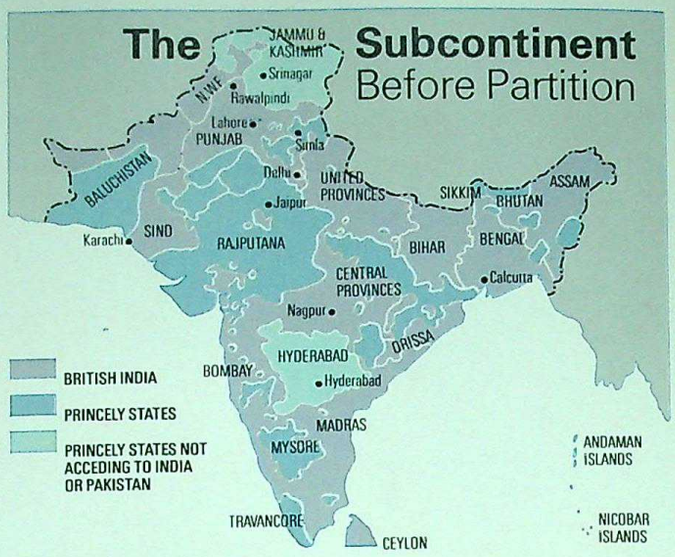
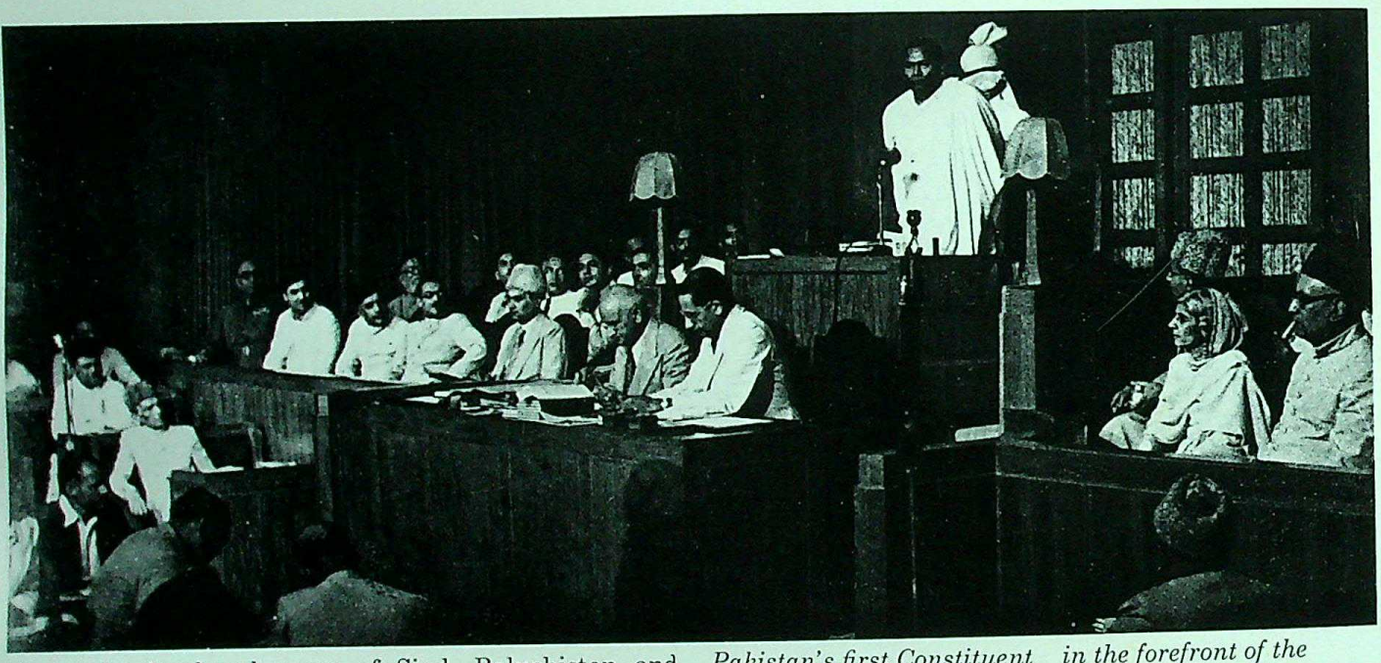
Pakistan: the Early Years



On 14 August 1947, Pakistan emerged as an independent state. It became a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, with Quaid-e-Azam, Mohamed Ali Jinnah its first Governor-General, and Liaquat Ali Khan the first Prime Minister. The day had an apocalyptic quality; there was a pervasive sense that the world's great age had begun anew and the golden years of Islam had returned. But this euphoria was not easy to sustain.

All new states have to face problems of bewildering complexity. Pakistan had to face additional ones peculiar to it. It comprised two parts of former British India separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. Of the well-organized provinces of the subcontinent, only the under-developed areas of Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province came to Pakistan intact; Punjab and Bengal had been truncated. New frontiers divided raw materials in Pakistan from factories in India; trade, commerce and agriculture were similarly disrupted. Pakistan lacked a planned capital and the essentials of Government – administrative buildings, office equipment, financial and military resources.



Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly met in Karachi on 11 August 1947. It was a gathering of many of those in the forefront of the movement to create an independent Pakistan, thus sealing their achievement.

These handicaps were further aggravated by the tense atmosphere generated by the passionate politics of the time. Savage killings of Muslims on a mass scale in the Indian areas of Punjab and ferocious retaliations from the other side led to one of the biggest population movements in history, involving, by the end of the year, some ten million people of whom more than half came to Pakistan. Pakistan's ability to resettle this influx of uprooted humanity was weakened by India's refusal to meet its commitments to share the assets of the undivided subcontinent. This left an indelible imprint on the relations between the two countries.

It was agreed that India would share the waters of the rivers and canals flowing from them into West Pakistan. Partition had left the bulk of the Punjab irrigation system in Pakistan and the headworks of the canals in India. In the words of David E. Lilienthal, a former head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, "No army with bombs and shell fire could devastate a land as thoroughly as (West) Pakistan could be devastated by the simple expedient of India's permanently shutting off the sources of water that keep the fields and the people of Pakistan alive". The threat of this weapon was used in April 1948, when India cut off the supply of water from the two headworks under her control.

The responsibility for the movement of ammunition, stores, equipment and installations from one country to another had been entrusted to an interim Supreme Defence Commander, Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck. It was intended that his command should last until 1 April 1958. Against his warning and despite the protest of Premier Liaquat Ali Khan, his establishment was wound up on 30 November 1947 on the undertaking by the Indian Defence Minister that he accepted "full responsibility for delivering to Pakistan her share of

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Mohamed Ali Jinnah, by now Governor General of Pakistan, was affectionately described by his friend Dewan Chaman Lal as "a man who disarmed you with . . . his uninhibited laughter".

stores". These stores were not delivered.

At Partition, the cash balances of undivided India stood at four billion rupees. It was mutually agreed that Pakistan's share would be Rs 750 million, of which only Rs 200 million were paid to Pakistan. The balance was withheld and made dependent on the settlement of the Kashmir issue – a completely extraneous factor – which, as the Pakistan Finance Minister pointed out, had never been raised at any stage of the negotiations which had led to the signing of the agreement.

There were some six hundred Princely States in undivided India which were offered the choice of joining either India or Pakistan, the normal criteria being, in Lord Mountbatten's words, "geographical situation and communal interests". Around August 1947, every state had exercised its option except those of Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir.

Kashmir had an overall Muslim majority of 78 per cent, but a Hindu ruler. By the criteria of geographical contiguity and religious composition of the population, the Maharaja of Kashmir should have acceded to Pakistan. He did not. Instead he proposed to both Governments a "standstill" agreement which Pakistan accepted. Meanwhile, the Muslims of Kashmir demonstrated openly throughout the state their emotional affiliation to Pakistan. An armed uprising against the Maharaja started from Poonch where the Maharaja's Hindu troops were routed. Muslim soldiers in the Kashmir army joined the liberation movement, which was further aided by volunteers from adjoining areas of Pakistan. This force liberated one-third of the State's territory and on 27 October 1947 proclaimed the formation of the Azad (free) Jammu and Kashmir Government. Unable to retain his throne, the Maharaja appealed to India for military aid against the insurgency in the State. The Indian Government agreed, on the condition that the Maharaja signed a formal instrument of accession. He readily did so. Indian forces were flown to Kashmir on 27 October.

Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, however, declared that the accession of Kashmir was only provisional and that its future would be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people through a plebiscite under impartial auspices. Despite these unequivocal pledges, a number of resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the acceptance by both India and Pakistan of an agreement contemplating the demilitarization of Kashmir preparatory to the plebiscite, India first prevaricated and then reneged on its promises, declaring that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was an "integral" part of India. Popular agitation, on occasions leading to violent rioting against India's illegal occupation of the State, continued, and the demand for self-determination persisted. The Kashmir issue, which involved a question of principle to which Pakistan is unalterably committed, led to fighting between the armies of the two countries in 1948 and war in 1965.

The *élan* with which Pakistan faced these formidable problems was due to the fuelling of the national will by Quaid-e-Azam and the psychological appeal of the very idea of its statehood. Against the expectations of the Indian leaders and the prophecies of others, the new state became a self-assured entity within a year. But the Quaid-e-Azam died in September 1948. In no sphere was his absence felt more acutely than in that of framing a constitution for Pakistan. As a consummate constitutionalist, democratic and unswervingly dedicated to institutions, he would have provided the much-needed guidance and direction to Pakistan's constitution-makers.

The country was being governed by the Government of India Act 1935, amended to suit the requirements of a sovereign state. It was not until 1949 that the Constituent Assembly, which was also acting as the federal legislature, addressed itself to the issue of formulating a constitution. In March that year, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Objectives Resolution, enunciating the fundamental principles on which it was to be framed. The Resolution declared that Pakistan would be a democratic state based on the "Islamic principles of social justice". This was followed by the appointment of the Basic Principles Committee which submitted its interim report to the Constituent Assembly in September 1950. Since the report was not favourably received, Liaquat Ali Khan was obliged to request a postponement of its discussion, with a view to accommodating its

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critics. Before this could be done, he was assassinated in Rawalpindi in October 1951.

In the ensuing reshuffle, Khwaja Nazimuddin from East Bengal, who had succeeded Quaid-e-Azam as Governor-General, assumed the office of Prime Minister and was replaced by the Finance Minister, Ghulam Muhammad. This immediately brought to a head the question of the focus of power. The Quaid strictly adhered to the constitutional position of Governor-General. He was available for guiding the affairs of state as Father of the Nation; but it was the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, who exercised executive power. Ghulam Muhammad, evidently not content with his position as constitutional head of state alone, set about reasserting the authority of Governor-Generalship. On the pretext of a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, caused by the post-Korean war recession, and disorder, due to sectarian riots, Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Nazimuddin in April 1953 despite his (Muslim League) party's majority in Parliament. Only a few months before his dismissal,

Nazimuddin had presented the final report of the Basic Principles Committee before Parliament, though he failed to carry it through the House.

Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad recalled Muhammad Ali Bogra, the Pakistan Ambassador from Washington, and nominated him Nazimuddin's successor. Muhammad Ali Bogra was not slow to realize that his position as Prime Minister would remain insecure as long as the Governor-General continued to enjoy the arbitrary powers under which he had dismissed Nazimuddin. Taking advantage of Ghulam Muhammad's brief absence from the Federal capital in September 1954, his supporters rushed a bill through Parliament stripping the Governor-General of his overriding authority. Ghulam Muhammad reasserted his position. In October 1954, he dissolved the Constituent Assembly as it had "lost the confidence of the people", proclaimed a state of emergency in the country and declared his intention of summoning a convention to draft the constitution. This happened just when Muhammad Ali Bogra, unlike his predecessors, had been able to obtain the consent of the Assembly to his constitutional formula. Three days before it was due to meet to review the draft constitution, the Governor-General dissolved the Constituent Assembly.

This action was challenged by Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, Speaker of the Constituent Assembly. The Federal Court, while endorsing the legality of the Governor-General's action to dissolve the Assembly, did not uphold his plan to entrust the task of constitution-making to a convention. This, in its view, could be entrusted only to a Constituent Assembly. Fresh indirect elections were, therefore, ordered and a new Constituent Assembly was elected by the members of the existing provincial legislatures.

Meanwhile, an understanding was reached between Ghulam Muhammad and Muhammad Ali Bogra, with the latter retaining his position as Prime Minister. Since there was no Federal Legislature, the new cabinet was practically hand-picked by Ghulam Muhammad, and it included Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, and Major-General Iskander Mirza, Governor of East Bengal.

The new Constituent Assembly came into existence in June 1955. With no party claiming a majority, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, Finance Minister in the outgoing Government, headed a coalition cabinet of the Muslim League and the United Front. The work of constitution-making was, once again, taken in hand. In order to overcome the problem of the quantum of representation from the various regions in western Pakistan and to facilitate the acceptance of the principle of parity between the two wings of the country, it was decided to unify the various provinces and states in the western wing into one province to be called West Pakistan. This was approved by Parliament in September 1955. Parliament also approved a Constitution which was put into effect on 23 March 1956: Pakistan ceased to be a Dominion and became a Republic.

Although the Constitution was described as parliamentary, the President was given extraordinarily wide powers. Major-General Iskander Mirza, who had

Above left. *Soon after Independence, Jinnah acknowledges acclaim at a public meeting in Lahore.* *Of Jinnah's three sisters – seen* (above) *in mourning after his death – Fatima was his constant companion.*

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The Kashmir Dispute

The sequence of events relating to the dispute over the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to India or Pakistan can be summarized as follows:

15 August 1947: Kashmir being linked with Pakistan by contiguity and communications, the State Government proposes a "standstill agreement" with Pakistan. Pakistan accepts.

25 August 1947: Armed uprising against the Maharaja (feudal ruler) occurs in Poonch (a district of the State).

September-October 1947: Insurgency spreads. Large-scale killings of Muslims in the south-eastern part (adjoining India) result in an exodus from outlying areas into Pakistan.

22-23 October 1947: The insurgents are joined by volunteers from Pakistan, free the western areas of the State and advance towards Srinagar, the capital.

24 October 1947: The Azad (free) Jammu and Kashmir Government is established. The Maharaja flees the capital.

26-27 October 1947: The Maharaja requests military aid from India; signs an Instrument of Accession; India signifies acceptance subject to "a reference to the people" for final decision. India flies its troops into Kashmir but assures Pakistan that the accession is provisional and Indian forces will be withdrawn "as soon as peace is restored".

4 November 1947: Jinnah proposes to Mountbatten withdrawal of combatants from both sides and a plebiscite under the auspices of the two Heads of State. India rejects the proposal.

November-December 1947: Indian Army drives back the outnumbered and ill-equipped Azad forces. But fierce fighting continues. India refers the issue to U.N. Security Council.

21 April 1948: Security Council sends a Commission.

May 1948: India launches an all-out offensive to expel the Azad forces. Pakistan moves its troops to hold a protective line.

13 August 1948: The U.N. Commission submits proposals for a cease-fire and a truce agreement.

23-25 December 1948: India and Pakistan accept the Commission's proposals of 13 August supplemented by a plan for an impartial plebiscite.

1 January 1949: Fighting ceases.

1949-1952: The U.N. Commission and successive U.N. mediators fail to secure India's consent to plans for implementation of the January 1949 agreement.

20 August 1953: Following widespread disorder in the State, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan make a fresh agreement for a plebiscite. Divergent interpretations ensue.

1958-1965: Deadlock is punctuated by (a) the Soviet Union's veto of any resolution envisaging a plebiscite; (b) Sino-Indian clash over the northern borders and the Pakistan government's refusal to make any move in Kashmir, and (c) prolonged unproductive negotiations between India and Pakistan in 1963.

August 1965: Fighting breaks out in Kashmir; India alleges infiltration from Pakistan. India crosses the cease-fire line in Kashmir.

1-6 September 1965: Pakistan troops in a limited action stop the Indian advance.

6 September 1965: India invades Pakistan.

21 September 1965: China issues an ultimatum to India to stop incursions in the north.

10 January 1966: Under Soviet auspices, India and Pakistan in Tashkent (U.S.S.R.) issue declaration of intent for peaceful settlement.

3 December 1971: Hostilities between India and Pakistan, caused by the Bangladesh conflict, spread to Kashmir; Pakistan and Azad forces stem the Indian offensive in the State.

17 December 1971: Fighting ceases.

2 July 1972: Agreement is concluded at Simla between Pakistan and India for the determination of a line of control in Kashmir "without prejudice to the recognized position of either side" and including a commitment for "a final settlement".

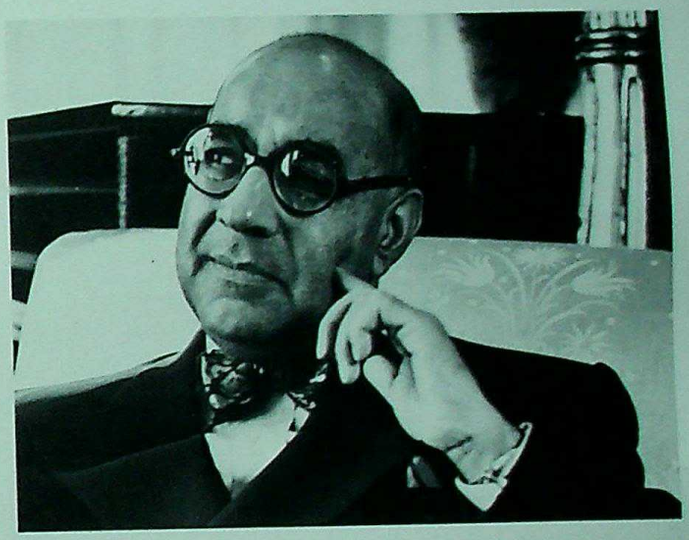
1973-1974: India tries to pre-empt basic issue by a deal with one of the parties in the State committed to the plebiscite. Pakistan denounces breach of the Simla Agreement.

February 1975: A complete general strike in the State in response to the call of the Prime Minister of Pakistan protesting India's attempt to forestall the settlement of the dispute.

assumed the office of the acting Governor-General in August 1955 on account of Ghulam Muhammad's illness, became the first President of Pakistan.

Chaudhri Muhammad Ali had been in office only a few months when a conflict arose in consequence of the establishment of a new political party, called the Republican Party, with the President's direct encouragement. At this stage, the country's political institutions presented a spectacle of disorder and intrigue. With no elections held, except in some of the provinces, the Muslim League had forfeited its credit and its numbers had dwindled and were divided into factions. Unable to cope with the situation, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali resigned in September 1956.

He was succeeded by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, a skilful politician from Bengal who formed an Awami League-Republican party coalition. His appointment was significant as this was the first time in the short but chequered history of Pakistan that a person not belonging to the Muslim League became Prime Minister.



The qualities of Liaquat Ali Khan (1896–1951), the first Prime Minister, were complementary to Jinnah's.

Suhrawardy's fall in October 1957 was the result of a split in his own Awami League party, the manoeuvrings of the President and the withdrawal of support by the Republican party which was in all but name the President's party.

Next came Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar of the Muslim League, who put together an unwieldy coalition comprising the Muslim League, the Republicans, the Krishak Sramik and the Nizam-i-Islam party. He lasted in office for less than two months and was followed by Feroz Khan Noon, the leader of the Republican party in the National Assembly. Noon's Ministry, however, was as ineffectual as the one it had replaced, although it managed to survive a little longer.

By this time the political life of the country, both at the centre and in the provinces, had lost all coherence. Political parties and alliances were made and unmade in days and sometimes in hours. The various factions that wore the label of the Muslim League could claim no continuity, in either composition or outlook, with the great party which had won independence and been dissolved by the Quaid-e-Azam in 1948. Intrigues were often masterminded in the Presidential Palace and parliamentary ethics reduced to a farce. The general elections under the new Constitution were promised by every

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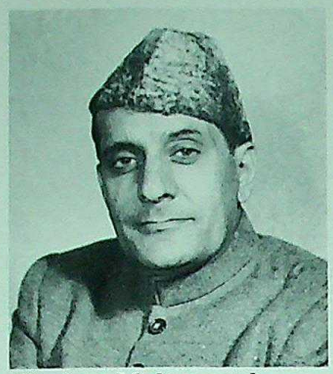
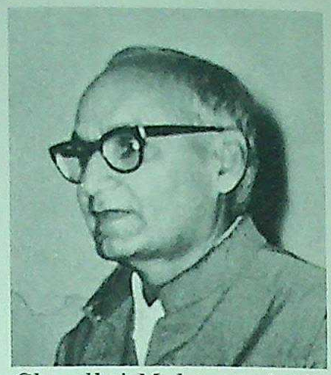
Khwaja Nazimuddin, PM 1951–3.

Muhammad Ali Bogra, PM 1953–5.

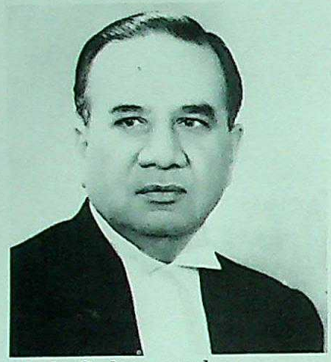


Ghulam Muhammad, G-G 1951–5.

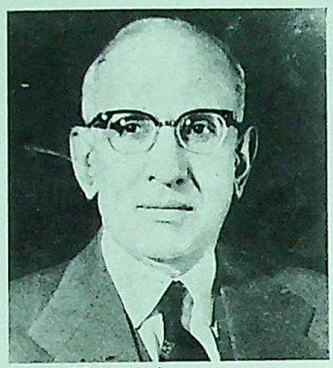


Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, PM 1955–6.

Iskander Mirza, G-G 1955–6.



H. S. Suhrawardy, PM 1956–7.



I. I. Chundrigar, PM 1957.

Feroz Khan Noon, PM 1957–8.

successive government, but never held. The economy of the country was in total disarray. Foreign exchange reserves were depleted and food shortage, due primarily to mismanagement and large-scale smuggling, was assuming alarming proportions.

The stage was clearly set for a major upheaval and it did not take long to come. On 8 October 1958, President Iskander Mirza dismissed the Ministry of Feroz Khan Noon by a Presidential Order, abrogated the Constitution, dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies, banned the political parties and appointed the army Commander-in-Chief, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, to the post of Chief Martial Law Administrator. President Mirza, who had often publicly prescribed "controlled democracy" as a panacea for the country's political ailments, now prepared to implement his scheme. But he was not allowed much time. In less than three weeks, General Ayub Khan removed President Mirza and himself assumed the office of President.

General Ayub Khan went to Tashkent to sign the Agreement with India that closed the 1965 war. Bhutto expressed his unhappiness over the terms of the Agreement.

Revolted by the misdeeds of unscrupulous politicians, the public at first welcomed the military rule. Stern measures against smuggling and hoarding of food-grains followed. About 1,500 corrupt officials were dismissed. Politicians found guilty of misuse of authority by specially constituted tribunals were ordered either to retire from public life for six years or face trial in a court of law. Attended by glaring publicity, some reforms in the fields of land holdings, education and judicial systems were also introduced. A new experiment in the political life of the country was made by the introduction of a system of "Basic Democracies". The whole country was divided into 80,000 small constituencies. Each constituency, consisting of about a thousand persons, was required to elect one representative. After the elections, these "Basic Democrats" were asked for a vote of confidence in the leadership of the President which was readily given. Following the "referendum", Ayub Khan was sworn in as the "elected" President in February 1960. A Constitutional Commission was appointed to make recommendations for the future constitution of the country.

The Commission submitted its report in May 1961. Rejecting a parliamentary form of government which, in their view, had failed on account of the absence of well-organized and disciplined political parties, the Commission recommended a presidential form of government. After studying these recommendations for about ten months, Ayub Khan proclaimed a new constitution in March 1962. It provided for a National Assembly and two provincial Legislative Assemblies – one for East and the other for West Pakistan. The three Assemblies and the President were to be elected by Basic Democrats for a period of five years. The President was given wide

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executive and legislative powers. He was the Supreme Commander of the armed forces and was free to choose members of his Cabinet either from the National Assembly (in which case the member lost his seat) or from outside it. In the legislative sphere, he enjoyed the power to veto any bill passed by the National Assembly, though his veto could be overridden by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly. In the latter event, the President had the option of referring the disputed bill to the electoral college of the 80,000 Basic Democrats. He could issue ordinances subject to ratification by the National Assembly.

Martial Law was lifted in June 1962, and the earlier ban on political parties removed. Ayub Khan himself assumed the presidency of a newly-formed Convention Muslim League, adding yet another faction to those that hoped to invoke the glory associated with the pre-independence Muslim League. Election of 80,000 Basic Democrats, the office of the President and members of the National and Provincial Assemblies were held in 1964-65. The Presidential election with Ayub Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Quaid-e-Azam and the candidate of the combined opposition parties, as the principal contestants, aroused considerable popular interest. The victory of Ayub Khan, due in no small measure to the small size of the electorate which could be easily manipulated, was expected; but the fact that Miss Jinnah was able to obtain well over one-third of the votes polled came as a surprise to political observers. It clearly indicated that Ayub Khan's popular standing had markedly suffered. The people were disillusioned with arbitrary rule.

Relations between Pakistan and India had seldom achieved any stability. There was a widespread consciousness in Pakistan that India was not reconciled to the partition of the country and would not forego an opportunity to reverse it. Statements of Indian leaders on the eve of Independence and the actions of the Indian Government immediately afterwards, some of which we have noted, strengthened this belief.

Predictably, the storm broke over Kashmir. Popular discontent with India's forcible occupation of Kashmir often expressed itself there in violent rioting. During 1964-65, Kashmir, which hitherto had been accorded a special status, was assimilated into the Indian Union. In August 1965, freedom fighters took up arms against the Indian Army stationed in Kashmir and set up a revolutionary council. Claiming that Pakistan had sent "infiltrators" into Indian-held Kashmir to ferment trouble, Indian forces, without any ultimatum, launched a full-scale attack on Lahore on 6 September 1965. In the next few days, fighting spread to other areas. The two countries were at war. Pakistan not only contained the Indian attack, but gained some areas of strategic advantage in Kashmir. After seventeen days of fighting, a cease-fire agreement was effected by the United Nations. A few months later, Soviet mediation through Prime Minister Kosygin was able to bring about an agreement between India and Pakistan. A declaration was signed by Ayub Khan and the Indian Prime Minister, Shastri, at Tashkent in January 1966.

In the Tashkent Declaration, the two Governments agreed to withdraw their forces to the positions that their armies held before 5 August 1965, to establish normal diplomatic relations and to settle their disputes in a peaceful manner. The basic issue, it may be noted, of giving the four million Kashmiris their right of self-determination, remained unresolved.

The Tashkent Declaration met with strong opposition within Pakistan. It was rejected by the intelligentsia and students, who regarded it as an impermissible submission to India and a betrayal. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Minister, resigned from Ayub Khan's cabinet. He founded the Pakistan People's Party in December 1967, and soon launched a mass movement against Ayub Khan.

With the passage of time, an awareness grew in East Pakistan that it was not getting a fair deal from the Central Government located over 1,000 miles away in West Pakistan. As a matter of fact, East Pakistan had inherited a legacy from the period of the British rule which placed it at a considerable disadvantage from the very beginning. It was less developed economically than West Pakistan; it had few representatives in the higher echelons of the administration and fewer still in the armed forces; it lacked private entrepreneurs, technical

The feeling of grievance nursed by East Pakistan turned into disaffection which was fermented by politicians to the point of complete alienation from West Pakistan. This found expression in its most virulent form in the "Six Points" demand put forward by Sheikh Mujib ur-Rahman, who had succeeded Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy as leader of the Awami League party.

The "Six Points" implied not only a loose confederal link between East and West Pakistan but a feeble Centre holding together the provinces of West Pakistan itself.

Mujib ur-Rahman gained enormous popularity in East Pakistan after his arrest and trial on charges of conspiracy against the State during the Ayub regime. He became a public hero and a symbol of Bengali nationalism. Political discontent grew in intensity and violence and recurring protest marches and demonstrations, very often led by students, seriously impaired the administration of East Pakistan.

For different reasons, discontent had also spread in West Pakistan. The popular agitation against the Tashkent Declaration was followed by public demand for the end of authoritarian rule. In order to stem the rising tide of opposition, Ayub Khan ordered the arrest of principal political leaders; among them Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. This gave a further impetus to opposition against Ayub Khan. Students, journalists and lawyers launched a mass movement defying the ban on public meetings and processions. The agitation engulfed the whole country.

Unable to control the situation by force, Ayub Khan offered negotiations. He released the political leaders and convened a Round Table Conference at Rawalpindi in February-March 1969. It was attended, among others, by Mujib ur-Rahman, who had been unconditionally released and the conspiracy case against him, withdrawn. The Conference, however, had the defect of lumping together leaders of unquestionable public standing with those who were merely pretenders. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stayed away from the conference "to defeat the great dictator with the power of the people".

While Ayub Khan was prepared to concede a federal parliamentary system of government and direct elections on the basis of adult franchise, Mujib ur-Rahman remained firm on his demand for provincial autonomy on the basis of the "Six Points". The conference ended in failure. Faced with a situation which neither force nor negotiation could bring under control, Ayub Khan handed over power to General Muhammad Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, on 25 March 1969, and Martial Law was, once again, imposed on

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the country.

General Yahya Khan promised the restoration of constitutional government in the country in the near future. In November 1969, he made two important announcements; first, that the principle of equal representation to the two wings of the country in the National Assembly, which had been accepted in the constitutions of 1956 and 1962, would be replaced by representation according to the population of the Province on the basis of "one man one vote"; and, secondly, that One Unit (a familiar term for the unification of the various provinces in West Pakistan in October 1955) would be dissolved.

The restrictions imposed on political parties after the announcement of Martial Law were lifted on 1 January 1970. Under the Legal Framework Order promulgated in March 1970, general elections, on the basis of adult franchise, to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies were held on 10 and 17 December respectively. Out of a total of 313 seats in the National Assembly, Mujib ur-Rahman's Awami League Party won 167 out of 169 seats in East Pakistan, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party obtained 88 out of a total of 144 in West Pakistan. In the provincial elections, the Awami League emerged as the majority party in East Pakistan; in West Pakistan, the People's Party won large majorities in Punjab and Sind Assemblies, while in the remaining two provinces, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, no single party was able to achieve a majority.

Meanwhile, law and order in East Pakistan had broken down. The Yahya regime's attempt to contain the situation led to developments that changed the course of Pakistan's history.

S.M.H., A.Q. and W.-uz-Z.

Cataclysm: 1971

For Pakistan, the events of 1971 were an illustration of the principle that in politics there are neither rewards nor punishments, only consequences.

The year opened with an oath taken in public by the Awami League members-elect of the National Assembly and the East Pakistan Assembly to sacrifice everything for the implementation of the Six-Point programme and to "develop a great resistance movement". Sheikh Mujib ur-Rahman promised that "the blood of the martyrs will not be allowed to go in vain". Posters demanding a "sovereign Bangladesh" were circulated and pasted on walls in Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan.

As Mujib had refused to come to Islamabad for talks, Yahya Khan himself travelled to Dacca on 12 January.

The constitutional formula carried by Yahya to Dacca conceded all the Awami League demands save two: the centre would retain control of foreign affairs, defence and currency, and no distinction could be drawn between the political and the economic aspects of external relations. Mujib did not react to these proposals.

While Mujib was pursuing his Six Points and stubbornly refusing to consider any constitution not based on them, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, was stressing that the principle of consensus was the true foundation of federal government. In a genuine federation, he argued, one unit should not dominate the others. The power of the majority should be applied to the running of the government, not to deciding a constitution. If the majority party alone had the right to frame a constitution, a session of the National Assembly was a pointless exercise. When Yahya, in his meeting with Bhutto at Larkana on 17 January, suggested that the Six Points might somehow accommodate a federal system, Bhutto pointed out that they clearly envisaged a confederation which could not last for any length of time.

It was objectively clear that the Awami League demands could hardly make for a coherent Pakistan with any semblance of unity. Unless the League negotiated with West Pakistani leaders and showed willingness to compromise, the nation faced the possibility of a violent division, not merely into two, but as many as five fragments. But give-and-take had no place in Mujib's strategy. He continued to swear allegiance to a formula, not to a principle, a nation or a state. Such rigidity based on chauvinism was anathema to Bhutto. While the Awami League interpreted its electoral victory (strictly confined to one province) as a "vote for independence" and talked of a Bengali "nation", the Pakistan People's

General Yahya Khan, Commander in Chief of the Army, succeeded Ayub Khan in March 1969, clinging to power until after the secession of Bangladesh in December 1971.

Mujib ur-Rahman became the focus of nationalist Bengali aspirations, which resulted in the formation of the separate state of Bangladesh on April 10th 1973.

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Party had been given a mandate for a united Pakistan and a workable and enduring constitution acceptable to the people of all the five provinces. To open a dialogue, Bhutto went to Dacca on 27 January to see Mujib. But the Awami League, reciting its familiar litany of wrongs done to them, insisted that the mandate it had received from the people had made the Six Points non-negotiable; the formula was to be accepted totally, immediately and unconditionally. With Mujib not prepared to budge an inch from his stand, Bhutto could not agree to a thinly-disguised scheme of secession.

On 1 March, the President postponed the session of the National Assembly without announcing a new date for it. Mujib reacted with violent anger, and asked his people to be prepared to make sacrifices for their "emancipation". He ordered a general strike and a campaign of non-cooperation. Inflamed by his rhetoric and spurred on by resentment and envy, Mujib's followers welcomed the command fervently. Chaos mounted. The national flag was desecrated. Effigies of West Pakistani leaders were paraded down the streets and burnt. Photographs of Quaid-e-Azam were trampled under foot and spat upon. Slogans of an independent Bangladesh abounded. Mujib took the salute at a march-past from his residence on which flew the new Bangladesh flag. Law and order disappeared. Awami League extremists in collusion with Indian infiltrators fell on non-Bengali inhabitants of the province and massacred them. It was, in fact, open revolt.

The Yahya regime stood by silently, permitting the chaos-makers to loot, burn, kill and rape. The Army was withdrawn to barracks, and a new date for the Assembly session fixed for 25 March. On 10 March Bhutto wired Mujib, expressing his deep distress and profound concern over current events, stressing the necessity of a "common understanding" to save the country, and showing his willingness to visit Dacca immediately to meet him and jointly devise a solution to end the crisis. The Awami League ignored the message.

On 14 March, Bhutto told a Karachi gathering that if power were to be transferred to the people before any constitutional settlement was reached, as was demanded by Mujib, it should be transferred to the majority party in each wing of the country and to the two majority parties at the centre. Thus a "grand coalition" of the two parties would be established to create a new order. This would stop further polarization, as neither of the majority parties had any representation from the other wing. But on 15 March Mujib announced, "I am taking over the administration to deal with the affairs of the 75 million population in Bangladesh".

The President arrived in Dacca on the same day for a series of meetings with Awami League leaders. Mujib and Tajuddin Ahmad informed him that the Awami League could not agree to the setting up of any "central or national cabinet"; they wanted power transferred to the separate wings of Pakistan. The proposals now under discussion were: Martial Law to be withdrawn immediately; the transfer of power to the five provinces; central government run by the President with the assistance of advisers chosen from outside Parliament, and the National Assembly to be divided *ab initio* into two committees, one for Bangladesh and the other for West Pakistan, each comprising the respective elected representatives. It was suggested that the two committees prepare their separate reports within a specified period, and submit them to the Assembly; whereafter the Assembly might discuss the reports to contrive ways for the two wings to live together. Finally it was proposed that the entire scheme be put into force by a Presidential proclamation.

Bhutto was told of these proposals on his arrival in Dacca on 21 March, and Yahya asked him if the Pakistan People's Party could agree to them and give him a letter of acceptance. Bhutto replied that, in the opinion of his party, such a far-reaching settlement could not be arrived at privately or through an exchange of letters, but would have to be approved publicly by the National Assembly. He said that the proposed scheme inevitably meant two Pakistans and that the Central Government would lose its legal authority if the Assembly was not convened upon the lifting of Martial Law. In these circumstances, the transfer of power to the provinces would make each provincial government sovereign in fact and in law, and that, therefore, the Assembly must meet, however briefly, to provide national auspices for the two proposed committees. Yahya promised to convey these points to the Awami League.

However, on 23 March, when Mujib and his team met Yahya, they raised their stakes. Instead of two committees, they now demanded two "Constitutional Conventions" which would submit *two* constitutions to the National Assembly, and not merely reports embodying their proposals. The Assembly, they proposed, should then meet to tie up the two constitutions into a confederation. During the interim period, the Central Government should exercise no control in the provinces, even during an emergency. The Awami League insisted that this plan should be announced in the form of a proclamation within forty-eight hours.

Pakistan Day, 23 March, was provocatively observed as "Resistance Day" in East Pakistan. The Bangladesh flag was run up above every building and mobs attacked the Chinese and Iranian consulates when they tried to fly the Pakistan flag.

On 25 March, Bhutto was informed by Yahya that the final Awami League terms stipulated the following: proclamation was to come from the President and not to be in the form of a resolution approved by the National Assembly; Central Government to have control over the "State of Bangladesh" only in respect of defence and foreign affairs (excluding foreign trade and aid); Pakistan to be a confederation; the two Constitutional Conventions to be sworn in separately to frame constitutions for the two wings and later to meet together to make a constitution for the confederation of Pakistan; Martial Law to be lifted within seven days from the date of the promulgation of the proclamation; the President to authenticate it, and if he did not do so authentication to be automatically assumed to have been given after seven days; and finally that the President should have no authority to intervene in case of emergency and no control over the governors of the new state. The Pakistan People's Party delegation expressed grave reservations about the plan but promised to examine it further in Dacca before giving a reply.

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Yahya Khan left Dacca the same evening without the knowledge of any of the party leaders. That night the Army took charge, arrested Mujib and put the Pakistan People's Party team on a plane leaving for Karachi. It was officially stated that the Awami League had planned an armed uprising for the early hours of 26 March and the Army had taken pre-emptive action. Some corroborative evidence upholds this. On the evening of 25 March, Mujib had dictated to a friend in the central telegraph office a short message to be sent down all wires which ordered the people to "gather strength to resist and prepare for a war of independence". He had also contacted the Indian authorities on the same day. Later, when an Indian journalist (Kuldip Nayar) asked him about this, Mujib's reply was "Please don't ask me this question".

There is no doubt that since early March the Awami League had been planning secession and political negotiations were intended to serve as a smokescreen. In early March, Mujib had privately told Loren Jenkins of *Newsweek* that "the country, as we know it, is finished," and informed a Western diplomat "we are prepared to sacrifice one million people to gain independence," (quoted in *Newsweek*, 20 December 1971). Mujib admitted, in an interview with David Frost in Dacca after his release from Pakistan, that his party had been planning independence for several years.

Since 1 March, the Army had suffered unspeakable humiliation at the hands of the Bengalis. They denied the soldiers food, water, electricity and other daily necessities. The troops were jeered at, spat upon, and beaten up. By ordering them back to the barracks, Yahya Khan effectively gave the Bengalis licence to run riot. Simultaneously, Bengali personnel of the armed forces were being incited to mutiny by the Awami League, and armed with weapons smuggled from India.

One of the tragic results of Yahya's procrastination was the mass murder of non-Bengalis in East Pakistan. The sustained propaganda of hatred mounted by the Awami League combined with the restraint enforced on the law-enforcing agencies resulted in a horrible massacre, rape, loot and arson. For weeks the Bihari population lived in fear and finally died in terror.

The eventual reaction of the Pakistan Army has to be seen in the context of the insult and abuse it had been suffering. It had witnessed chaos and rebellion. Now given the word to move, grave excesses inevitably followed.

Almost immediately after the military intervention, the Pakistan People's Party called for a transfer of power to representative government. It bewailed the fact that no effort was being made to evolve a political settlement. The People's Party was prepared to help find a formula by which the two wings could live in harmony and devise an equitable political and economic system. But Yahya, with his greed for perpetuating his power, and his lack of sound advisers, pleaded that the East Pakistan insurgency, the rapidly deteriorating economic situation and the fear of Indian aggression were justifications enough for not taking a political initiative. Thus he firmly kept the Pakistan People's Party at arm's length.

The Army had been initially successful in dealing with the insurgency and relative peace appeared to have been restored by the end of April. But thanks to Yahya's ineptitude, Pakistan's diplomatic isolation and the *Mukti Bahini* (Bengali irregulars, trained, armed and led by Indian personnel), insurgency again reared its head in July. This time the rebels were better equipped and coordinated. Instead of trying to reach a settlement with the moderate elements of the Awami League in East Pakistan and associating popular leadership in West Pakistan with his decision-making, Yahya nursed the dream of continuing in office indefinitely. He now drafted his own constitution and expected the Pakistan People's Party and other parties to accept it. Only Jamaat-i-Islami, a party with little electoral strength, pronounced benediction on this move in return for some of its adherents being declared to be elected from East Pakistan. Bhutto's exhortation that more than anything the country needed a democratic government, and his warning that the continued use of force would push East Pakistan into total separation had no effect. Nor did intense popular resentment. Yahya Khan marched on blindly to disaster.

It struck on the night of 22 November when the Indians launched a full-scale invasion of East Pakistan. Even this failed to discourage Yahya. As the defence of East Pakistan was crumbling, and India advanced on the second front, opened in West Pakistan on 3 December, Yahya Khan asked Bhutto to endorse a constitution by which he (Yahya) would be President, Supreme Commander and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and, in addition, retain certain powers of Martial Law and special responsibilities. Needless to say, the leader of the People's Party refused.

Bhutto did agree, in the national interest, to go to the United Nations on 8 December to plead Pakistan's case. By that time, repeated Soviet vetoes had blocked all resolutions for a cease-fire and a political solution. Bhutto's cogent arguments on the inadmissibility of external armed intervention were of no avail against the obdurate stand of the Soviet Union. The Indo-Soviet axis ensured that Indian military intervention would continue with Soviet diplomatic backing until Dacca had fallen and Pakistan had been dismembered. This happened on 16 December. Bhutto condemned the inaction of the United Nations and walked out of the Security Council.

On Bhutto's return from New York on 20 December, Yahya Khan was compelled, by public censure threatening to erupt into mutiny and violent demonstrations, to abdicate his presidency and hand over power to a civilian government headed by the leader of the majority party of West Pakistan. One of the first decisions of President Bhutto was to countermand Mujib's death sentence, passed on him by the Yahya regime, release him from prison and send him to the country of his choice.

Pakistan had paid off the arrears accumulated through years of misrule. It emerged from a steady sequence of crises, whose roots lay deep in the failures and iniquities of the past. A new Pakistan has now arisen from the ashes, but for those who lived through the tragedy, those days will remain too painful to remember, and too momentous ever to forget.

K.K.A.

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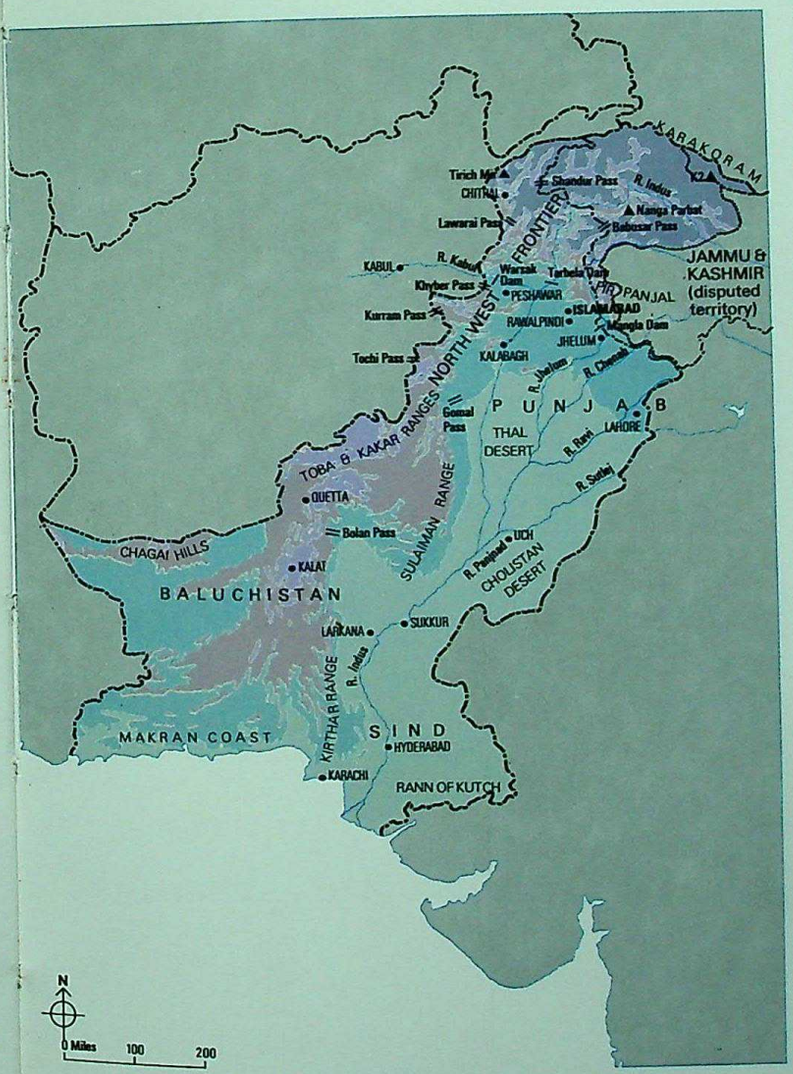
4 The Land and the People

The ancestors of the people came by the caprice of history. They were held by the bounty of the land and its mighty rivers. Yet the nation thus made is formed, too, by people drawn from an exceptional variety of terrain — from great deserts and the valleys of impenetrable mountains, from remote coastal villages and delta swamps, from wide plains and fertile plateaux, and the daily disciplines and sanctions thereby imposed.



Pakistan comprises, for its size, a remarkably varied landscape and climate ranging from rice fields to mountain terrain to desert and coastal plain.

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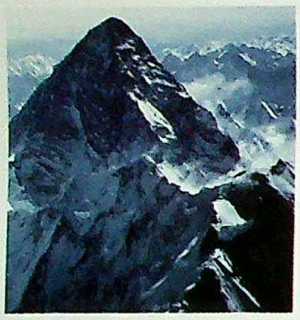
Geography and Landscape

THE VERY NAMES of Pakistan's remarkable landscape enter the legends and histories of many people throughout the world. The Himalayan and Karakoram ranges are linked with many climbing expeditions – but, long before the days of climbing, with perhaps the most geographically hazardous trading route on the face of the earth.

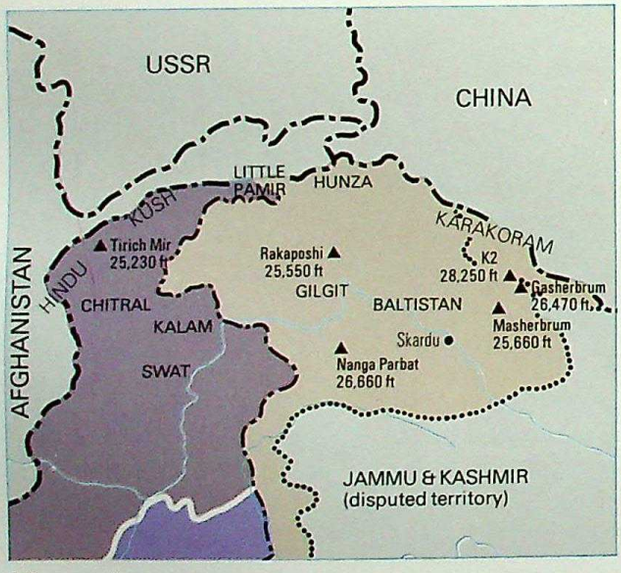
The Hindu Kush, Little Pamirs and Baltistan have been perennial attractions to the more hardy traveller, but have recently become more generally accessible. Hunza, in the far north on the Silk Route from China, has long been admired by the tourist for the beauty of its landscape and is additionally fascinating to the gerontologist for the longevity and tranquillity of its isolated inhabitants. The complex of valleys further to the south, including such as Swat and Chitral, are equally, though differently, impressive.

No less renowned are the five great rivers that combine to form the lower Indus, and the great fertile lowlands that surround them. No schoolboy in the West or East is ignorant of the Khyber Pass, but few know of the Bolan Pass, of the barren ranges of Baluchistan or of the wild coastland of Makran.

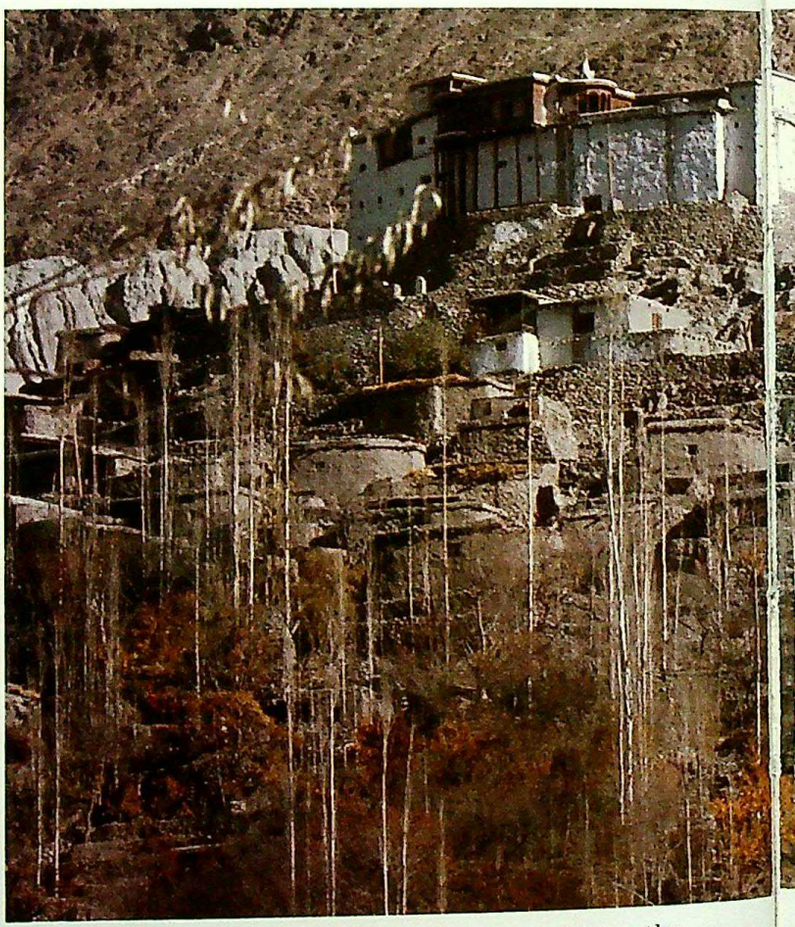
In only a handful of countries has the geography shaped so decisively the history and character of the people. It is a land that has repeatedly lured invaders, each of whom has left his mark. Thus it is a land of individual diversity – there is the hardiness and endurance of the desert dwellers, the stalwart humility of the mountain people, the skills and ingenuity of those who have made their homes, generation after generation, in the fertile plains and valleys and who have founded great cities, the restless energies of those inhabiting the highland steppes – it is the interplay of the qualities of the people moulded by geography that give the country its richness.



Left. *K-2 (28,250 ft.) is the second highest peak in the world. It was first attempted in 1903, but not finally climbed until 31 July 1954, when Achille Campagnoni and Lino Lacedelli conquered what is technically perhaps the world's most difficult mountain.*



Mountains
Of all the great peaks of northern Pakistan, including K2 and Rakaposhi, none has had a more fearful reputation than Nanga Parbat, which defeated six expeditions and killed 31 climbers before it was conquered in 1953 by Herman Buhl. For centuries the high mountain valleys have bred tribesmen of exceptional hardiness and courage, extracting a livelihood by channelling river water and making orchards and grain fields in the high rainless valleys.



The physical features of the land
Pakistan is a vast country, with an area of 310,403 square miles and a population of 64.9 million (34.4 million males and 30.5 million females), according to the 1972 census – increasing at over three per cent per annum. Islamabad is the federal capital. The country comprises four provinces – Baluchistan, North-West Frontier, Punjab and Sind. The provincial capitals respectively are Quetta, Peshawar, Lahore and Karachi.

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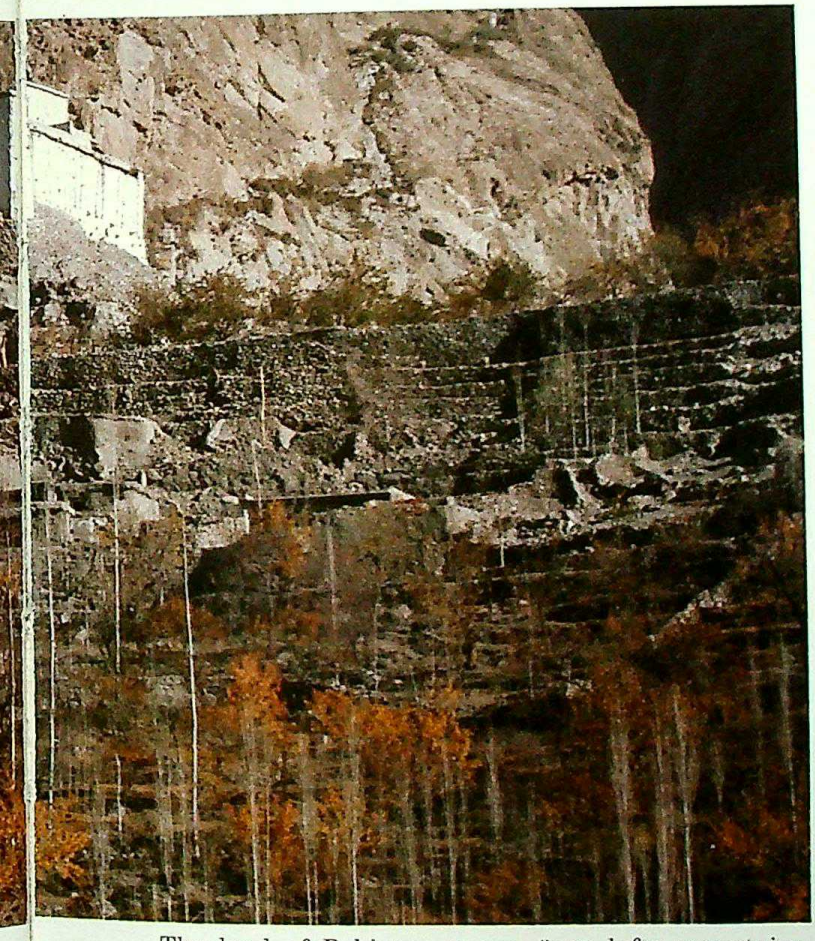
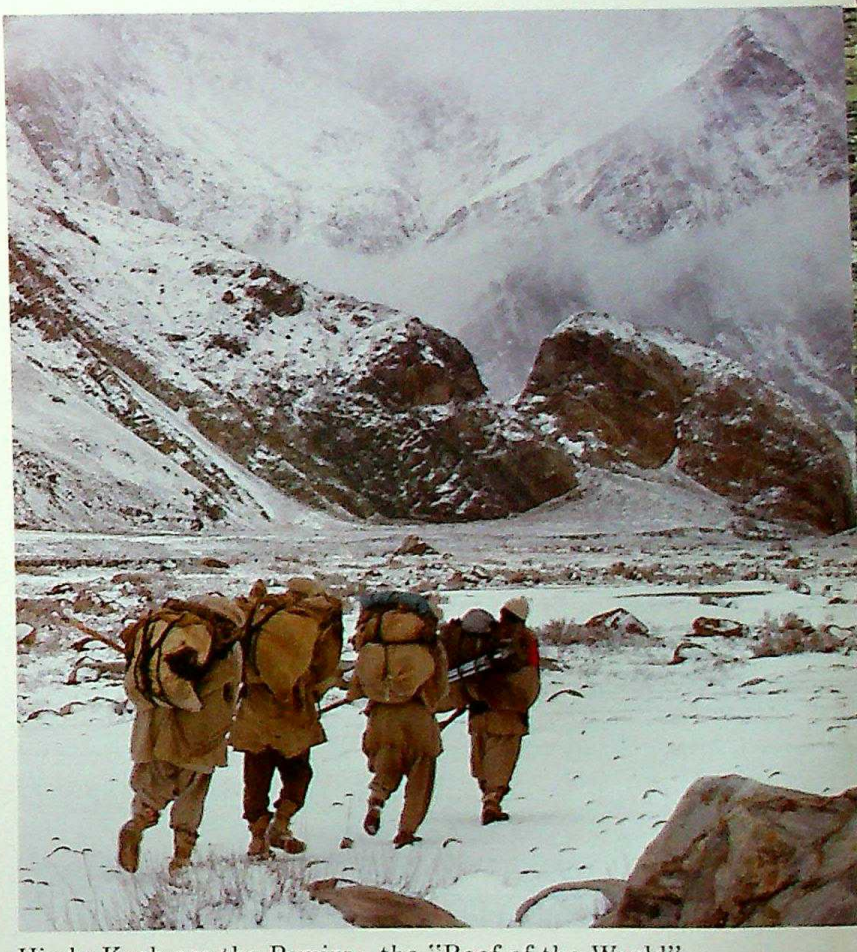
Centre. *The massive fortress of Thum's castle in Baltit (8,000 ft.) was built in the 15th century by the Rulers (or* Thums*) of Hunza.*
Left. *A log bridge spans the River Shyok (8,400 ft.) in Ladakh, at Khaplu, the most fertile area of Baltistan. The jagged East Karakorams tower beyond.*
Below. *Askole porters face a blizzard crossing a glacier on the way to K-2. Askole is the last village before the Karakoram range. The hooked beak of Mungo Gusor (20,632 ft.) is hidden in the clouds.*





The land of Pakistan ranges from lofty mountains, through dissected plateaux, to dead-level plains. Mountains and plateaux together form about three-fifths of the total area, the remaining two-fifths being an alluvial plain, formed by the Indus system of rivers.

The north is dominated by the Himalayas, running from north-west to south-east to a depth of some 200 miles. They converge, in the Pamir complex, with their offshoots, which run roughly north-south. These offshoots form the western borderland of Pakistan. The lofty Himalayas, rising to an average height of 20,000 feet, include such towering peaks as Nanga Parbat (26,660 feet) and K-2 (28,251 feet). Beyond the Karakoram Range lies the Chinese province of Sinkiang. Across the Hindu Kush are the Pamirs – the "Roof of the World" – where a narrow strip of Afghan territory separates Pakistan from Russia.

Our main interest in the Himalayas lies in its glaciology, which is one of the principal sources of Pakistan's lifeblood – the waters of the Indus system. However, no detailed scientific study has yet been undertaken of the Himalayan glaciers. The outer ranges of the Himalayan system include the lesser Himalayas and the sub-Himalayas. The former lie in northern Hazara and Murree, the latter include the southern ranges of Hazara, Murree and Rawalpindi, and the Pubbi hills of Gujrat. The rocks of the sub-Himalayan ranges are rich in animal fossils.

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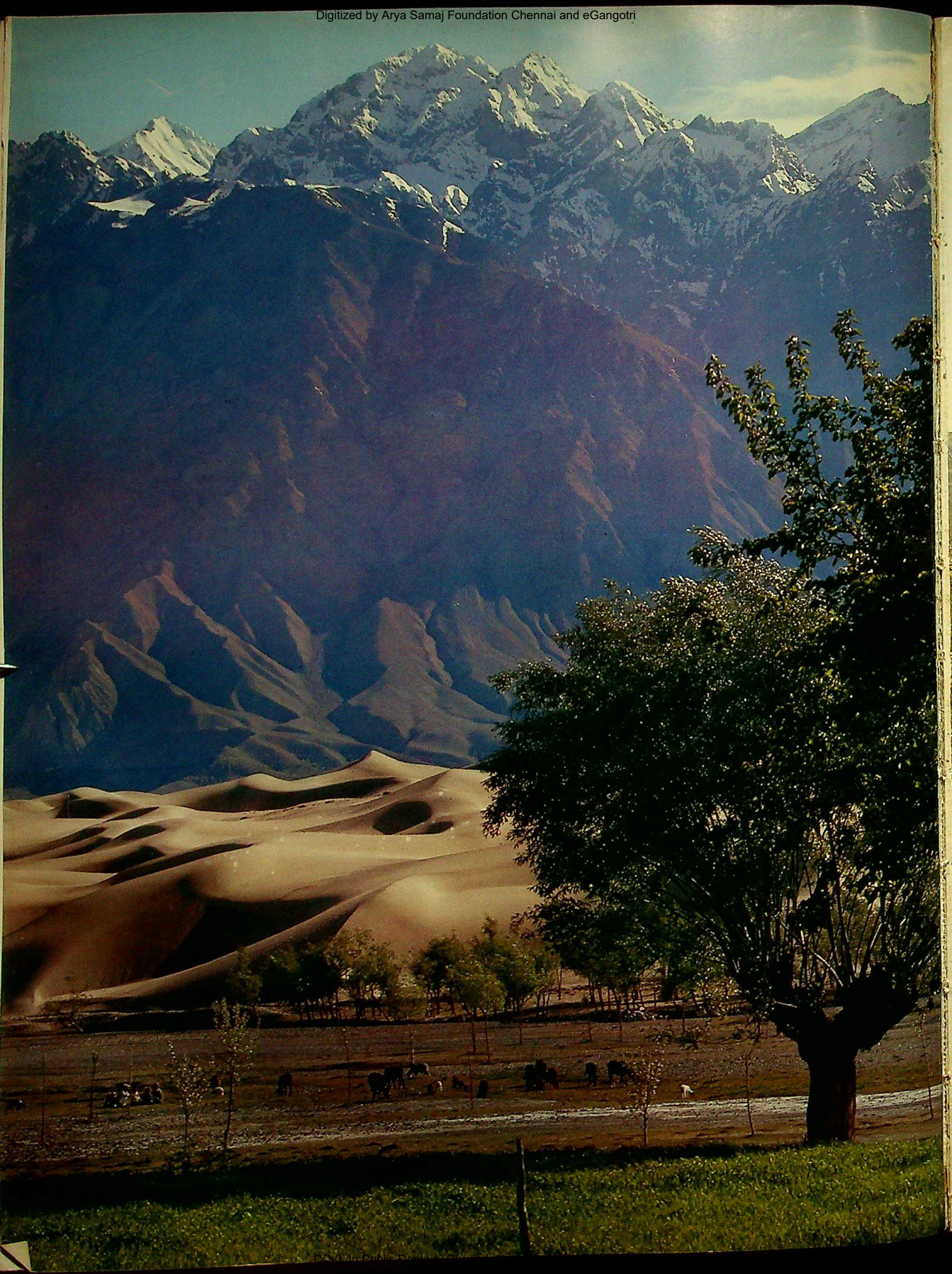

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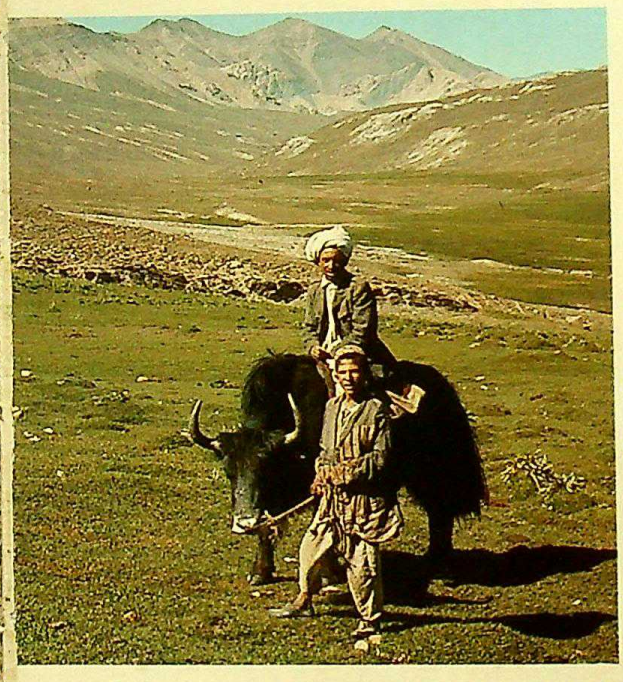
The Hindu Kush, constituting the main range of the western border mountains in the north, sends off a number of branches south towards Chitral, Dir and Swat. Trich Mir peak, in the north, is 25,263 feet high, and the ranges round about are capped with perpetual snow and ice. Their height decreases southward in Mohmand territory and the Malakand hills to only 5,000-6,000 feet. South of the Kabul river, the north-south strike changes to the west-east aligned Kohi Sofed Range, whose average height is about 13,000 feet. Its lower slopes move into Kohat district. The area of ranges running west-east is bounded in the south by the Gomal river, beyond which the Sulaiman mountains run for a distance of about three hundred miles, again in a roughly north-south direction. At the southern end of the Sulaimans, are the Marri and Bugti hills. The low

the north-eastern part of Baluchistan, the Zhob-Loralai Basin is completely surrounded by mountains, as is the small Quetta plateau. Central and southern Baluchistan include the Sarawan region in the north, with north-south ranges flanking narrow valleys, and a vast wilderness of ranges in the south. The backbone of the mountain systems of Baluchistan is the Central Brahui Range, which runs in a north-east to south-west direction. North-western Baluchistan is a true desert of low-lying plateaux, with inland drainage and a number of *hamuns* (dry lakes). Large areas of mudflats are found on the Baluchistan coast.

The Potwar plateau, lying at a height of 1,200-1,900 feet and covering an area of 5,000 square miles in Punjab, is bounded on the east by the Jhelum and on the west by the Indus. In the north the plateau extends to the



Left. *An extraordinary variety of landscape can be seen near Skardu beneath the snow-covered Deosai.*

Above left. *Yaks carry Wakhis in Little Pamir (13,000 ft.), abutting the Russian Pamir.*

In spring in Miandam Swat, (above), *streams run fast and apricot trees blossom.*

Kirthar Range forms the western boundary of the plain in the province of Sind.

Although the main Himalayas historically acted as a barrier to human movement the offshoots remained "half-open", occasionally letting foreign influences into the otherwise hermit subcontinent. The western border mountains are high enough in the north not to permit large-scale movement. The increase in aridity makes movement as difficult as the height itself. A few broad Passes (Khyber, Khurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan) furnish the only "openings" into the subcontinent, which were negotiated a number of times by invading armies and immigrant hordes. Backed by adequate forces, the western border is a stable frontier.

The plateau of Baluchistan is quite extensive. Its average altitude is over 2,000 feet. Within Baluchistan there is a variety of physical features, ranging from tangled masses of mountains to hill-girt basin plains. In

northern slopes of the Kala Chitta range and Margalla hills. On the south lies the Salt Range. The plateau generally is a poor agricultural area dissected by deep ravines. The slope of the land is in the direction of the flow of the Soan river, from north-east to south-west. The Salt Range is an area of special interest to the geologist. It has an orthoclinal outline which suggests that these mountains are the result of a monoclinal uplift combined with vertical dislocation along their southern border. The southern face of the range presents a complete geological sequence with rocks from the Cambrian Period to the Pleistocene Epoch.

About twenty-five million years ago, during the geological period known as Late Tertiary, a series of violent volcanic eruptions shook the area where the Himalayas now stand. At the time of the formation of the Himalayas, a great rift valley, nearly two thousand miles in length, lay along their southern edge. In places, the bed

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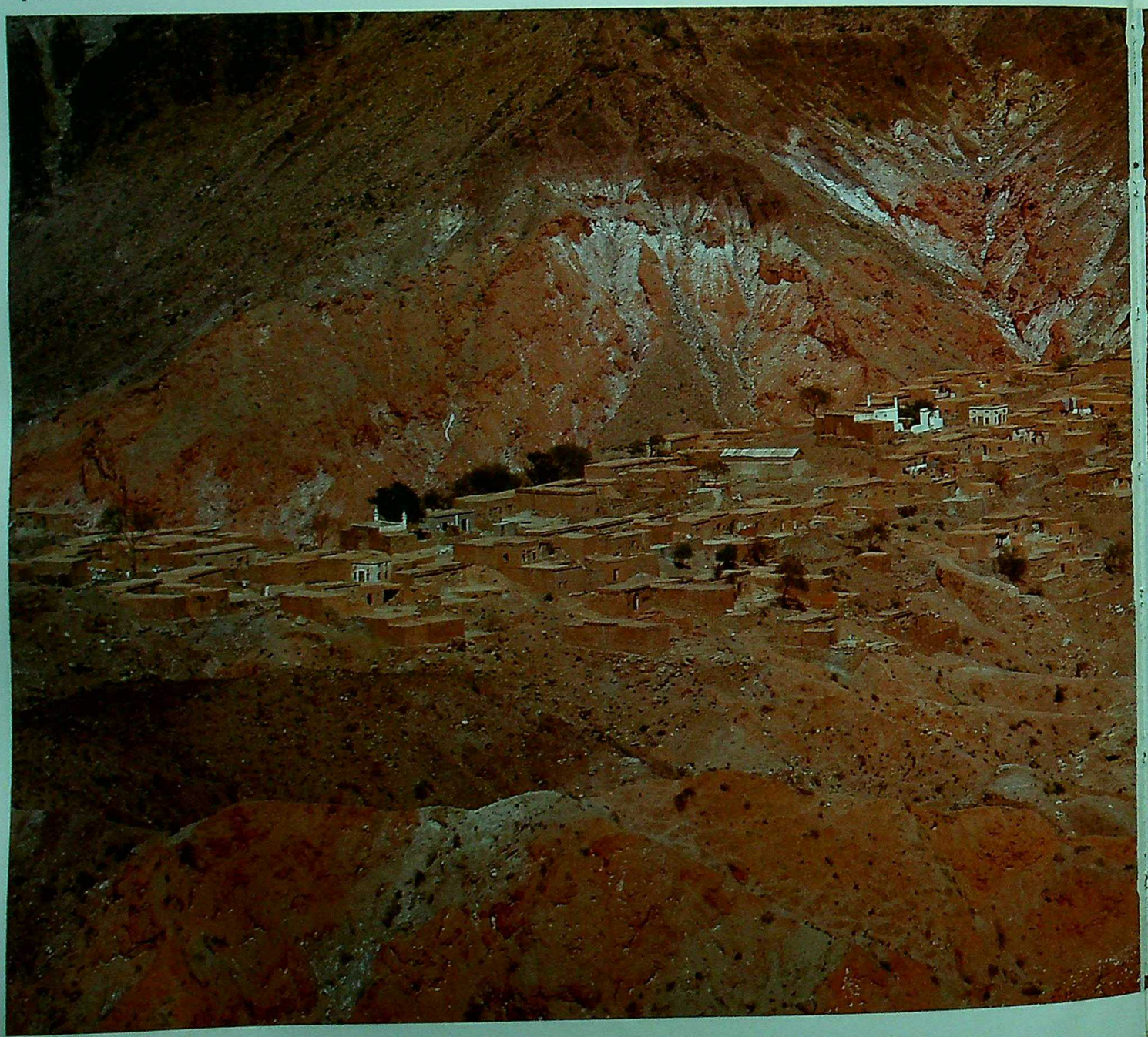
of this valley may have been as much as seventy thousand feet below the highest peaks. In the succeeding epochs, gigantic rivers and innumerable streams rushing down from the mountains filled the valley with alluvium. The plain of the Indus and Ganges which we know today is that same alluvium-filled rift valley which acted as a gulf between the Himalayas and the main subcontinental peninsula.

The trans-Indus basins include the vale of Peshawar, Kohat valley and the Bannu plain. The vale of Peshawar is spread over the districts of Peshawar and Mardan, covering an area of 2,500 square miles. Once a flourishing centre of Graeco-Buddhist culture, it is most fertile and nearly half of the population of North-West Frontier live in this region which has a total area of 39,000 square miles.

The Indus plain is featureless terrain, with a gentle gradient averaging one foot to the mile, running south or south-west to the Arabian Sea, an area of 200,000 square miles. Its relief is of micro scale, and presents several distinct land forms, including an active flood plain (low-lying land adjacent to a river bed), a meander flood plain (the land of old river channels), a cover flood plain (where old riverain features have been covered by recent alluvium deposited by sheet floodings), scalloped interfluves (central higher part of a *doab* or interfluve), and the delta (triangular formation of river deposits near the coast). Of these land forms, the more extensive are the cover and meander flood plains.

The Indus plain supports thriving agriculture. It is divided into the upper and lower Indus plains. The upper Indus plain, in which Punjab is situated, comprises a



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number of interfluves formed by the Indus and its major tributaries; while the lower Indus plain, in which lies Sind, has the Indus as the single dominant river. The upper and lower Indus plains are connected with each other through a narrow strip of plain south of the district Rahimyar Khan, which is sometimes termed the "Indus Corridor". The desert areas in the Indus plain include the steppes of the Sind Sagar Doab, situated between the Indus and the Chenab rivers (at the centre of which is Thal, Cholistan in Bahawalpur (Punjab), Nara or Rajasthan in Khairpur (Sind) and the Thar Desert in the Tharparkar district of Sind.

The soils of Pakistan are classified as pedocals which have been formed under semi-arid and arid conditions and contain little organic matter. In the mountainous areas shallow residual soils have developed, which are generally strongly calcareous. The plains are formed of thick alluvial soils, also mostly calcareous. Dominant texture is silt loam, silty clay and clay loam. When irrigated and fertilized these soils are very productive. In ill-drained areas the soils are affected by water-logging and salinity, and in the delta they are loamy and clayey. The clayey soils are suitable for rice cultivation under irrigation. Aeoline deposits occur under arid conditions.

The water reserves of the land are being tapped for irrigation. The Indus system of rivers has an average annual flow of about 168 million acre-feet. The ground water reserves are estimated to be 300 m.a.f. in the upper 100 feet of aquifer.

Located on a great landmass, north of the Tropic of Cancer, between latitudes 24° and 37°N, Pakistan has a

Far left. *The salt mines at Khewra, and its neighbourhood, used to supply all Central Asia in the past. The people of this small village are largely supported by mining in the forbidding environs of the Salt Range.* Left. *After the wheat crop is winnowed on the small farms in Swat, straw is used for mulch and bedding for the animals. Terracing the fields* (below), *an ancient practice in Swat's highland and valley communities, is the only way of conserving soil on the steep hillsides.*

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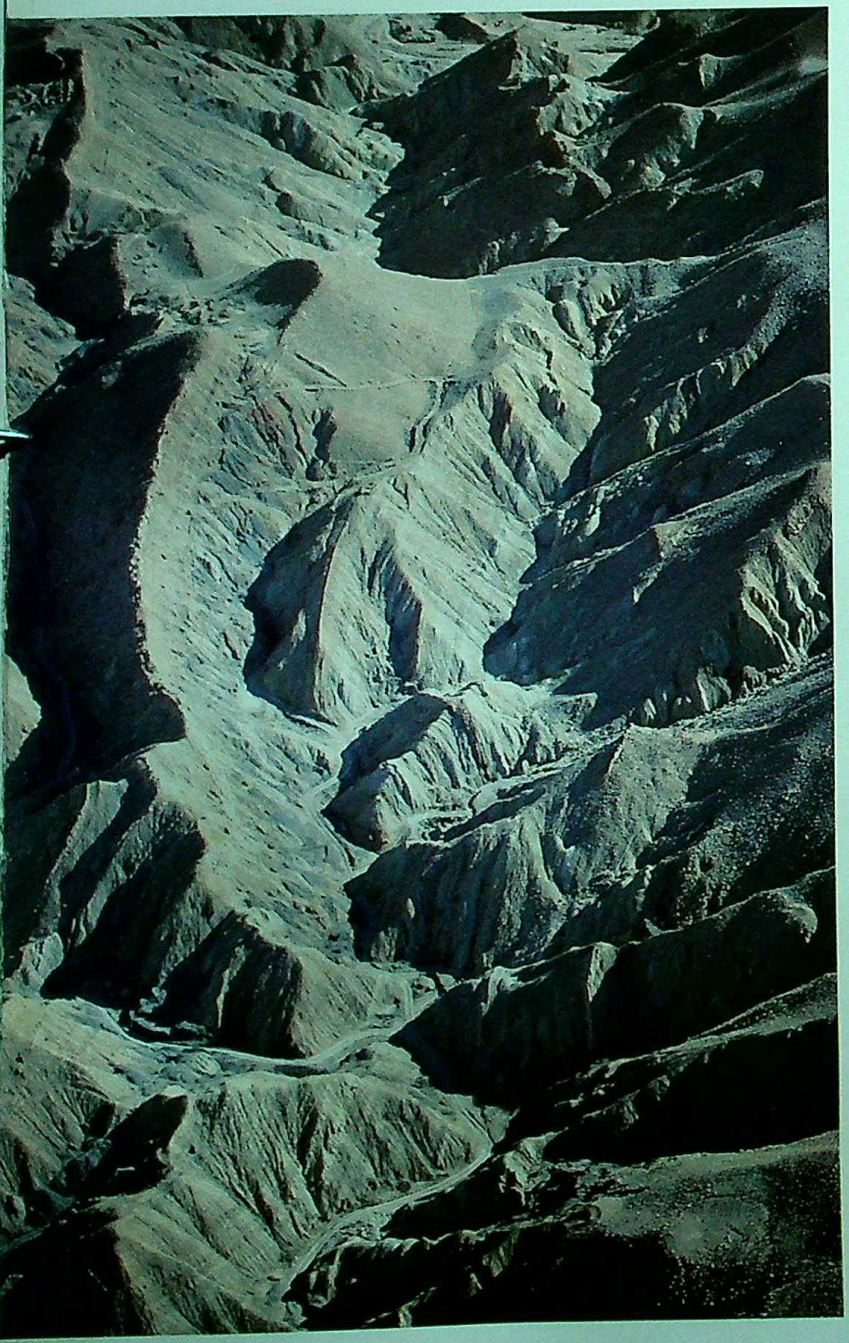
continental type of climate with extreme variations of temperature, modified in different regions by the quantum of rainfall and the extent of irrigation. The areas closer to the snow-covered mountains are characterized by a comparatively cold climate, those along the coastal strip are affected by sea breezes, and the rest are generally dry, dust storms and thunderstorms occasionally lowering the temperature.

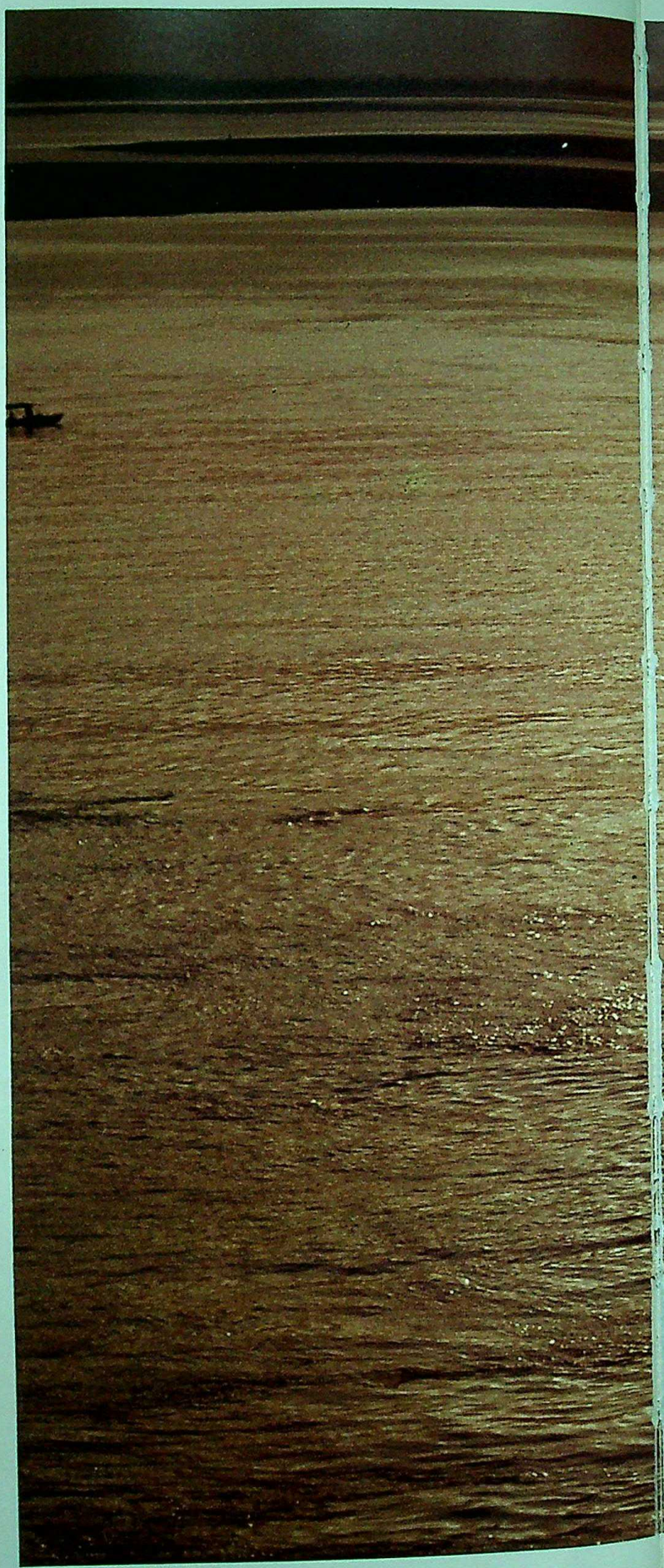
The all-pervasive aridity over most of Pakistan, the predominant influence on the life and habitat of the people, coupled with the climatic rhythm, characteristic of a monsoon climate, are conducive to homogeneity of the land.

K.U.K.

Below. *For centuries the Bolan Pass was the invaders' gateway to the fertile region of Quetta.*



Sukkur (right), *ancient capital of Sind, lies on the present west bank of the Indus above the barrage.*



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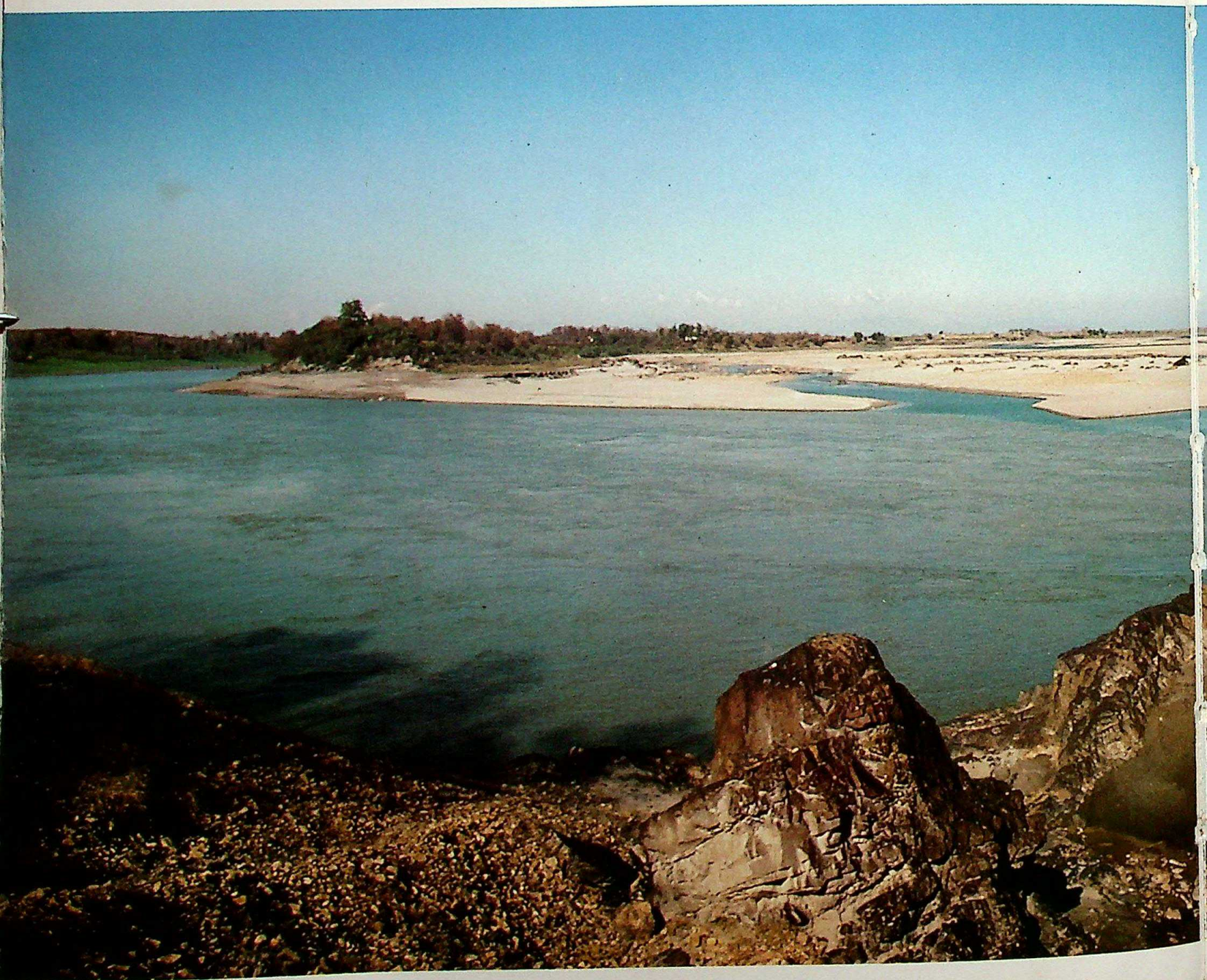
The Indus

The river, said the ancient Hindus, flowed from *Sinh-ka-bab*, that is, the mouth of a lion. The river itself they described in Sanskrit as the *Sindhu*. The Greeks called it *Sinthus*, the Romans *Sindus*, the Chinese *Sintow* and the Persians *Abisindh*. It was Pliny who first called it *Indus* and the name stuck. The *Indus* in turn gave its name to India, and through accidents in navigation to Indonesia and to the West Indies, to the Red Indians and now to the world's largest single water development programme.

Over 60 per cent of the total area of the Indus basin lies in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, India-occupied Kashmir has about 15 per cent, Tibet has about 10 per cent, and India and Afghanistan each have about 7 per cent of the Indus basin catchment area. The Indus system of rivers comprises the main Indus and its major tributaries: the Kabul and Kurram on the right bank, and the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej on the left. The first two join the Indus soon after it debouches from the mountains, and the others lower down in the plains. The whole of the Beas and the head reaches of the Ravi and Sutlej are in India, while those of the Chenab and Jhelum lie mostly in the disputed Kashmir state. The entire basin covers an area of about 348,000 square miles, of which 204,000 lie in Pakistan. In addition, there are about 29,000 square miles which lie outside the Indus basin but are dependent on the Indus river system for their water requirements and irrigation supplies.

But for Indus waters, the fate of agriculture in Pakistan would have been very uncertain. Even now when Pakistan is being rapidly industrialized, it cannot do without its water resources, for a very big percentage of its existing and proposed industry has to draw upon the agricultural produce for its raw materials. Almost all of the basin in Pakistan receives an overall rainfall of less than 15 inches, 60 per cent of its area receiving



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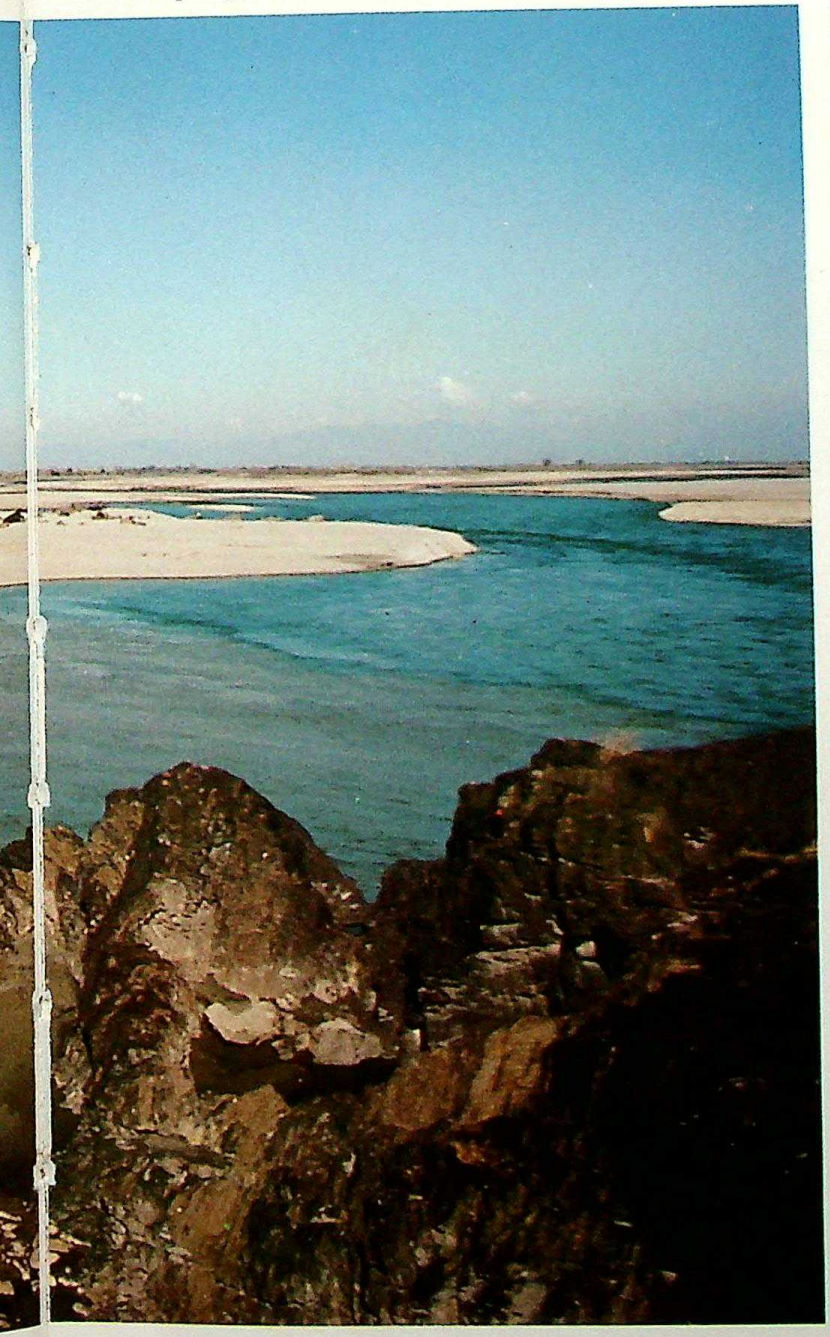
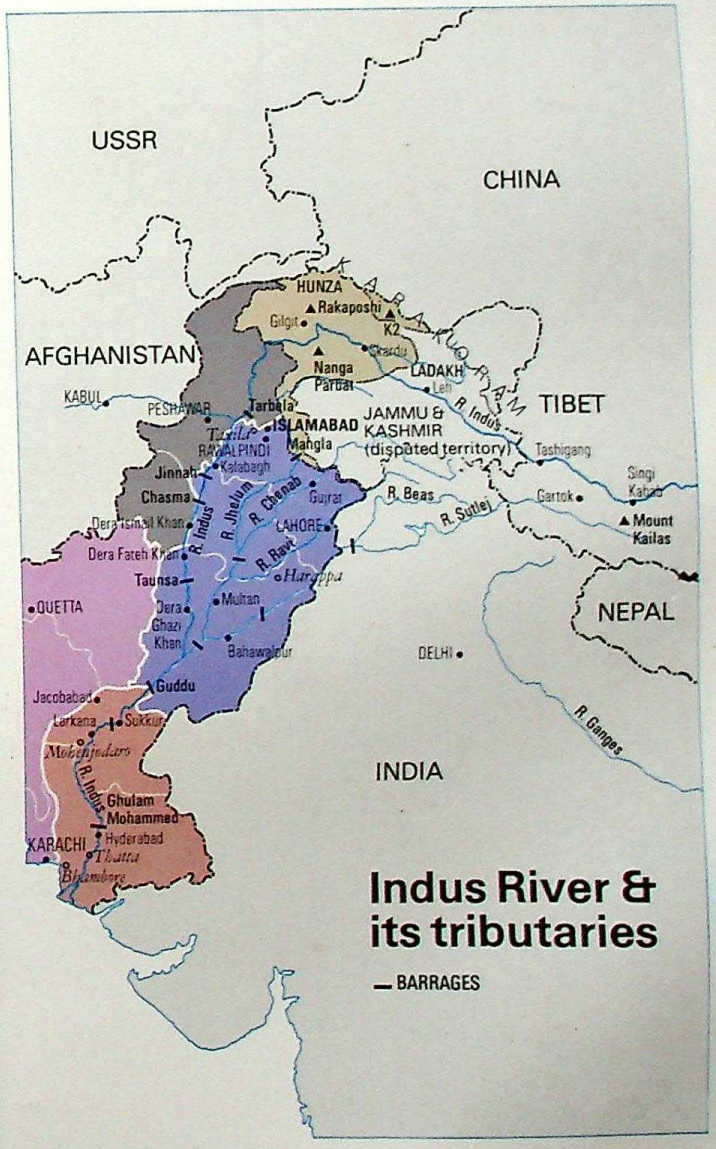
less than 10 inches, while 16 per cent less than 5 inches. The rainfall is not evenly distributed throughout the year but is concentrated during the monsoons.

Rising in Western Tibet, the Indus runs at first across a high plateau, then the ground falls away and the river, dropping rapidly, gathering momentum and rushing north-west, collects the waters from innumerable glacier-fed streams, and runs north-west between the world's greatest mountain ranges, the Karakorams and the Himalayas. In Kashmir it crosses the United Nations cease-fire line and, in Baltistan, enters Pakistan. From here on it is Pakistan's river.

Pakistan's first town on the upper Indus, Skardu, at 7,500 feet above sea level, stands on a bluff near the junction of the Indus and one of its great right-bank tributaries, the Shigar. The majority of the people live in Skardu town; others inhabit small and scattered villages along the Indus and Shigar valleys, or tiny hamlets high on the surrounding mountains beside tributary streams or springs. Walnuts grow along the Indus near Skardu, and poplars and apples; there are delicious melons and nectarines and apricots in the valley of the Shigar, but it is difficult to send them "down-country" because they are easily spoilt in transit. Potatoes, maize and other crops need unremitting attention; the patchwork of fields must be fed by small water-channels led off from the upper streams of the Indus, sometimes for hundreds of yards. This means endless, back-breaking work in moving boulders to dam icy water, in continually checking, adjusting and repairing the flimsy clay dykes. Strong winds funnel along the river, and the fine soil blows away and must be replaced. At this height, the growing season is short, and every man, woman and child is pressed into service.

Below Skardu, the Karakorams and Himalayas close in towards the Indus. A deep, relentless, dark-grey torrent, it hurls itself through ravines of naked rock. In a brief widening of its valley, the clear, jade-green Gilgit River foams down to meet it from the Hindu Kush. These mountains stand across the Indus's path, and the river is





The great brown Indus takes in the blue waters of Kabul River just north of Attock, where it breaks into the plains. With the tributaries it is shared by all Pakistan, binding its people.

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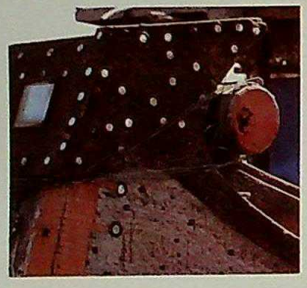

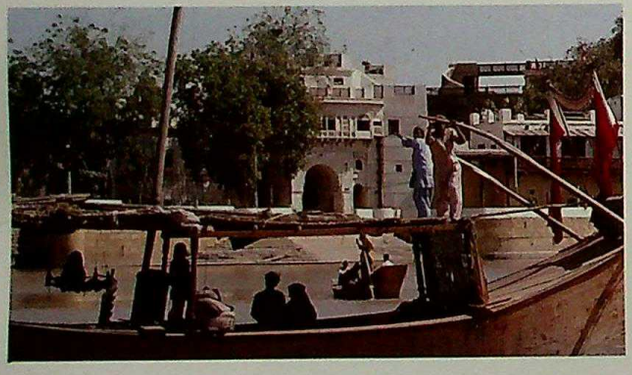

River Communities
The Indus in Punjab and Sind has supported river communities for thousands of years. The Mohanas still live by fishing and trading. Their boats are their homes, each adorned and carved vessel being built for a family.

forced to turn to the south-west. The Astor joins it from the east. Reinforced, the Indus twists and swirls down a trough between the Hindu Kush to the west, and the huge rampart of Nanga Parbat to the east.

In all these upper reaches of the Indus, narrow alluvial fans spill down the occasional cracks in the mountain rock. Good soil is rare here, and perched on their mud platforms, the few villages have to fight an endless battle against erosion by wind and climate. Some villages never see the sun in winter, others are so scorched in summer that the inhabitants must migrate to the uplands. Every village lives under threat. Appalling storms are commonplace, especially where the Indus begins to reach the monsoon area. Sometimes, in the high mountains, a glacier will slide across a tributary river and hold it back to form a lake; when the ice-dam breaks, it releases a great gush of water that reaches high up the cliffs in the Indus narrows. A landslide from the foothills of Nanga Parbat has even been known to block the Indus itself, temporarily, and the destruction downstream, when the implacable river eventually forced its way through, was catastrophic. Avalanches of mud and boulders suddenly poured down the mountainside, overwhelming people and crops in their path. Most terrible of all are the earthquakes. This is a geologically unstable area, and there have been many earthquakes, the most recent being in the winter of 1974.

At last, just above a village called Tarbela, the Indus breaks out of the Hindu Kush. Here one of the largest dams in the world has been built to hold and control water for irrigation, and to generate electricity. It ponds the river back into its gorges for some fifty miles, and contains more than eleven million acre-feet of water. The effects of the great dam, when completely concluded, are almost incalculable – for, in Pakistan, everything, in the last resort, depends on the Indus.

For a short breathing-space after Tarbela the river runs wide and shallow across the Potwar Plateau. This is a very ancient habitation of Man: 400,000 years ago people were making implements and weapons of stone here. It has also been, for thousands of years, the place where invaders entered the subcontinent: Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Central Asians. From the west, from the valley that some of the invaders followed, the Kabul River brings its brown water to mingle with the Indus grey. Then, at Attock, under the walls of the fort that Akbar built in 1586, the Indus gathers itself together again to force yet another mountain obstacle in its path, the Salt Range.

But this is the last. At Kalabagh, a thousand miles from its source, with a thousand miles still to cover to the sea, the Indus emerges on to the plains of Punjab.

The second half of the river's course is as dramatic as the first, but in a different way. Instead of being narrowly confined within walls of mountains, the Indus can now spread itself; and its bed is soon so wide that, from one bank, the other is invisible. In summer, when the snows and ice melt in the north, the great river, spumey and grey, fills its bed to the brim. In winter, when the river is low, islands and sandbanks surface, and the clear water flows in a maze of channels at the bottom of sloping mudbanks. From some of the islands men float pitchers of milk to market on reedy rafts. In every direction stretch the enormous sandy plains, lemony and brown and reddish, and patched with salt, asterisked with palm trees, shimmering with light. Different animals appear: camels, linked nose-to-tail, paniered with bales of fluffy cotton, and water-buffaloes, pink-nostril-

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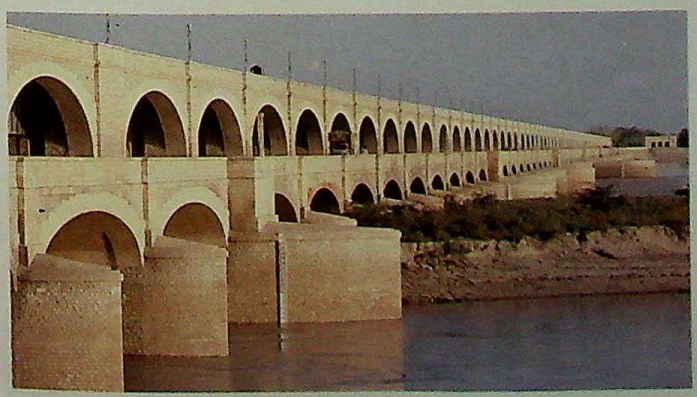
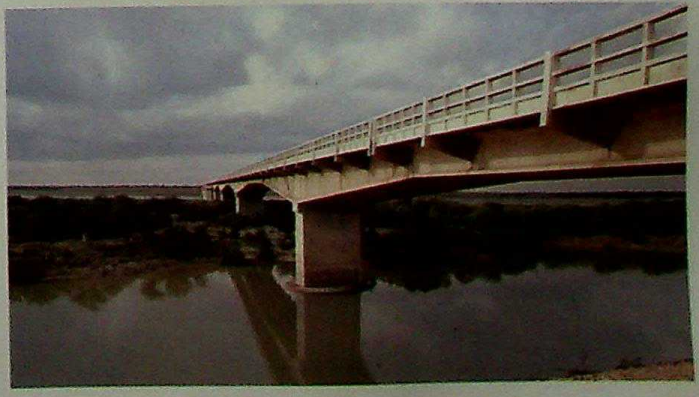
led, wallowing in every pond. Kites scream overhead, hoopoes poke the ground with their long thin bills. Towns beautifully sky-lined with mosques and minarets stand near the river. But not too near.

For the Indus is still dangerous. The average gradient from Kalabagh to the sea is less than 9 inches per mile. When the river slows, as it must, in the plains, it drops the silt it has carried at speed through the upper gorges, and its bed gradually rises. In a heavy flood – perhaps a glacier-dam has been breached, or the monsoon has arrived before the end of the summer snow-melt – it may charge out of its bed and cut a new channel across the plains. Over the years the sands of Punjab and Sind have been worn down to pinshead size by the manoeuvres of the river.

Only one or two relatively unimportant tributaries flow into the Indus at the beginning of its journey across the plains; they come from the western mountains near Afghanistan. But, halfway to the sea, the Indus is joined by the greatest of all its tributaries, from the east: the Panjnad, the Five Rivers of the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. Each of the five has travelled a different path from the Himalayas; they unite only some fifty miles before they meet – as an equal – the Indus. The ancient civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was based on

Below. *The islands of the Indus – such as the island of Bukkar – are protected by the river. Successive invaders and rulers have regarded these as strong-holds.*
The Sukkur barrage (bottom left), *feeds seven great irrigation canals. In spate, Indus waters reach this carriageway of the six-mile Thatta-Sujawal bridge* (bottom right).





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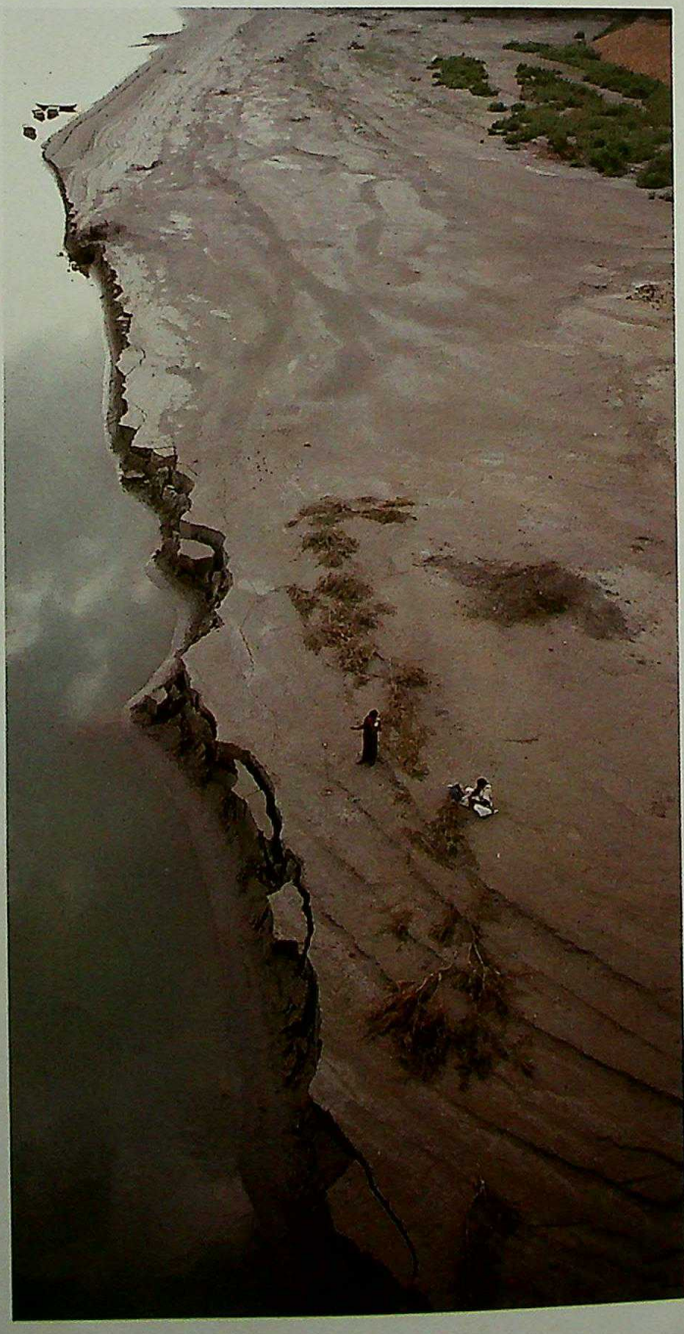
the Panjnad and the Indus; nearly a hundred towns have been identified between Punjab and the coast. Much of their commerce was carried by water and a peasant, tilling his flat fields of corn and sugar cane, must often have seen the great square sails of the river cargo boats bellying out before the monsoon. The few trading boats that work on the Indus today, carrying what occasional cargoes they can find, are of much the same pattern as the ancient boats, heavily built, clumsy to steer; they are engined now but still carry sails to harness the monsoon, when possible, against the river current.

People who live in a waste of sand veined with great rivers, which seasonally flood and are also liable to unpredictable changes of course, must try to control the waters. From earliest times men, in their battle against inundation and for irrigation, have banked the Indus, built walls to direct it, dug channels to take – and use – its overflow. Later they constructed weirs, barrages and dams, and hundreds of miles of canals. Mangoes now grow in the desert, and wide acres of cotton, and orchards of citrus where the oranges glow in the glossy dark.

Below the twin towns of Hyderabad and Kotri, the Indus runs south to a delta of tamarisks, scrub and salt-water rushes. For many hundreds of years the estuary seems to have been an important harbour and staging-post. But a series of coastal earthquakes – the worst in recent years was in the early nineteenth century – have thrown the river back on itself and divided the navigable channels into a dozen creeks and ditches, shallow and meandering. The great river that is the life-line of Pakistan now spreads out in a green and scrubby confusion, and Pakistan's sea-port lies at Karachi, 40 miles west of the Indus delta.

For ten miles beyond the coast the Arabian Sea is discoloured by the silt of the Indus, and beneath its waters a deep canyon continues the channel of the river. The Indus, cutting through great mountains, driving across enormous sands, has carved a last gorge in the sea bed.

J.F.



Above. *Restaurants lie along the river near Hyderabad, where boating and fishing are popular.*

Right. *Fishermen at Kotri, in the delta, live by catching* palla *in traps hung from floating pitchers.*

Far right. *Beside the river sprawls the thickly forested* kachha *area near Thatta, in which wild boar roam.*

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Flora

The flora of Pakistan comprises about 6,000 different species of flowering plants produced by the different climates, altitudes and latitudes, coastal plains, deserts, foot-hills and mountains. It can be divided broadly into five main groups. The south and the central part of the country, comprising the great plains of Sind and Punjab, is an extension of the North African, Arabian and South Iranian deserts. Except where irrigation by canals and water channels exists, the majority of plants growing in this area are resistant to salt and drought. A number of these have water storage tissues, or develop other characteristics to enable them to grow in unfavourable desert conditions. Cacti, euphorbias, asclepiads and salvadora, are amongst the characteristic plants of this region.

The second type of flora can be classified as Irano-Turanian, from the dry Iranian hills extending into Baluchistan, Waziristan, Kurram and Khyber areas, where summers are hot and winters freezing, The pencil cedar and the pine nut *(chilgoza* pine) are economically important and are among the few varieties of trees. Fruit is cultivated extensively where there are springs and streams. To a botanist, this region is of particular interest: and part of it still remains unexplored.

The third type of flora is partly Himalayan and partly tropical. From the plains (at about 330 metres) to the foot-hills (at about 1,700 metres), this zone is really an extension of the dry Mediterranean type of flora. Some of the more common plants found here are acacias, olives, Grewias *(falsa),* Dodonaea *(sanatha),* Gymnosporia *(pataki),* Adhatoda *(bhaekar),* Carissa *(garanda),* Indian coral tree, Flame of the Forest and Mallotus *(kameela)* which extends from the Philippines to this foot-hill zone. At an altitude of about 1,000 metres, the long leaved pine, Pinus Roxburghii *(chir)* is widespread, and at a number of places it forms pure stands; *chir* is tapped for its resin which is used for making, among other things, turpentine.

The fourth group, which is known as the Himalayan flora, extends from an altitude of 1,730 metres to 3,300 metres above sea level, and includes a great variety of plants which abound in this temperate and alpine region and a number of genera are the same as those found in Europe (for example, oaks, poplars, maples, horse-chestnuts, a third species of pine – the blue pine – yews, firs, and, in some places, deodars and spruces); Himalayan ivy, honeysuckles and wild roses climb the trees. In the forest undergrowth and open meadows, there are shrubby plants like Berberis, Viburnum, Cotoneaster and small flowering herbs such as purple and pink geraniums, Saxifragas, violets, columbines, delphiniums, primulas, gentians, anemones and yellow buttercups. At the upper tree limit (about 3,300 metres) there are alpine meadows with beautiful multi-hued flowers. One of the few tree species found at this altitude is the birch, Betula Utilis; its white bark peels off in large sheets and at one time was used as writing material.

The fifth group consists of plants that grow above 3,300 metres, up to the plant limit of about 6,000 metres. This is the Tibetan and the Central Asian flora. A few important medicinal plants grow here, such as thyme, used for liver and stomach complaints; a species of Saussurea whose roots were earlier exported to China

Frangipani of the Apocynaceae *family.*

Iris aitchisoni, of the Iridaceae *family.*

Delphinium brunonianium, the Ranunculaceae *family.*

Opuntia, of the Cactaceae *family.*

Bougainvillaea, of the Nyctaginaceae *family.*

Ammi majus, of the Umbelliferae *family.*

Gloriosa superba, of the Liliaceae *family.*

Tabernaemontana, of the Apocynaceae *family.*

Euphorbia sp., of the Euphorbiaceae *family.*

Mimosa himalayana, of the Leguminosae *family.*

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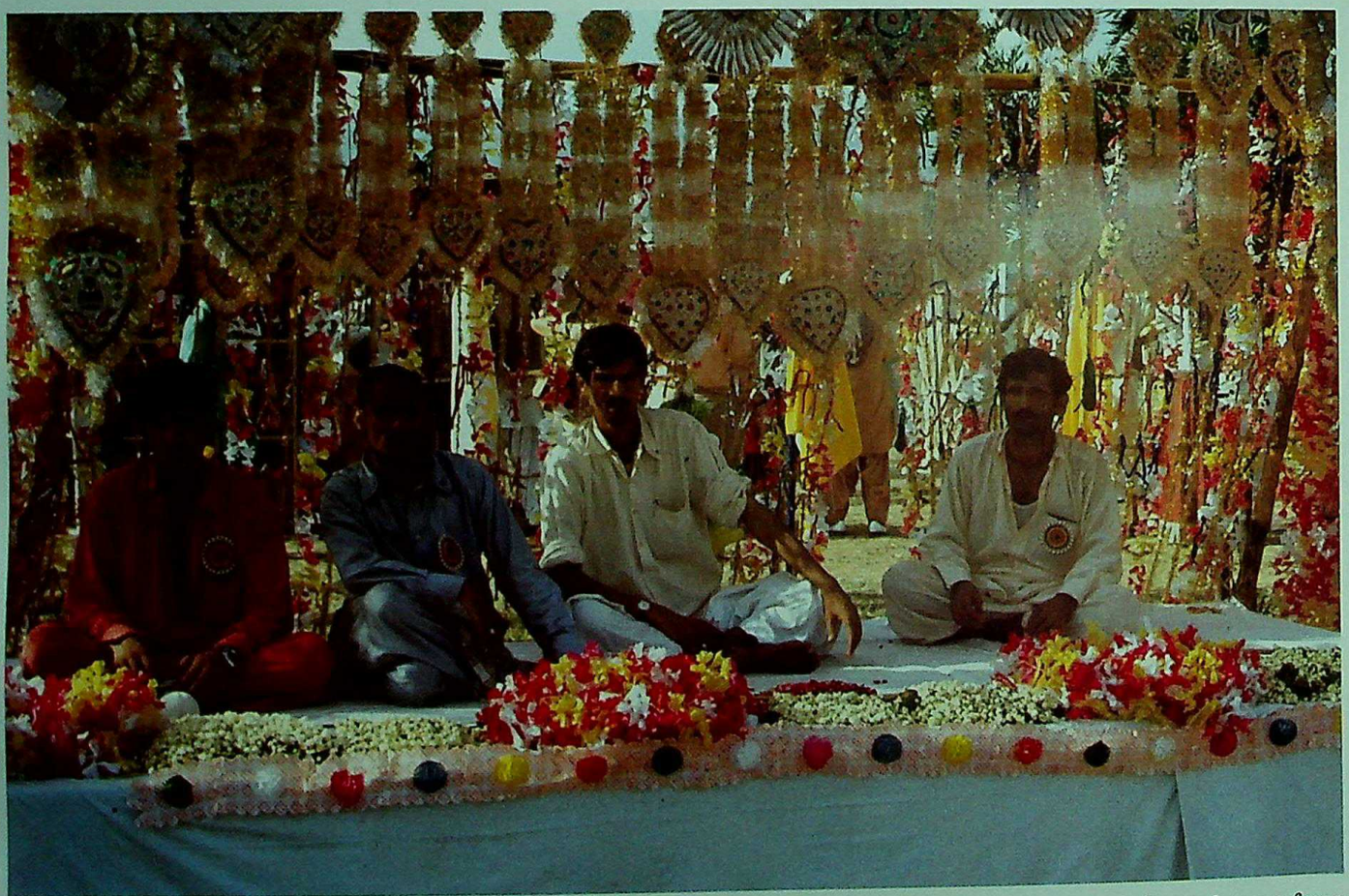
6,000 species flower, from the deserts, swamps and seashores to the Himayalan snow-line.

Above. *Such meadows of Alpine flowers make northern Pakistan a paradise for lovers of wild flora.*

Below. *Flower garlands sold by the shrine of Data Darbar, Lahore, are placed on the tomb of the saint.*



and used as a narcotic for smoking and incense in temples, but which are now used as a perfume and a fumigatory; and Cordyalis, whose roots are used medicinally. The ground remains covered with snow most of the year and, even during the few summer months, it is very cold at night. One such area is just south of Skardu, at an average altitude of about 4,300 metres. Known as Deosai Plain, this is a fascinating plateau, comprising about 4,000 square km. of undulating land. In many places there are swamps providing a breeding place for myriads of mosquitoes. The Deosai has an interesting flora of Alpine and Arctic tundra. As a result of severe climatic conditions, most of the species bloom at the same time – July and August. In addition to sedges, grasses and dwarf willows, many plants grow in tufts and some form compact cushions.

The useful plants of the world, and the weeds too, are rapidly spreading to every country which has a climate in which they can flourish. The result is that the indigenous flora of populous regions has largely disappeared and been replaced by immigrants, invited or otherwise. Most of the beautiful trees of the parks, roadsides and gardens of Sind and Punjab are guests. This is true of the herbs and shrubs as well. At the same time, the increase in population, deforestation and overgrazing, are causing a continuous change in the flora of Pakistan.

R.R.S., E.N. and S.G.

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Fauna

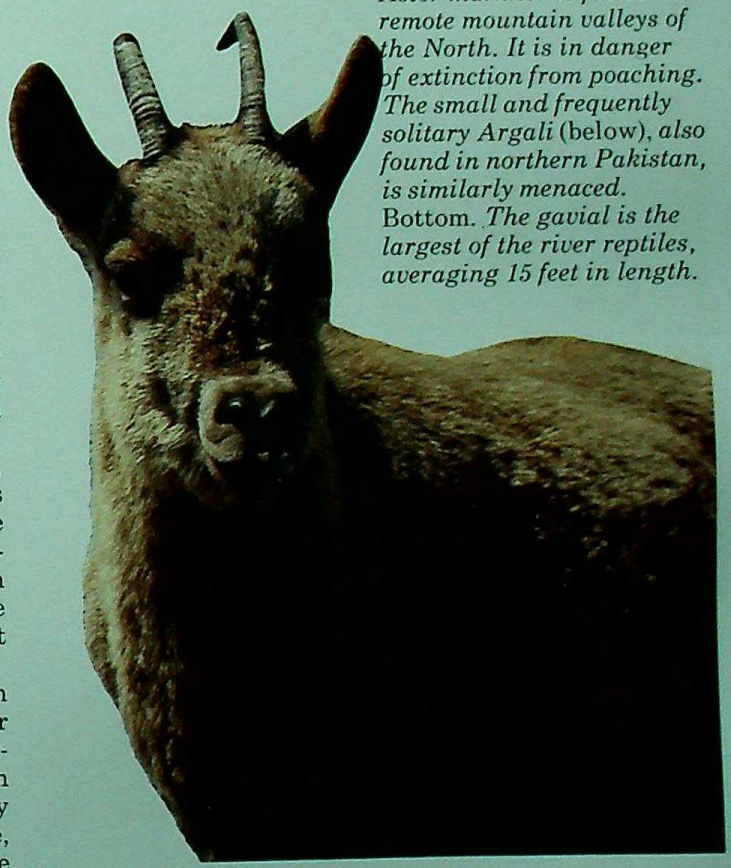
The semi-arid land of Pakistan originally supported an indigenous wildlife adapted to wide extremes of temperature and able to travel great distances in search of food and water. Additionally, colonizing species from Palearctica, North Africa, the Mediterranean and Central Asia crossed the Himalayan offshoots (then lightly forested) along the west bank of the Indus. The fauna was further increased by thousands of water-fowl and animals, winter migrants, which travelled over the swamps and riverain forest left each year after the monsoon flooding of the Indus. Feeding by the drying swamps and lakes and along the river banks were three species of cranes, four species of storks and flocks of wild geese, ducks, pelicans, spoonbills and coots. In the forests lurked crocodiles, hog deer and, until recently, swamp deer and tiger. The lower hills and plains abounded in antelopes – nilgai, black buck – and higher up were gazelles, wild sheep and goats.

In the past forty or fifty years, man has transformed the landscape of Pakistan. With efficient irrigation, the the Indus basin is now a well wooded and watered region of rich farmland with a dense human population. All but the highest hills of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier have been denuded of their scrub forest cover. The consequent loss of shelter and freedom from disturbance has led to a rapid decline in wildlife.

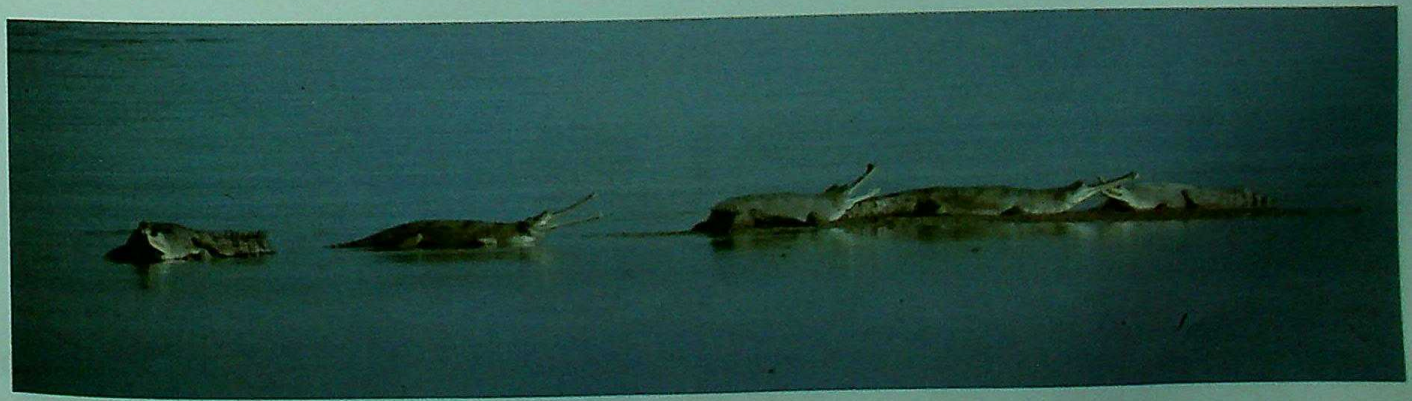
In the class of reptilia there are three species of marine turtle (the green turtle, the hawksbill and the loggerhead), seven species of fresh water turtle or terrapina, two tortoises and two crocodilians. There are over fifty species of lizards with a rich variety of the larger rock-dwelling agamids, sand swimmers and desert-dwelling gekonids, as well as three large monitor lizards and a variety of lacertids and skinks.

Cold winters and arid conditions do not favour snakes, but there are over forty-five known species of snakes including eight highly venomous land snakes, nine venomous sea-snakes, and four mildly poisonous rear-fanged colubrids. The akistrodon viper is found as high as 8,000 feet, the leaf-nosed viper inhabits the sand-dune desert, whilst down in the Indus coastal swamps the last of the rock pythons dwell.

About 450 species of birds are to be found regularly in Pakistan, although only one third of them stay all year to breed. The rest are winter migrants from the palearctic and the north. Amongst the most interesting to Man are the edible game birds – including five gorgeously plumaged Himalayan pheasants, the Rufous turtle dove, and the snow and rock pigeons. The desert supports three



Above. *The magnificent Astor markhor is found in remote mountain valleys of the North. It is in danger of extinction from poaching. The small and frequently solitary Argali* (below), *also found in northern Pakistan, is similarly menaced.* Bottom. *The gavial is the largest of the river reptiles, averaging 15 feet in length.*



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species of bustard, six species of sand grouse, coursers and praticoles. Two francolins are found in the Indus basin, and in the dryer hills one sees rock partridges, see-see, and four more doves. In the wetlands there are some thirteen species of migratory duck, two wild geese, two cranes and three storks. In the pine and fir forests of the Himalayas live a variety of brightly plumaged chats, flycatchers, magpies and jays. Even in the plains, there are in winter many Palearctic warblers, wheatears, wagtails, pipits and skylarks. Pakistan has relatively few forest and water-loving birds such as kingfishers, flycatchers and drangoes, but has a large number of such desert-adapted species as skylarks and wheatears. The number and variety of birds of prey is remarkable, with five types of true eagles, besides buzzards, hawks and falcons. Twenty-two species of birds of prey may be seen in lower Sind.

Let us lastly consider Pakistan's mammals. In the mountains of the north and west are found three wild goats, the Himalayan ibex, the markhor, the Sind or Baluchistan wild goat, and three wild sheep. In the far north, on the border with Chinese Turkestan, live the Marco Polo sheep, standing nearly four feet high, with curling horns up to five feet long. In the foothills and plains survive the last of such antelopes as the nilgai, black buck and both chinkara and goitered gazelles, besides hog deer, wild pig, and many medium-sized animals like the ratel, smooth coated otter, scaly ant-eater, small Indian civet, and jungle cat. In the higher mountain forests live rhesus monkeys, grey langurs, and a few black and red bears, musk deer and snow leopards.

Small mammals are everywhere, including five species of shrews, four hedgehogs and over forty rodents from the kangaroo-like jerboas of the sand dunes, to the flying squirrels of the pine forests. There are many species of gerbils, sand rats, spiny mice and rats, as well as twenty-eight species of bat ranging from giant flying foxes to tiny pygmy pipistrelles.

After a team of wildlife experts and ecologists, spon-

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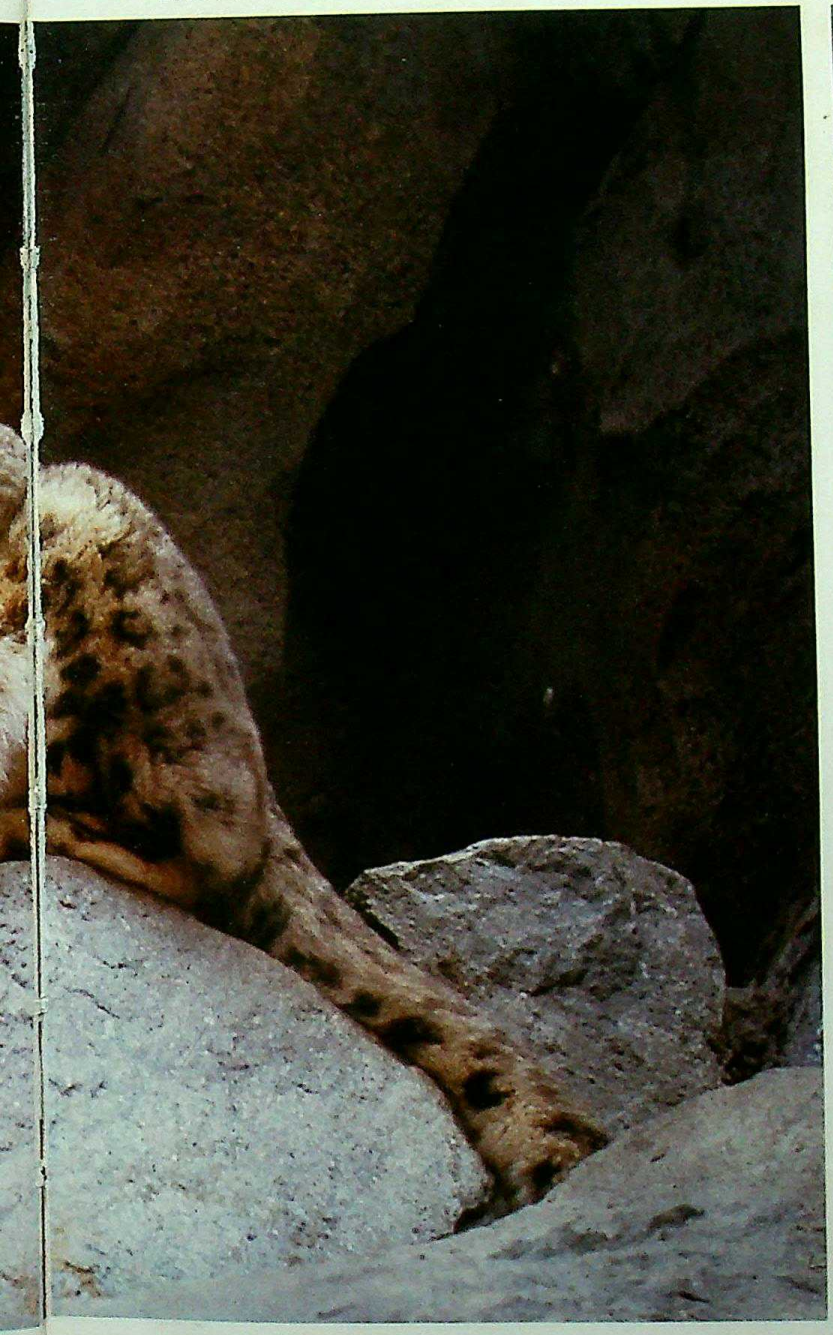
sored by the World Wildlife Fund and the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation, made detailed surveys in different regions and submitted their report in 1970, protective laws have been enacted and Wildlife Management Boards set up in the provinces. Wildlife sanctuaries for markhor have been established in Chitral, for wild goats in Sind and for urial in the Punjab Salt Range at Kalabagh. National Parks are being developed at Lal Suhanra on the border of the Cholistan desert, where gazelle, black buck, hog deer and nilgai are being bred in captivity. Scientific pheasant breeding has begun in Murree, with technical and material assistance from the World Wildlife Fund, Pakistan. The Kirthar in Sind has been expanded and declared a National Park, with a most encouraging increase in the population of ibex and gazelle. A National Park is planned for the Karakoram range of northern Hunza, to include the last refuge of the Marco Polo sheep as well as snow leopard, red deer and musk deer.

In 1971 individual sportsmen and conservationists established a National Appeal for Wildlife Preservation under the aegis of the International World Wildlife Fund. This unofficial body has submitted recommendations and reports to the Government, besides sponsoring several wildlife investigations by eminent international experts. It has also collected a development fund of about ten million rupees from donations by its wealthier supporters under a scheme sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund. This money is being used to sponsor scholarships for Pakistani graduates in wildlife ecology and related studies, and for financing captive breeding projects to re-introduce rare fauna into their former haunts.

The National Parks, however, still have insufficient wardens, their boundaries still need to be clearly marked, and in many of the remoter areas poaching still occurs, flouting the Wildlife Protection Ordinances. The Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation and the Provincial Wildlife Management Boards are tackling the need to educate people in the importance of preserving Pakistan's wildlife resources. **T.J.R. and S.B.A.**



The Snow Leopard (far left) *lives in high altitude ranges in the Himalayas, Pamirs and Hindu Kush. There are only an estimated one hundred left in Pakistan. The Eastern Rosella* (top) *are sold as pets all over Pakistan.* Above left. *Great and little egrets are among the 70 species of waterfowl in the Haleji Lake sanctuary, as is the pied kingfisher* (above). *Western Tragopan* (left) *are strictly protected.*

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Cities

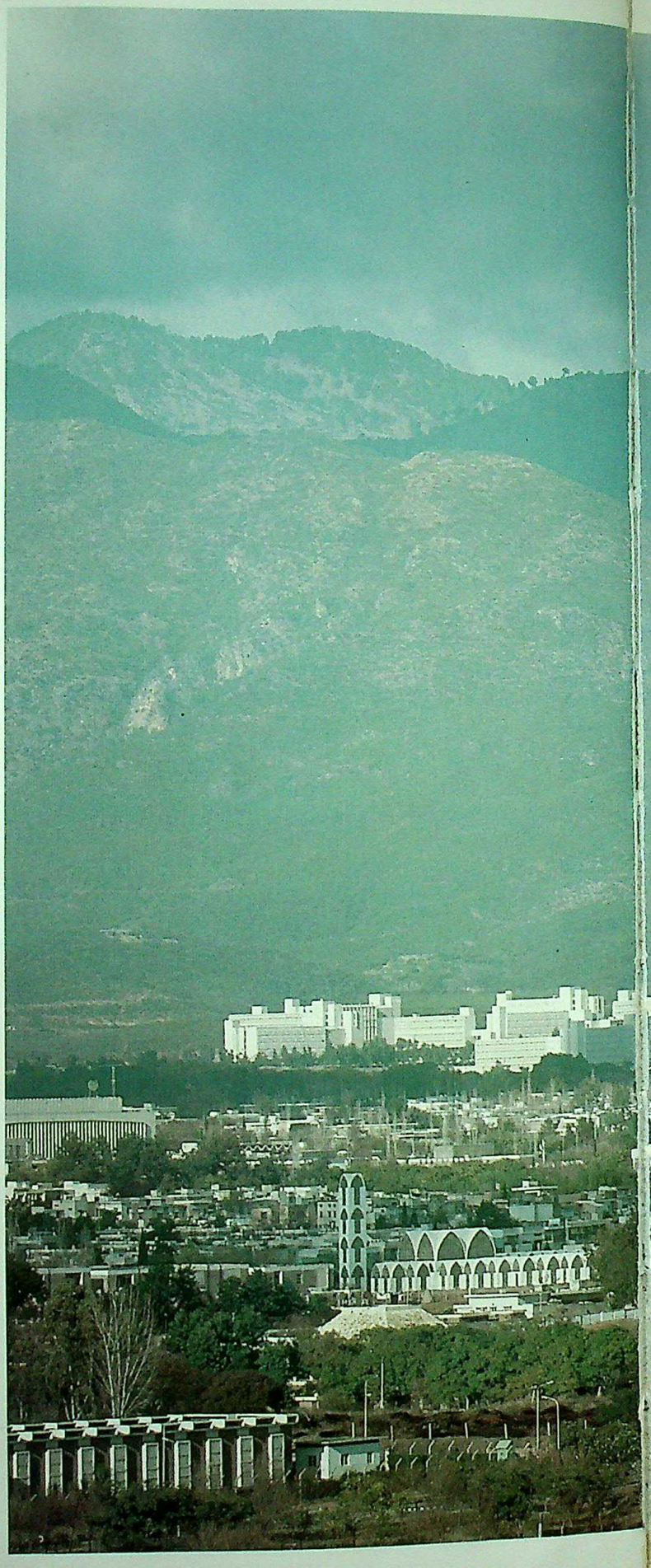
Some basic population figures are required to indicate the dynamics of a nation and the nature of its urbanization. The 1901 census of what is now Pakistan revealed that 16.6 million people inhabited this area. By the 1951 census, this figure had increased through births and immigration to 34 million. In 1972, the most recent census, the total population of the four provinces of Pakistan (Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and Baluchistan) and other territories was about 65 million. Comparatively the urban population in 1901 was 1.6 million; in 1951, 6.0 million; and in 1972, 16.7 million. As a percentage of the population, the urban population in Pakistan shifted from about 9.8 per cent in 1901 to 25.7 per cent in 1972. It is projected that by the year 2001, the urban population will account for 65.6 per cent of the total population or 86 out of 131 million. Regarding population distribution in Pakistan, the three major metropolises (Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi-Islamabad) which account for 37.9 per cent of the total urban population in Pakistan (as of 1972) continue to increase in population overall, while the "secondary" cities (those with populations over 100,000) such as Peshawar and Hyderabad, have actually lost population. The preference of the urban dweller, then, is for the large metropolis or the "agro-town". Small towns of less than 50,000 account for 29.4 per cent of the total urban population in 1972, an increase from 26.3 per cent in 1951.

Apart from the federal capitals, Pakistan has a number of large cities which have either mushroomed from insignificant beginnings by the pressure of industrialization and urbanization, or retained their historic positions by virtue of their locations. In the former category, Lyallpur has become a boom town with scores of textile factories; Sialkot's sports and stainless steel, especially surgical, goods are exported worldwide, and Gujranwala's light industry manufactures a wide range of consumer items.

In the latter category, Multan is prominent for its ancient shrines and mosques. It was an established city at the time of the Arab invasion in the eighth century. Sukkur and Hyderabad are both situated on the Indus and have been flourishing centres of commerce for centuries. Thatta, once a vital port city at the mouth of the Indus, still retains some of its former importance by virtue of its historic sites as well as by serving the needs of nearby farmers.

In Baluchistan, a sparse and still largely unsettled population does not need many cities. Quetta apart, Chaman and Sibi are the only significant towns; the former is important for its strategic location and the latter as an oasis of markets in an arid, baking desert region. In the North-West Frontier Province also, a largely inhospitable terrain precludes large cities and, with the exception of Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat and Saidu Sharif are the only consequential towns.

R.L.



Islamabad

Islamabad, one of the few new national capitals to emerge in the twentieth century, lies at the base of the Margalla Hills in an area sparsely settled by villages and low-yield farms until 1959.

In that year, the Pakistan Government decided to move the nation's capital from Karachi to a more administratively functional site in the north.

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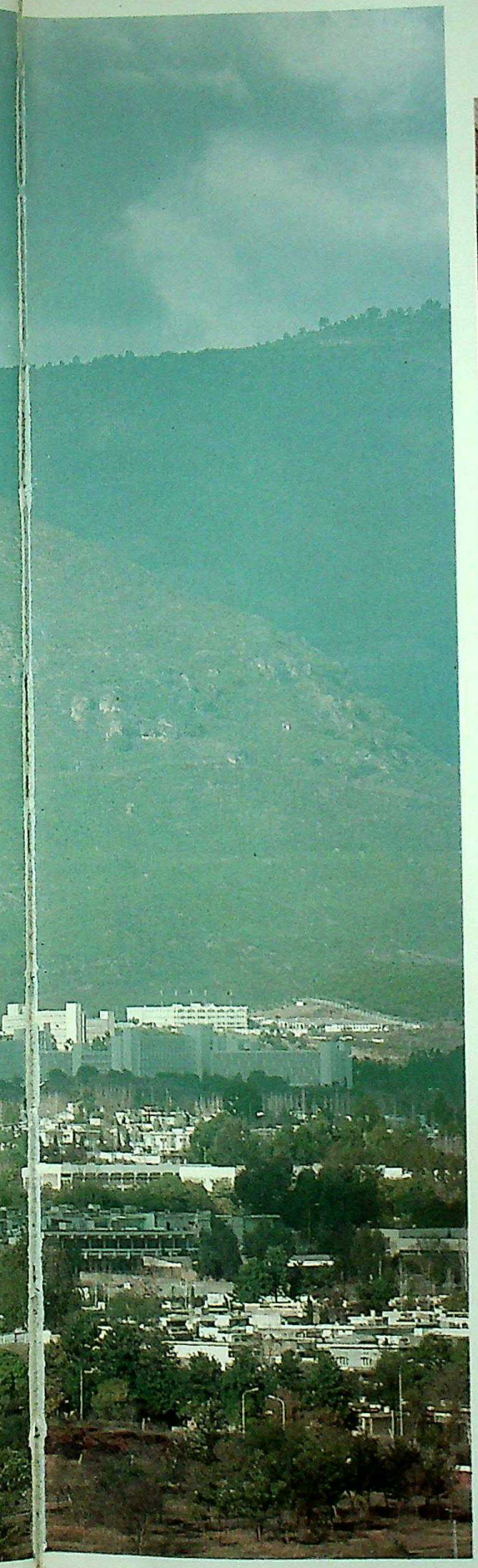

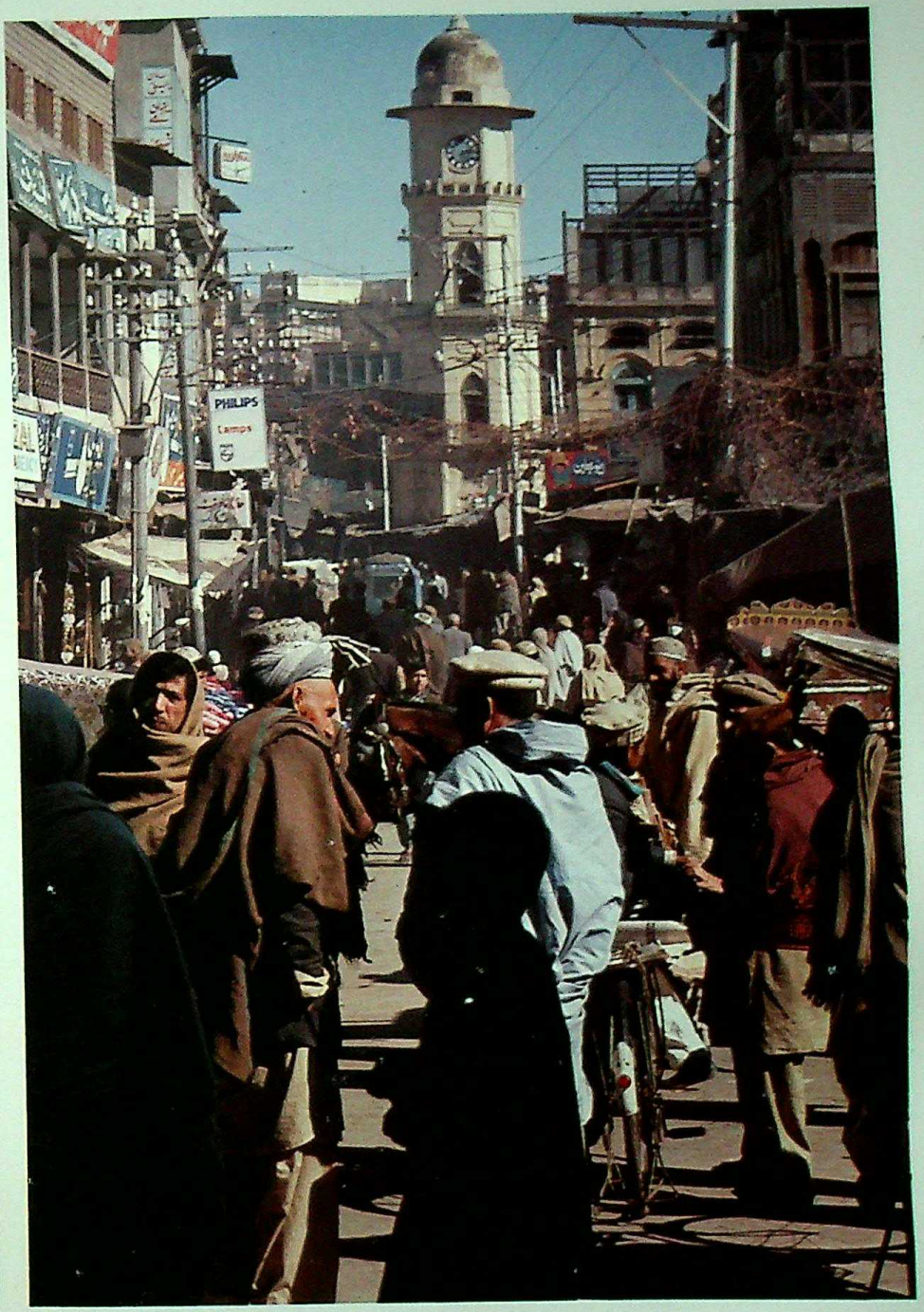

Left. *The construction of the new capital, Islamabad, began in 1961. The city's structure is cellular, so that balanced units of housing, shops, schools and other amenities can be added as it grows to its scheduled capacity of 800,000 people.*

Peshawar, surrounded by a high wall built by General Avitabile, is now, as always, very much a frontier town, full of tribesmen, traders, and tourists. There are three Peshawars; the old city, the erstwhile British cantonment, and a huge modern extension.

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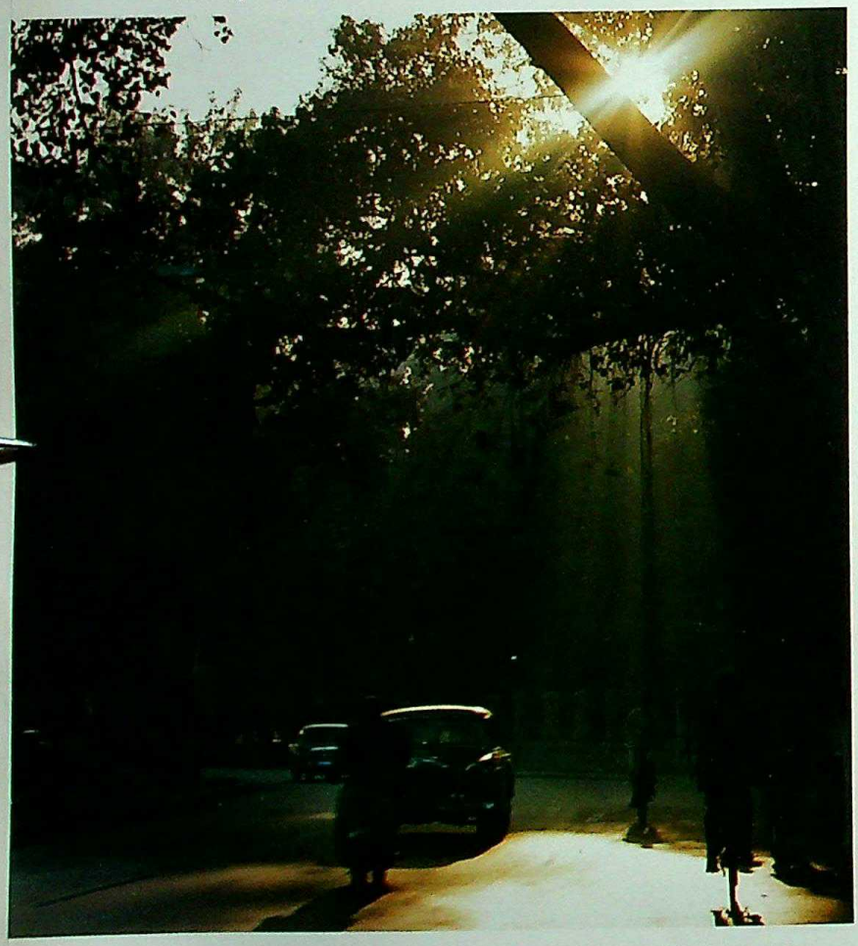
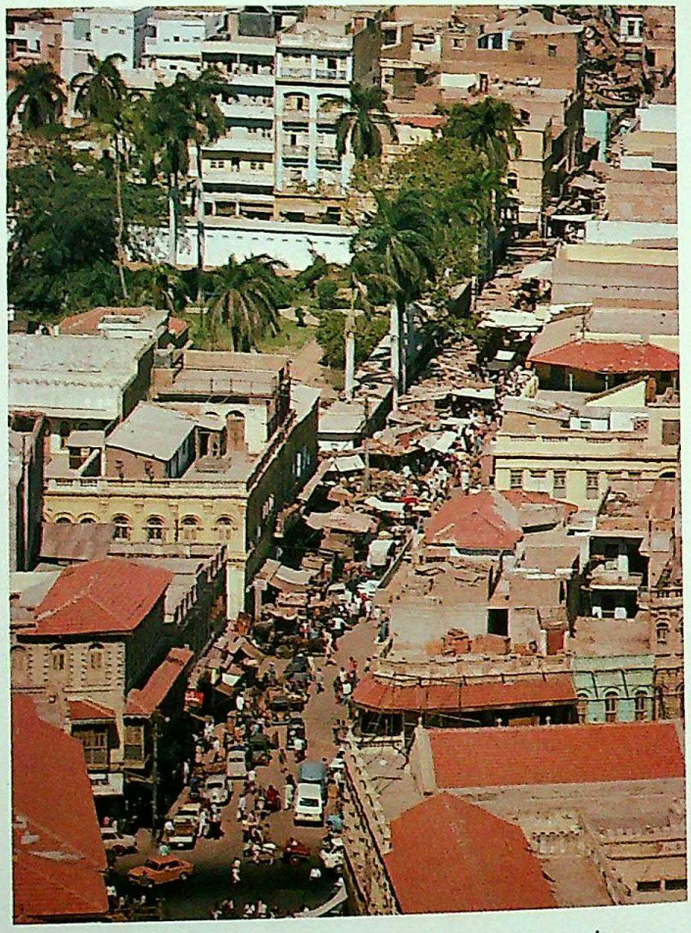
Doxiadis Associates, urban planning consultants from Athens, identified a small trapezoid of land nestled at the base of the hills as a natural site for the core of an urban centre which could enlarge in a westwardly direction, and expand to a megapolis serving up to six million people. The original plan also took into account the city of Rawalpindi, whose population in 1959 was approximately 300,000. Rawalpindi, 14 miles to the south of Islamabad, is an ancient centre, which served as the interim capital of Pakistan during the Government's shift to Islamabad.

Rawalpindi lies on the Grand Trunk Road, the path of many invaders of the subcontinent. The British used Rawalpindi as a major cantonment transforming it into a garrison town. Since Independence, it has been the headquarters of the Pakistan army. But always Rawalpindi has been a way station, a night sojourn from either Kashmir to the east or Peshawar to the west, a place to turn south along the time-worn path to Lahore and beyond.



In a street of Lahore, the provincial capital of Punjab, going to work motorized in the cool of the day.



Rawalpindi (above and top), *is an old garrison town, and still the headquarters of the Pakistan Army. Intricate carving persists in the bazaars, as evidenced in traditional balconies and doors.*

The city planners, envisioning a megapolis including Rawalpindi, tried to use existing civic amenities to benefit both communities. But they also left a buffer zone for future expansion between the two cities, to be designated a national park and a specific area for centres of research and learning. This zone is transversed by a national highway, an extension of the Grand Trunk Road, and a high-speed link road.

Rawalpindi has maintained its flavour of a traditional Pakistan city, filled with oriental bazaars, narrow winding streets lined with double storeyed buildings. Occasionally one wanders into an old paved central courtyard of a previously majestic house.

Speeding from Rawalpindi to Islamabad one experi-

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ences a mild culture shock. First, the road opens up into a sparsely settled area of roadside shops and farmland, then suddenly, a dual carriageway, its centre filled with blossoming bushes, its lights modern fluorescent beacons, welcome one into a dish-shaped plain bounded by the Margalla Hills to the north and to the north-east by the Shakarparian and Murree Hills. A man-made lake, Rawal lake, glistens to the east. In the far distance lies the white skeletal vision of Quaid-e-Azam University, designed by the American architect Edward Stone.

Entering Islamabad, two or three storey modern concrete apartment buildings line the way, then the present National Assembly building comes into view and on a major hill, another stone building, the President's House rises, covered in austere white marble. The markings of the beginnings of new construction show the site of the Supreme Court, National Archives, Broadcasting House, Parliament and diverse other governmental buildings on Constitution Avenue, the main thoroughfare of Islamabad. Behind this sector rise the secretariat buildings, clean white cement structures with vertical inset windows.

Sharply defined angles, clean lines and sparse ornamentation already mark the future lines of Islamabad. It is a visionary city, built on hope and confidence in Pakistan's future.

But buildings do not describe the quality of living in a city, or the pleasure that it gives its 100,000 residents. Indeed, there is a verbal network of news and happenings and a more subtle network of civic pride and good works afoot, for people want Islamabad to succeed because it has proved an extremely good working and living community.

In 1959, when the government commissioned the Doxiadis Plan for Pakistan, it was difficult to sell a plot in the nation's new capital. Now, it is difficult to move into Islamabad, for the city has quickly developed an identity and a life of its own.

In each of the six separate sectors contemplated by the planners, there is a large parkland. Each sector has its own road network and shopping centre, and every bungalow its own garden. The entire city is linked by a civic and bazaar area.

With the exception of three winter months, gardens blossom in a profusion of seasonal flowers.

And, understanding the creative energy and stimuli engendered in a city where various elements and groups intermingle, new settlers are welcomed and new zoning patterns established. The original civil service colonies are desegregating and the pioneers are determined to create a homogeneous, enlightened capital. **A.Me.**

Karachi

A newcomer in the big-city league, Karachi is making up for lost time in a manner which suggests that it expects expansion to be banned very shortly. Just as old buildings are being demolished to make way for new office blocks and apartments, old attitudes are being thrust aside to be replaced by modern motivations and concepts. An eager importer of the latest international fads and fashions, Karachi is a trend-setter for the rest of the country. In fact, Karachi can only be portrayed by a cartographer who is willing to update his map every month.

Karachi was first nudged by the twentieth century with the outbreak of the Second World War when it served as an *entrepôt* for troops and *materiél*. But it was not until 1947 that Karachi embarked on its present course of frenetic growth. Every part of the subcontinent served as a tributary to the river of humanity which poured into the city at Independence; and it is this ethnic and linguistic *pot-pourri* which gives Karachi its uniquely cosmopolitan flavour.

Not even Karachi's most ardent supporter will call it a beautiful city: a vast explosion of concrete and asphalt, its architectural style can best be termed baroque-bourgeois.

More than anything else, Karachi is a city of stark contrasts: camel-carts vie with late-model cars for right-of-way; shanty-towns stare at opulent houses from across a wide economic gap; passengers perch precariously on the running boards of packed buses while air-conditioned cars whizz by. Business deals are conducted in half-a-dozen languages, and bankers are used to the sight of businessmen in shabby, dirty clothes pulling out stacks of bank-notes from plastic bags.

The ubiquitous donkey-carts which once had a monopoly of intra-city goods transport are now being rapidly replaced by mini-vans. But the weekly donkey-cart races continue being held with undiminished enthusiasm: special one-man carts pulled by pampered pets tear down a long stretch of suburban road, cheered by hundreds of spectators.

The hustle and bustle, the wheeling and dealing, the smoke from thousands of exhausts and smokestacks, all these aspects of a vital and expanding city are pointed out proudly to visitors from up-country. And if the people of Karachi feel defensive about their city's lack of a rich cultural past or the absence of historical buildings, they gloss over this aspect by talking about its active night-life and hectic lifestyle.

Karachi possesses what must be the most under-utilized beaches which grace a major city. Mile upon golden mile are dotted by beach-huts in varying degrees of dilapidation and by scattered groups of people who occasionally muster the courage to wade knee-deep in the water.

The stock market, the cotton exchange and the commercial sections of the city hum with activity during the week. But despite this largely commercial outlook, national politics dominate drawing-room and tea-house conversation. Karachiites reminisce fondly about the 1965 elections when Karachi was the only major West Pakistan city where Ayub Khan lost. The winner was Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of the Quaid-e-Azam. And the loser, aptly enough, was the man who had earlier moved the federal capital away from Karachi. **I.H.**

Lahore

Lahore's long memory records that the mainstream of history has more often flowed past it, like the Ravi, than through it. Alexander the Great is remembered in this city. Many Lahoris in 1977 will be claiming for their city the distinction of completing a millennium of Muslim rule.

A city like Lahore, which treats and uses its history as a cultural bank account, cannot allow itself easily to be ignored or slighted. Happily, recent history has been almost deferential in its treatment of Lahore. It was in this city that the Indian National Congress in 1929 resolved that India should have complete independence, and it was here again in 1940 that the Muslim League first formally demanded the establishment of a homeland for Muslims.

In 1947, Lahore was the largest city in the new state, but, presumably because of its proximity to the border, it was not made the national capital – a distinction it has

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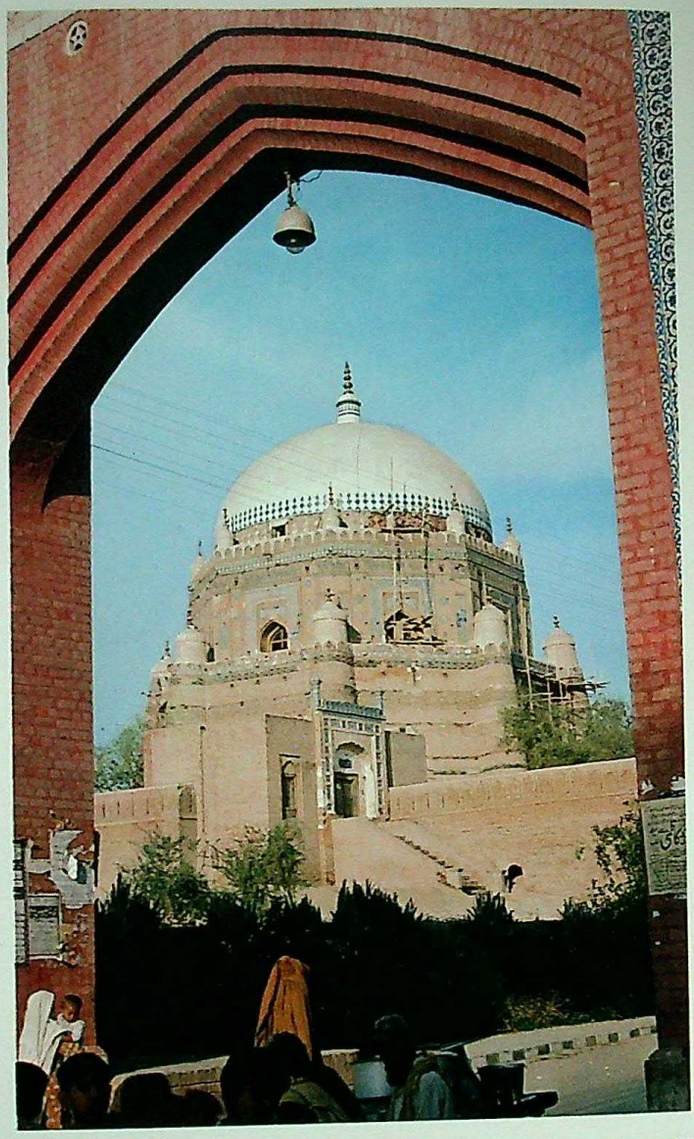

Karachi harbour (above top) *is famed for its fish and oysters. The shrimp and prawn fishermen return each dawn.*
Above. *Lahore's second name is "The City of Gardens". The Bagh-e-Jinnah botanical garden contains a zoo, a Test cricket ground and a theatre.*

Right. *The saying "Dust, heat, beggars and tombs are the four specialities of Multan", does little justice to Multanic antiquity and beauty, or to its tilework, enamelling, weaving and pottery. Strategically sited Quetta* (below) *was almost completely rebuilt after the 1935 earthquake.*

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not enjoyed since the days of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. The Founder of Pakistan assured Lahoris that their city was and would remain the heart of Pakistan.

Lahore remained the capital of Punjab, but fell back on its cultural assets – its libraries, museums, research centres, colleges, publishing houses, newspapers and archaeological monuments – to uphold its distinctive status.

For centuries Lahore has flourished as a great Islamic intellectual and spiritual centre with Sufi saints having a slight edge over scholars. It has been a proving ground for Muslim, Hindu and Sikh writers in Urdu, Punjabi, Persian and English, and the launching pad for Allama Iqbal's poetic vision of a new Muslim state. And even now it has poets who write with equal facility in more than two languages, writers who are read as widely outside Pakistan as within the country, and publishing houses specializing in books on Islam and selling a large proportion of their editions abroad.

The fabric of society now has a new pattern. Take the case of the tonga in which the main passengers sit with their backs to the horse, driver and coming events! Lahoris are now jumping on to motor-scooters and driving the tongas off the main thoroughfares. With this mass *volte face* the art of retrospection may be lost forever!

Lahore has grown over a hundred times the size of the walled city. New spacious residential areas like Gulberg and Shadman have been developed. The old central jail has been demolished and the women of Lahore are rapidly discarding their portable jails and stepping out of *purdah,* draping themselves in modern dresses based on fashion magazines from abroad. Lahore, which throughout history has never had much luck in keeping its thirteen gates closed even in times of invasion, is now using its know-how to attract tourists. It was however inhospitable to the Indian general who planned the Indian invasion of Pakistan. The defenders of Lahore refused to let his army march in for the whisky-soda promised by him in the Gymkhana Club to celebrate his victory.

No true Lahori will be satisfied with this account which says nothing about the Shalimar Gardens, the Fort, Jehangir's tomb and the Summit Minar that has been built in front of the Punjab Legislative Assembly Chambers where the 1974 Islamic Summit conference was held. Had these been covered in detail there would still have been many other faces of Lahore to talk about. But this penalty is inevitable for anyone attempting to spin out the traditional three-word peoples' edict which says: Lahore is Lahore!

H.J.

Peshawar

Peshawar, once the Great Caravanserai of the East, has made a fantastic leap, since Independence, from its misty past to the present.

Gandhara is the ancient name for the Peshawar Valley. The original capital of the Kingdom of Gandhara was Pushkalavati (Charsadda) but, later, it was shifted to Parashawara (Peshawar).

Buddhism flourished in and around Peshawar for almost nine centuries. Sabuktagin, the father of Mahmud of Ghazni, took Peshawar in 978 AD. About forty years later, Mahmud made Peshawar the jumping-off ground for his invasions of the subcontinent. Babur appeared on the scene in 1505 and Akbar the Great passed through the Peshawar Valley in 1586, while on his way back to the capital from Kashmir.

Until not long ago, the gates of Peshawar were closed after dusk and the caravans, arriving from across the Hindu Kush, had to camp outside the walled city, to be welcomed cordially, and even fed by townsmen the following morning.

Today, caravanserais have been replaced by modern hotels from where a five-minute drive takes one to the famous Qissakhwani Bazaar, or the Street of Story-tellers, where for centuries travellers and the local people listened spell-bound to old ballads and tales of love and war, peculiar to the Muslim world, from Cordova to Bengal. After dusk when travellers settled down to feasts, amid torches, bards recited old romances and war tales.

Although the Qissakhwani Bazaar has made concessions to the twentieth century, its ancient character remains to enchant the visitor. Its shops are still heaped with fruits. The centuries-old *naswar* (snuff) is still there and gold-embroidered bandoliers and bullet belts hang in front of shops. The famous *lungi* and glazed earthenware of Peshawar are still displayed. Coppersmiths hammer away at beautiful long-necked *aftabas* (water-ewers), bowls and long-handled brass ladles.

Next is the Bazaar Bater Bazaan, or Street of Quail-lovers. All manner of birds used to be sold in this bazaar which has now yielded place to modern wares but a solitary shop remains with cagefuls of parrots, doves, pigeons, finches and partridges of various hues and sizes, still reminding one of the pastimes of yore.

The Peshawar Museum, with its exhibits dating back to the second century BC, owns a rare and world-famous gold vessel found in a stupa excavated in 1909. The vessel contained fragments of burnt-out bones – possibly the original holy relics of Buddha.

Among the monuments of the Muslim period, the Bala Hisar, or the elevated fort, and Masjid Mahabat Khan attract notice immediately.

Masjid Mahabat Khan, built in 1630 by Governor Zaman Khan, or Mahabat Khan, in the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan, is a noble specimen of Mughal architecture.

N.H.H.

Quetta

Nestling in the picturesque valley between the Murad and Chiltan mountains, Quetta may have been so named by the ancient Arab and Persian traders discovering its unexpected fertility after long journeys through vast, arid and rugged areas; they called it *qatta,* or land. The old Pushtu name for the city was Shalkot, *kot* meaning fort, and the obviously defensive nature of the old buildings, later mostly destroyed, gives credence to this theory also. Located on the crossroads leading to Persia through the Dushki and Mastung Passes, to Afghanistan through the Kazak Pass, and into the subcontinent through the Bolan Pass, early mentions of Quetta are to be found in the chronicles of both the Greek historian, Herodotus and those of the Persian scholar, Firdausi.

Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India (1876-80), became aware of Quetta's strategic position and persuaded the Khan of Kalat to cede it to him. Quetta became a characteristic cantonment – on one side of the main road, inevitably christened Lytton Road, were the residences of the British military and civilian personnel, and on the other, an army of indigenous employees, augmented by an influx of staff from the rest of the subcontinent. The latter area came to be known as *Babu Mohalla* or the Clerks' Sector.

On the night of 31 May 1935, one of the worst earthquakes in modern history struck the city. Thirty thousand people died and most of Quetta was razed to

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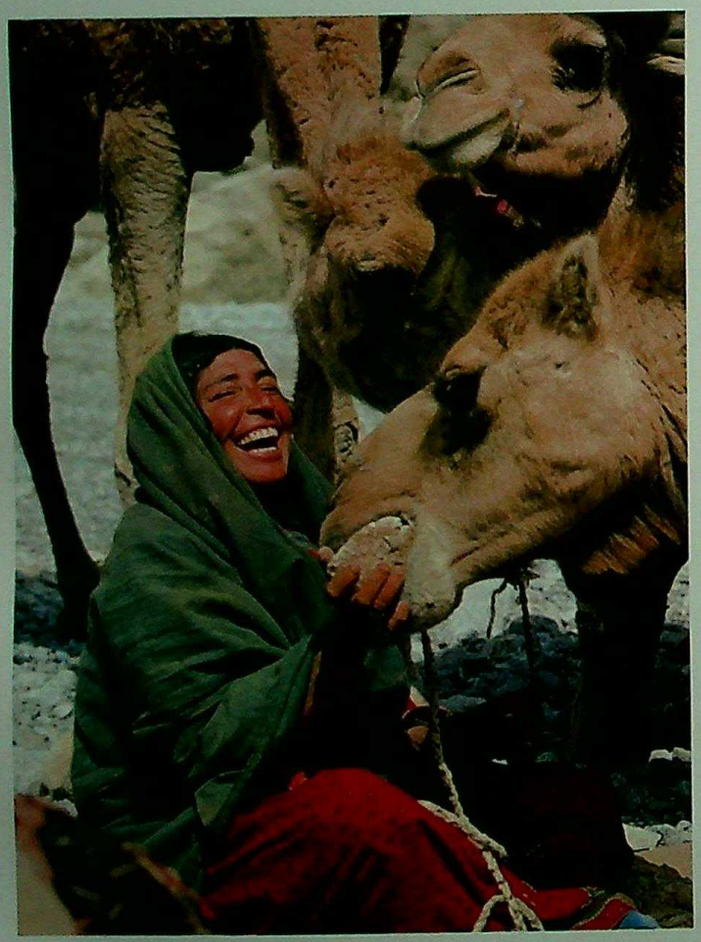
the ground. Slowly, reconstruction started and bazaars sprang to life, and unbelievably, the hustle and bustle began again.

Quetta is once more a thriving city, renowned for its salubrious climate, which Quaid-e-Azam described as "dry and pleasant". He was later to spend many months in the Summer Residence in the cool of Ziarat, still a charming resort, situated high in the mountains surrounded by the largest juniper forest in the world. In a letter of 14 April 1945 Mr Jinnah, now under doctors' orders, wrote, from Bombay, to the Khan of Kalat – "as you may know, I have suffered a very bad breakdown . . . (I) need a complete rest and a temperate dry climate. . . and they say that Quetta is the best place in June, July and August."

The oldest staff college in the subcontinent, where many subsequently world-famous officers were trained, is now housed in an impressive new building on the original site. It is excellently equipped with modern lecture halls and a comprehensive library; many countries still send officers to be trained there.



The *karez*, or subterranean channels, provide good water resources, and this is evidenced in the abundant orchards which surround the city. They produce plums, grapes, peaches, apricots, melons, apples, cherries and figs and also a large variety of vegetables. The seasonal reservoir for the city is nearby Hanna Lake, which is also a favourite place for fishing and boating in the summer months.

Several tribes of Baluchistan are represented in the population of Quetta, and its inhabitants include Pathans, Punjabis and Sindhis. This cosmopolitan flavour is heightened by the facility of communication in all Pakistani languages.

M.T.K.

Baluchistan

Baluchistan, which covers about forty per cent of the area of Pakistan, has had a long and eventful history. Traces of primitive man have been found in Baluchistan, dating back to 4000 BC, through the Stone and Bronze Ages, and in part contemporary with the Indus valley civilization. In early history, the armies of the Assyrians and the Meds probably visited the area. Later, Aryans from Iran made their intermediary home in Baluchistan, which was earlier identified as Gedrosia because of the Gedor River, known also as the Hingol.

The first invading army of Cyrus (558-520 BC) perished in Gedrosia, but the land was later conquered by the Persians under Darius I (522-486 BC). The main column of Alexander, after leaving the Sind area of the Indus valley, marched through southern Las Bela and eastern Makran. The Indo-Greeks, the Parthians and the Scythians successively established their power there. Later, Sassanid Persia dominated the scene and the area came under its suzerainty. When Sassanid power waned, the Brahmins emerged from Sind to rule Makran and the adjoining western areas of Baluchistan. The Hephthalite Turks, however, maintained their hold outside Makran over the two states of Kaikanan (central Baluchistan) and Bukan (north-eastern Baluchistan). Muslim Arabs conquered the region in 711 AD.

The Ghaznavid and the Ghuri kings gained ascendancy of the area, until the great migration of the Rind-Lashar tribes laid the foundations of Brahui-Baluchi power, which later crystallized in the Khanate of Kalat (1686-1955).

Left. *A Baluchi in the Bolan Pass feeds her camel with dough – camels serve as pack animals, transport and a source of meat and milk.* Right. *A procession of people and animals following the age-old route up the Bolan Pass, stretches for miles. In the spring, many tribes move to pastures in northern Baluchistan from their warmer winter grazing in the south of the Province – or in Sind.* Below right. *A nomadic group rests near Quetta, having erected their tent and fed and watered their animals. The map* (opposite) *shows that except for a coastal strip and triangular embayment of flat, sandy country below Sibi, Baluchistan consists of plateaux or mountains. It is sparsely populated by five main groups – Makranis, Brahuis, Baluchis, Hazaras and Pathans.*

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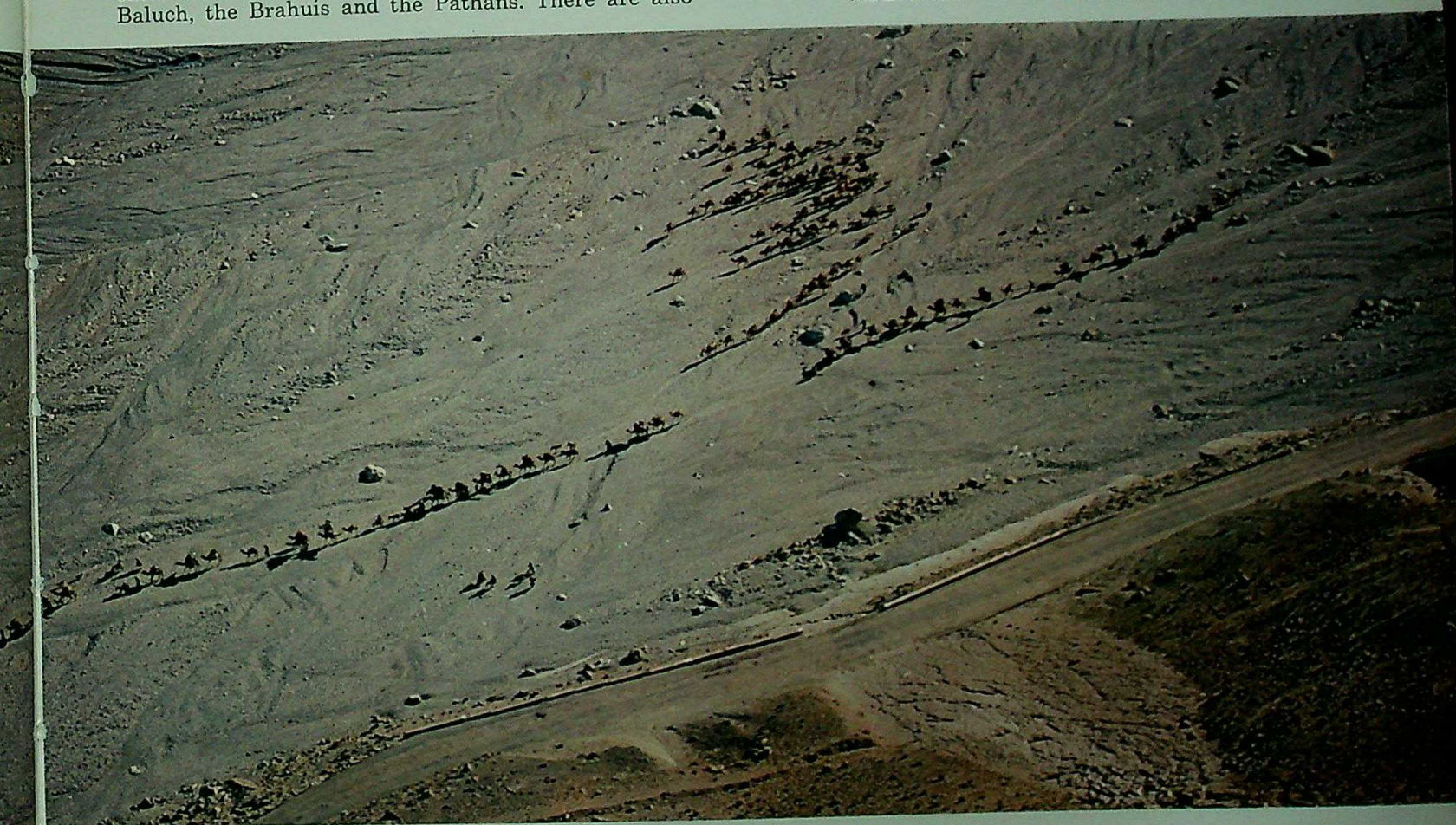
British domination began with Robert Sandeman's mission to Kalat in 1875 and the recognition of Kalat's independence in 1876. Subsequently, the province of British Baluchistan came into existence in 1891. After 14 August 1947, the states of Las Bela, Kharan, Makran and Kalat acceded to Pakistan. The Baluchistan States Union was formed in 1952 but shortly afterwards the whole of Baluchistan, along with the provinces of Punjab, Sind and North West Frontier, was amalgamated into one province. When the unitary government in West Pakistan was dissolved and provinces restored, Baluchistan was given the status, but not the administrative structure, of the other provinces. Baluchistan became a fully-fledged province, with a directly elected assembly, only in April 1972, and under the Pakistan Constitution adopted in 1973, it was then accorded the same measure of provincial autonomy as the other three provinces.

Ethnically, Baluchistan is pluralistic. The main groups, each with its own language and traditions, are the Baluch, the Brahuis and the Pathans. There are also



Sindhis and smaller groups of Meds, Jatts, Loris and others of mixed origin. The ethnic origin of the Baluch remains obscure. The scholarly view that they are probably the Chaldean descendants of the Belus dynasty of Babylonia (2100 BC) finds support in the universal Baluch tradition which locates their original homeland in Aleppo in Syria. The historical march of the Baluch from Babylonia to Baluchistan took more than two millennia. Iran became their second homeland, where for more than a thousand years they first inhabited the northern parts in ancient Medea and the Caspian region, and later the south-eastern regions of Seistan and Kirman. They were in the soldiery of Iran under both the Achaemenian and the Sassanian emperors, and also

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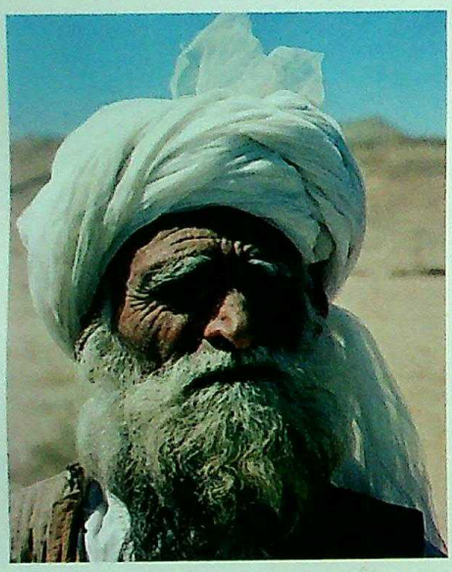
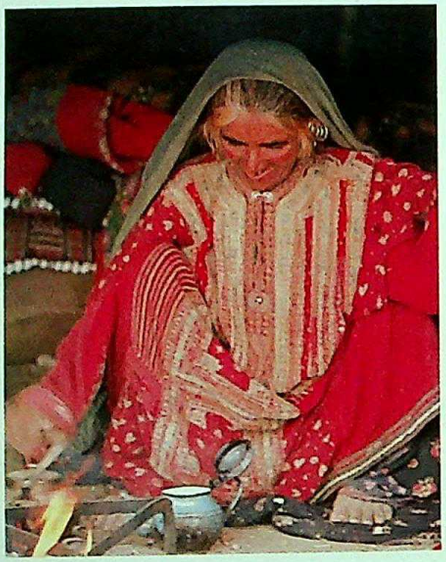
acted as a buffer between the Iranians and the Turks. Firdausi in his *Shah Nama* pays tribute to their martial valour.

With the Scythian conquest of south-eastern Iran (100 BC), the first Baluch people appear to have migrated eastward into the present area of Baluchistan and Sind. The bulk of the present Brahui-speaking stocks and the Sindhi Siraiki-speaking Jats were the pioneers of this first big migration into Baluchistan and adjoining provinces of Pakistan.

Realizing the growing power of the Baluchi, the last of the Sassanid rulers turned against them and, according to Firdausi, Nausherwan (531-578 AD) tried to exterminate them. During the seventh century AD, these Baluch were early converts to Islam and remained fortified in the Kirman and Seistan regions until the middle of the tenth century. After encounters with the strong armies of two kings, the Buwaihid Azad-ud-Daulah and the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud, the eleventh century saw the second Baluch migration eastward. Marris, Kurds, Dodais and others formed part of this migration.

The third migration, mainly from the present Iranian Baluchistan, took place by the turn of the fourteenth century. Among the migrants were Rind and Lashar peoples 14th subjugated the state of Kalat and moved onwards separately; the Rinds, following the northern Bolan route, founded the state of Sibi with its capital at Fatehpur, and the Lashar moving eastward established their state of Gandava. Here they fought the Rind-Lashar War for thirty years (c. 1490–1520) which sapped their energies, brought in the Arghuns from Kandahar, and dispersed the bulk of the Baluch communities into Sind and Punjab.





Far left. *Rigid tribal practices and sanctions, engendered by life in such uncompromising terrain, are at last softening. Hereditary chieftains, or* sardars, *have had to come to terms with modern development in many spheres.* Left. *Women in Baluchi nomadic families cook, wash, tend animals and fetch water, frequently from considerable distances. Their brightly coloured clothes are hand-woven and embroidered, and even the poorest among them will wear elaborate jewellery.*

"Scorching hot winds, dust storms and towering whirlwinds sweep the plains."

The barren buff and black mountains arrayed in the Quetta-Kalat region, interspersed with inhospitable stone valleys, slope from the north into the lower ranges of Chagai-Kharan-Makran in the north-west and of Kirthar-Pub in the south-east. Contrast is provided by arid deserts extending through Chagai, Kharan and Makran; swamps of Lora and Mashkel adjacent to the Afghan-Iran borders; vast stretches of flat hard-crusted *pat,* plains formed by thick deposits of alluvium in the Sibi and Kachchi districts in the east; and saline plains stretching along the western coastline.

For most of the year, the climate is hot and dry. Scorching hot winds, dust storms and towering whirlwinds sweep the plains. The north-westerly *gorich* wind, bitterly cold in winter but very hot in summer, blows across the west, and to the west of Chagai the country is swept by the hot *simoon* and the "120-day wind" *(bad-i-sad-o-bist roz)* from Iran. Even in the shade the temperature can rise to 130°F in summer. In winter, snow falls on the central Quetta-Kalat region which is also exposed to the dry and cold Kandahari *hava* (wind) from the north.

After their chequered history culminating in encounters with mighty emperors, the people of the Baluchistan region, in alliance with the forces of nature, have been able to survive in isolation, but at the cost of social development, because no *simoon* or *hava* could sweep away

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Each February, in the cool of the winter months, a horse and cattle show is held at Sibi. Left. *A woman and child have joined the gathering in regions, where, in the summer, temperatures are recorded as the highest in the subcontinent. Babies, like the Pathan infant* (above) *from near Ziarat, are usually swaddled until they are six months old.*

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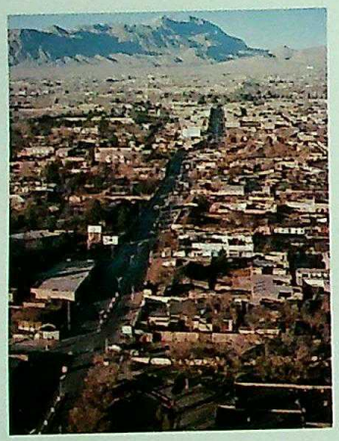
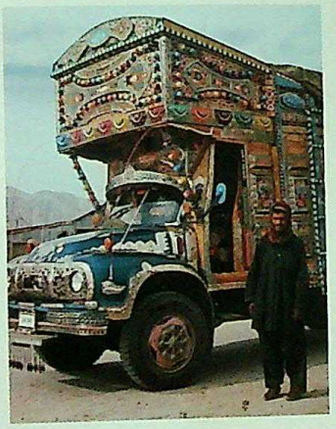
from them the feudalistic cobwebs which retarded their growth. The original role of the chiefs was to provide protection and guidance to their people but with time they became extortionary and feudal *sardars*, living in a large area which came to be called Baluchistan for the first time in the fifteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the British, who were more concerned with the maintenance of their authority than with social progress, confirmed the powers and privileges of the tribal *sardars*.

Most of these tribes lived in what the fifteenth century poet Revragh called the "mountain fortress". A later poet, Baloch, spelt out the terms of the alliance between the indefatigable people of the area and nature, when he affirmed that, "mountains were the forts of the Baluch, high peaks their comrades, hills their army, trackless furrows their friends, spring water their drink, leaves of the dwarf-palm their cup, thorny bushes their bed, and stony ground their pillow."

Traditionally, life in this province, with the lowest density population in Pakistan – the 1972 census recorded it as 2.4 million – has, until the recent advent of roads, changed slowly. The people of the vast rural areas have mainly been nomads, grazing their herds of sheep, goats or camels during the dry months on scanty grass, dwarf-palm, wild caper, tamarisk or acacia. During the light rains in July and August their fare is greener and more ample.

Most of the nomadic tribes of the central Sarawan-Jhalawan region leave their settlements in winter to escape its severity and migrate eastward to Sibi and





Quetta (top right), *the provincial capital, is surrounded by rich orchards.* Above right and right. *The ancient* karez *underground irrigation system, tapping the water table, is still efficient.* Above top. *A Hazara child works an intricate cushion cover in mirror embroidery. Two little girls* (above), *seated at their looms, call out the pattern of a rug.*

Above. *The coastal Makranis are fishermen and small traders, linked by race to north-east Africa.* Top left. *Fruit of many varieties abound at Quetta, at 5,500 feet.* Top right. *Much ingenuity is devoted to the decoration of lorries: drivers vie for individuality.* Right. *Quetta carpets of high quality are a growing export. This design comes from Central Asia.*

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Kachchi and to the Indus valley area in Sind. This annual transhumance from the cold high plateau to the warm lowlands has been going on since time immemorial.

Water being a precious commodity in Baluchistan, the early permanent settlements – many of them now developing into towns and villages – were founded where water was available. In the central region, from Quetta to Khuzdar, there are a few natural springs and the ingenious age-old *karez* tap and channel water underground to irrigate orchards and seasonal crops. The few rivers are no more than hill torrents, such as the Narri, Habb, Purali, Hingol, Shadikor and Dasht, and they sustain limited agriculture, largely grain and millet. The Dasht valley in Makran produces a fine variety of date-palms. The scanty monsoon rains, averaging five inches in the plains, provide water for lean crops. Only the southern Nasirabad district adjoining Sind, which is served by a perennial canal from the Guddu Barrage, completed in 1963, has a permanently settled population. It consists mainly of farmers who are used to regulated irrigation which canals provide for their crops.

The 471-mile-long coastline is dotted with settlements of fishermen, a mixed ethnic stock of the ancient Meds, and the early settlers in this region who still net their fish: the *mangra,* their colloquial word for sharks and skate, the *mahi,* which are sole, sardine and pomfret, and also prawns and shrimps. With the development of technology, the fishermen, with State help, are modernizing their equipment.

The herdsmen of Baluchistan are among the best breeders of sheep, goats, cattle, horses and camels in Pakistan. The *Hirzai* horse of Sarawan, the horses of Sibi, the *Bhagnarri* cattle of Narri and the sheep of the Marri-Bugti area, are the best of their kind.

Though traditional nomadism, ruralism, herding and coastal fishing are still the principal way of life for much of the province, Baluchistan is changing as the infrastructure of socio-economic development expands, offering greater employment opportunities, better mobility due to networks of roads and new transport facilities, new industries, increased coal-mining activity, more extensive exploitation of mineral resources and expanding agriculture and fruit cultivation. The process of development has gained momentum since 1973 and water and power resources have been given high priority. During these years this infrastructure has been created by the local population aided by army engineers. The rural population is being provided with more schools, medical centres and deep tubewells, and these amenities are encouraging people to live more settled lives.

Economic development was considered by some *sardars* to be a threat because better communications meant the end of tribal insularity. Some of them took up arms against the road builders, but their insurgency was short-lived, and only delayed the implementation of the development schemes. The *sardari* system was formally abolished in April 1976, and civil administration established in the former *sardari* regions.

An insight into fifteenth and sixteenth century communities in Baluchistan is provided by the Baluchi and Brahui folk literature. Some of it is sung by professional minstrels and listened to fondly by both young and old. Lyrical love poetry found its earliest expression in the verse of Sheh Murid, who was in love with the beautiful Hani. Jam Durrak, the eighteenth century court poet of Nasir Khan the Great, gave the Baluchi verse the imagery and flavour of Persian *ghazal.* Both the great epic poetry and the abundant tradition of folk song have shaped the songs and music of Baluchistan.

Though Baluchi is spoken over extensive areas in Baluchistan, the province is multilingual. In many regions, Brahui, Pushtu, Siraiki and dialects such as Dehwari, Khetnari and Mokaki of the Loris, are also spoken in the province. The bulk of the present Baluch population is bilingual, and sometimes trilingual. Baluchi and Brahui remain their mother tongues in the interior, while Sindhi and Siraiki have been adopted as mother tongues by the majority of the Baluch population living in the neighbouring provinces of Sind and Punjab.

Tent-camps are an essential feature of nomadism which is gradually being affected by the inexorable process of urbanization and socio-economic progress which is now a pervasive element in the life of modern Baluchis. The camps are usually small, ranging from a single to about a dozen households. Each family owns a black tent of goat hair or sheep wool called *gidan,* or of dwarf-palm called *kirri* or *kul.* The traditional name for the camp, in eastern Baluchi, is *halk,* or community. Normal camp life is attuned mainly to the needs of the flock – herding, milking, tending young and sick animals, protecting the herd from jackals and wolves, shearing, and searching for water and grazing. Women fetch wood and water, gather wild fruits, mushrooms, wild onions, other edible roots and plants, collect fresh dwarf-palm fronds to make mats, ropes and sandals, cook and knit. The staple food of most of the rural people of Baluchistan consists of unleavened bread, milk, butter and curds. *Sajji* meat roasted on a wood fire is the most relished dish.

The Baluchi men usually wear thick long beards and both men and women wear long plaits. Baluchi dress is enormous, with a big turban tied in different community styles, a long loose shirt, and bulky trousers. The women wear a long dress, with long sleeves called *pashk.* The *pashk* is beautifully embroidered and the quality and extent of it usually indicates the social status of its wearer.

The beard and the turban are symbols of honour; and the elders often swear "by my beard" and "by my turban". Tweaking the beard or displacing the turban are regarded as great insults and the dishonour done is invariably resented and avenged. Close friendship and a relationship of complete trust and confidence between two men is symbolized by a ceremony of exchanging turbans. Herding, milking, embroidery, mat-making, rug-weaving and saddlery are the traditional arts of the communities in Baluchistan. The tribal women are expert in needlework and their embroidery is some of the best in the world. Each community has its distinctive style of stitch and colour combination.

Wrestling, horse racing, religious feasts, *melas* (fairs) and marriage feasts are the main recreational and ceremonial functions in Baluchistan. In the Makran region, the seasonal harvest of the date palms called *hamen,* is an occasion for rejoicing and reunion of friends and relatives who return home for the harvest.

N.A.B.

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The North-West Frontier

There are approximately seven million Pathans living in Pakistan. All of them are Muslim. More than half live in or on the fringes of the Indus Plain. These constitute the "settled districts" of Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Swat, Dir and Hazara.

The other three million or so Pakistani Pushtu-speakers inhabit "tribal territory" in the hills and mountains to the north and west of the Indus. The political agencies, running from south to north are South Waziristan, North Waziristan, Kurram, Orakzai, Khyber, Mohmand and Bajaur. The former princely states of Dir, Swat, and Chitral have now been turned into districts of North-West Frontier Province. Further north and east, and with only a minority Pathan population is the Gilgit Agency, of which Hunza, Nagar and Baltistan are parts, now called the Northern Areas.

The land of the Pathans has been a frontier since history first recorded it. Its climate and geography are harsh; its natural resources, few and its location strategic. More than most, the Pathans' character has been shaped by their land.

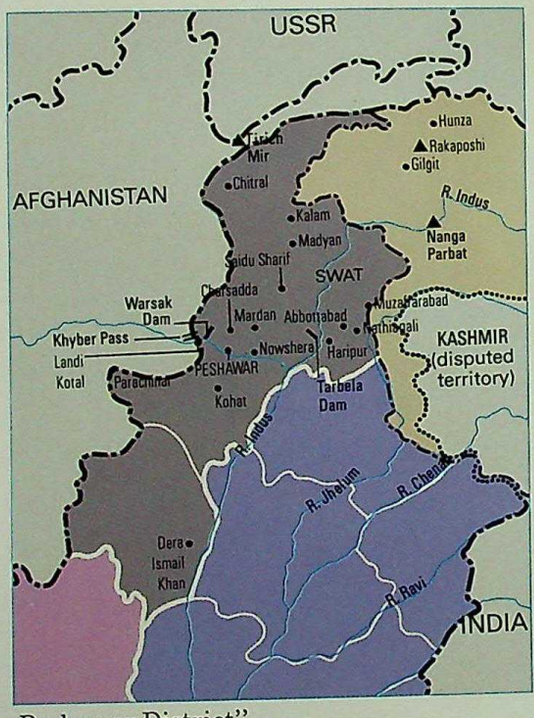
The Pushtu-speaking area begins at the western end of the Himalayas where the mighty massif breaks up into a jumble of great peaks and ranges: the Karakorams, the Pamirs, the Hindu Kush. The main range of the Hindu Kush runs south and west into Afghanistan. Another spur drops more directly south into Pakistan, becoming successively the Safed Koh Mountains, the Sulaiman Range and eventually the Chagai Hills which fade away into the deserts bordering the Indian Ocean.

Running along the crest of the mountain ranges is the Durand Line, laid out in 1893 by the British to fence off their Indian Empire from its western and northern neighbours. On the east and south of the Durand Line is Pakistan's North-West Frontier area, some four hundred miles from north to south and about one hundred miles from east to west. On the other side of the Durand Line are Afghanistan's Pathans, perhaps five million in number, again all Muslims. This political division of the Pushtu-speaking people, who are proud of their common language, heritage, and religion, has been a sporadic source of strain between Afghanistan on the one hand and British India and Pakistan on the other, since the Durand Line was established. This was in spite of the fact that the Durand Line was recognized by all the successive rulers of Afghanistan as a valid international boundary between the two neighbouring countries.

The vigorous Pathan tribal structure is far more complex than the mere division of their residences into "tribal territory" and "settled districts" would indicate. All Pathans belong to one of the three great branches of the race. Each branch, the Sarbani, the Bitanni (with Ghilzai as its descendant) and the Ghurghushti, traces its descent from a son of their common ancestor, Qais, whose exact date and identity are unknown. Each branch has dozens of tribes: to name only a few of the best-known, the Shinwari and the Yusufzai are Sarbanis; the great semi-nomad sects of Sulaiman Khel and Aka Khel are Ghilzai, and the Afridis and Wazirs are Ghurghushti. All of the tribes named have members resident in Afghanistan as well as Pakistan.

The tribal system of the Pathans is complex. Each tribe has several *khels,* clans; the *khels* break up into extended family systems of varying degrees of magnitude. Some of these subdivisions are also known as *khels;* some are called *kors* or *kahols.* However, an individual *khel* may have lost all connection with its parent tribe and may be larger than other tribes which have several *khels,* and two unconnected groups may have the same name. There is a Sepah clan among both the Afridis and Shinwaris, and Usman Khel among both Mohmands and Mahsuds.

Identity is closely associated with blood relationship, real or fancied. This is most compelling in tribal territory where a man will describe himself, for example, as "the second son of Malik Shahbaz Khan Shahbaz Khel of the Galai *kahol* of the Adam Khel Afridis". Among the long-settled tribes in the districts, geographic identification is often important too, as in, "Jehangir, son of Isa Khan, of Tehkal village, a Khalil living in Peshawar *tehsil* of Peshawar District".



Despite the awareness of all Pathans of their common religion, language, and history, customs, dress, and even physical appearance may vary considerably from family to family, *khel* to *khel,* and tribe to tribe.

The Yusufzai are perhaps the largest, oldest, and most sophisticated of Pakistani Pathans. They live both in the mountains of Dir and Swat and in the fertile plains of Mardan district in North-West Frontier, (N-WF), which is a "settled district". They are tall, hard-working agriculturalists, clean and neat, aristocratic in bearing, traditionally individual free-holders.

The Mohmands have two distinct sections. One, the Kuz (Lower) Mohmands are vigorous, land-hungry farmers living in and around the settled districts north of the Kabul River. The Bar (Hill) Mohmands occupy a patch of barren, inaccessible hills abutting on the Durand Line in a separate tribal agency. Their *khans, maliks,* and *mullahs* have more influence than is the case among the more individualistic Yusufzai. They tend to be somewhat shorter, sturdier and more quick-tempered than many of the other tribes.

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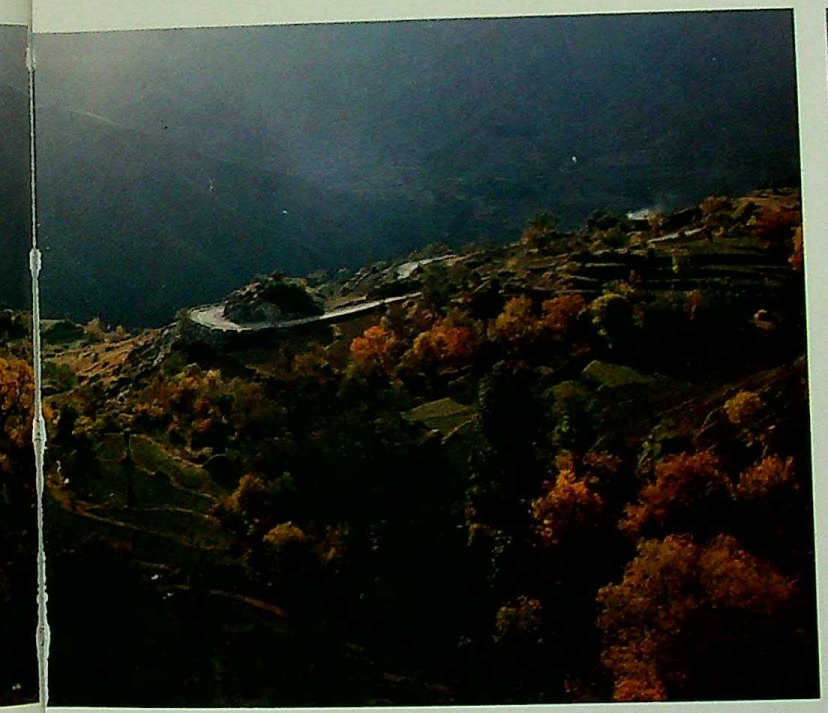
The Afridis are archetypal Pathans, having collected a whole catalogue of contradictory adjectives from those who have studied them – brave, cautious, honourable, treacherous, cruel, gallant, superstitious, courteous, suspicious, and proud. Pleasant-looking men, light-skinned, often with blue eyes, they are as a rule slim and graceful. A Semitic cast of features and a partiality for full beards, added to the dignity with which the older men wear their flowing garments and light blue turban cloths, convey an impression of an assembly of Old Testament prophets. Their heartland centres on the Khyber and Dara Passes.

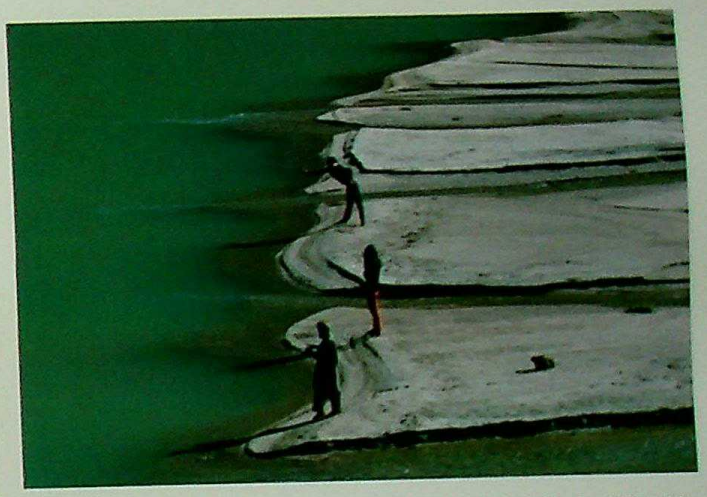
The Turis of the Kurram Valley are Shia rather than Sunni Muslims. They have definite well-developed social, religious and legal frameworks, with various *khels* following four different families of *sayyids* who have long dwelt among them. Though living in tribal territory, they have generally been cooperative with government administrators, perhaps in part to protect their relatively fertile lands and in part because of their quarrels with their Sunni neighbours.

Of the hill tribes, there is room here for mention of only two more: the Wazirs and the Mahsuds. Though often at enmity with each other, these two tribes dominate the entire southern part of tribal territory. Their land is particularly barren and their history and reputation especially fierce. They gave the government of British India more trouble than any other tribe, and produced such notable "hostiles" as the Fakir of Ipi, and as late as 1937-38 took on several British divisions in what amounted to almost full-scale war.

In contrast to their northern neighbours, the Wazirs and Mahsuds speak the soft Pushtu of the south and dress largely in black and darker colours. Their population has been increasing rapidly in recent years and many, especially Mahsuds, have left their home territories to join the military and to work at road and building construction in other parts of Pakistan. They are a vigorous and dynamic people, and some emerge in such unlikely occupations as timber merchants in Karachi, deck hands on coastal steamers, soldiers, policemen and truck drivers as far away as Rome and Singapore.

As has been noted, many of the hill tribes have members living in the plains of N-WF. Some tribes and groups, however, dwell exclusively in the N-WF. Their tribal structure has broken down somewhat but they maintain their Pathan heritage and customs. The Daudzai, Muhammadzai, and Khalils constitute the hard-working yeomanry of the Peshawar Valley. The Bannuchis who occupy Bannu city and the area around it are very active economically. Their bazaars are clearing houses for goods from all over the Frontier. Their fields and orchards provide much of the food for the people of the nearby hills.





Left. *Terraced farms overlook the Shangla Pass at Swat, a valley of some 4,700 square miles, with a population of nearly a million.* Above. *Trout fishing is renowned at Saiful Muluk Lake (10,530 ft.), reached by a rough road from Naran. Legends relate that it was named after a prince who met and courted his fairy love, Badar Jamal, by the lake.*

The Khattaks, whose lands run along the east bank of the Indus from above Attock to just north of Kalabagh, historically have come closer to being a nation than any of the other tribes. Since the thirteenth century, the whole tribe has been led more or less consistently by one chief, and the equality which each man claimed did not lead to the semi-anarchy that often prevailed within and among the other tribes. In Khushhal Khan Khatak (1613-89 AD), they had a great warrior, statesman and poet, whose achievements compared well with the other great Muslim and Indian leaders of his time.

Today, the Khattaks are a sturdy, light-skinned lot, noted for their cleanliness, restraint, straightforwardness and industry, as well as for their bravery and initiative. They are particularly adept in the Frontier and in all of Pakistan at the twin careers of warrior and farmer. Some of them are contractors and others occupy high positions in the Army.

There are, of course, other fascinating and important groups which are not properly Pathan, some functional, some racial: e.g., *sayyids* and *mians*, Gujjars and Awans, Peshawaris (as mixed and cosmopolitan but also as

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integrated a city population as any in the world), Mongols and Qizilbash. In the far north live the Kohistanis ("People of the Mountains"). Among them are many different dialects and racial groups, the result of a mingling over the centuries of Mongol, Chinese, Iranian, Turkish, and Pathan blood with that of the original invaders of the subcontinent. Some of them, such as the ruling family of Hunza and the Kafirs of Chitral, claim, not without some plausibility, to be direct descendants of Alexander's Greeks. All of these other peoples, to varying degrees, have today come under the influence of the dominant Pathan society and culture.

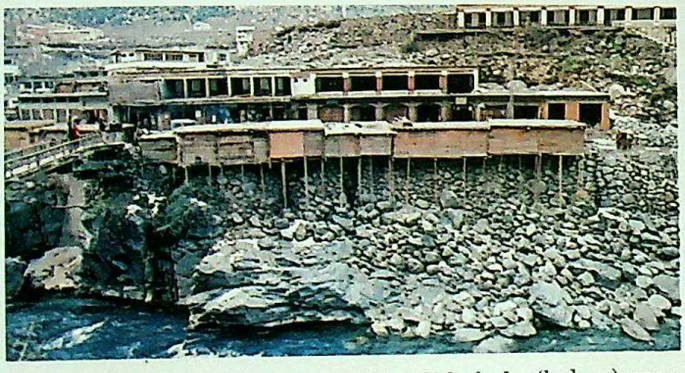
If the Pathans' land is harsh and their tribal structure complex, their history is both. Peshawar first appears in the records of the Arochosian satrapy of the Persian Empire of Darius' Hystapes, as capital of Gandhara, the "Garden Land", now the districts of Peshawar and Mardan, part of Kohat, the Mohmand country, Swat, Bajaur, and Buner. Alexander the Great appeared there in the spring of 327 BC, to be followed as ruler in a few score years by Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka. Then came Seleucid Greek dynasties, the residue of Alexander's great march. About the beginning of the Christian era, these gave way first to the Kushans, then to the Ephthalites or White Huns, sweeping down from Central Asia.

By the tenth century Islam had reached the Frontier Hills, and for the next several hundred years some of the greatest of the Islamic conquerors held sway over the Frontier: Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad Ghuri, Timur, Babur, Sher Shah Suri, Akbar, Aurangzeb, and Nadir Shah. The Sikh Empire of Ranjit Singh replaced the Islamic rulers early in the nineteenth century, itself replaced by British suzerainty in 1847. One hundred years later, the British too went their way and, on 14 August, 1947, the Frontier became part of Pakistan.

All of this contributed to the shaping of the Pathans. There is little doubt that the indigenous peoples of the area, in religion Zoroastrian, Hindu, Buddhist, Hellenic, and animist, contributed to the bloodstream of today's Pathans. But it was only after the coming of Islam that the tribal structure, customs and culture we know today began to emerge. At the core was a fierce love of independence which even in the days of the great Muslim rulers caused the Frontier to be called "Yaghistan", or "Land of the Unruled". Growing out of the harshness of the land and the need of other peoples to pass through it, came a warlike tradition coupled with industry and ingenuity in the production of food. With this, there developed a rigorous code of honour and a set of institutions for defence, protection of the weak and strangers, and relations between individuals. When outside authority was imposed too strongly on the Pathan way of life, there was revolt. Indeed, the main reaction of the Pathans to every ruler before 1947 was rebellion: against Afghans, Mughals, Sikhs and British.

At the heart of the Pathan way of life for hundreds of years and until today is *pukhtunwali,* "the Pathan Code", or, colloquially, "The Way of the Pathans". Its three main requirements are in accord with the Pathans' history and land: *badal,* revenge, regardless of consequence; *melmastia,* hospitality and protection to anyone who seeks shelter under a Pathan roof; and *nanawati,* the right of anyone, even an enemy, to sanctuary and support.

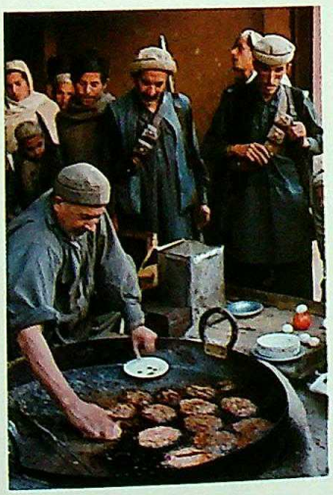
Above. *Two Chitrali girls who speak Khowar, a dialect written in both Urdu and Roman scripts.*

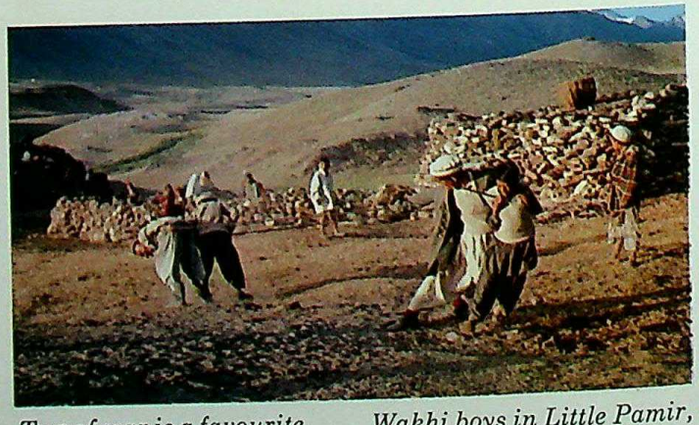


Homes at Bahrain, Swat, are safe from spring torrents.

Chapli kebabs (below) *are a delicacy at Landi Kotal.*

Kafiristan's Kalash hold to their unique religion.





Tug-of-war is a favourite sport amongst Tadjik and

Wakhi boys in Little Pamir, south of the Oxus.

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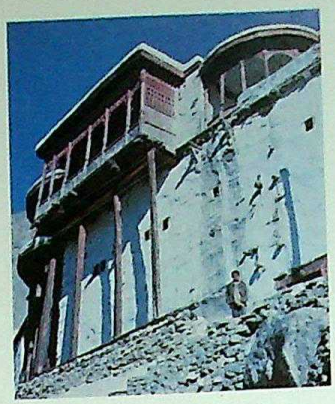
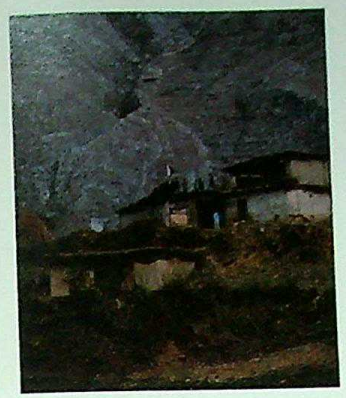
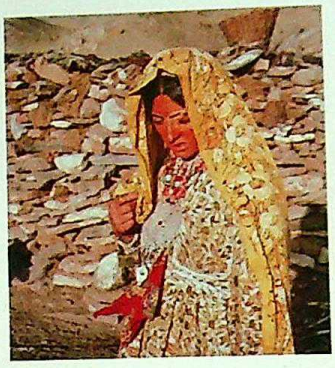


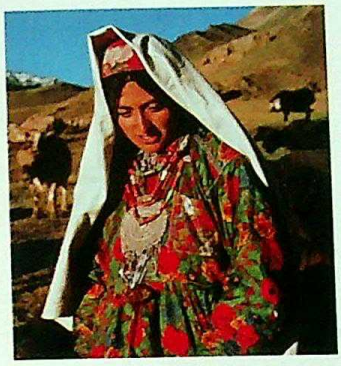
Galleried Baltit Castle glowers upon Hunza.



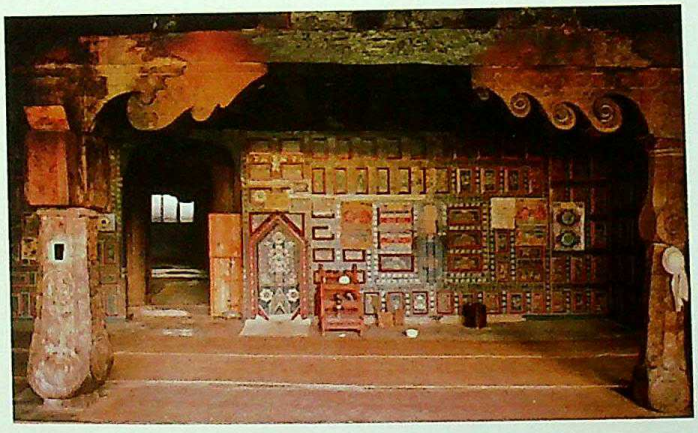
Hazara pupils gather for sundown prayer at school.



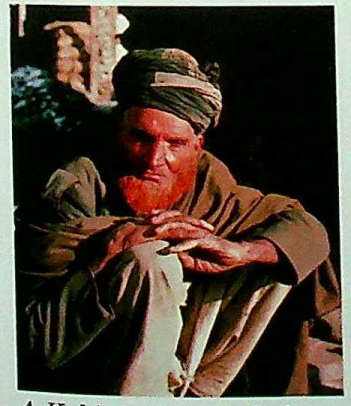
A Tadjik bride wears henna, and jewels.



This Chumona *necklace is worn by Tadjik ladies.*



An ancient mosque stands near Saidu Sharif, the divisional headquarters of both Swat and Malakand.



A Kohistani wears shalwar *(baggy trousers).*

A Pathan stands at the entrance of the Khyber Pass

Though now supplemented by and occasionally subordinated to the laws of Pakistan, *pukhtunwali* has its own institutions: the *jirga*, a tribal assembly which decides matters in dispute, the *rewaj* and the *Shariat*, indigenous customs and Islamic rules of behaviour, the *lashkar*, or war party, by which the tribe fights, and the *hujra* or guest house or community centre found in almost every village.

Individuals too are important. Perhaps foremost is the ordinary tribesman who holds his status as a result of being a *daftari*, one who in fact or in theory is entitled to a share in tribal lands and a voice in tribal councils. An accepted leader and spokesman and a head of a clan is called *malik* in the tribal areas and *khan* in the settled districts. These titles can be hereditary or not, according to local custom. Playing a varying but often important role as counsellors and sometimes as actual leaders are persons of religious distinction. *Sayyids* are revered as descendants of the Holy Prophet. Interestingly, these religious personages are often not of the tribe which they serve and sometimes are not by blood Pathans at all.

The Pathans' vigorous devotion to Islam and lack of the raw materials of the fine arts have narrowly limited their graphic production. They lavish their ornamentation almost exclusively on their weapons and their swords, daggers and guns are often works of art in themselves. The songs and dances are those of warriors, stirring and sometimes complex in execution but simple in theme.

In language and literature, however, the Pathans can claim considerable achievement. Pushtu is a vigorous, flexible and well-developed language and there have been dozens of writers of note since the sixteenth century. Khushhal Khan Khatak, the great warrior poet and savant of the seventeenth century, wrote in prose (both in Pushtu and Persian) on medicine, ethics, religion, jurisprudence, philosophy, falconry and an autobiography.

The Pathans today have changed little. Consider, for instance, that the average tribesman, even if illiterate, would know, and promptly explain, all of the rather exotic material set forth above, and more. In the tribal area, he would be wearing a turban to protect his head from the heat of the sun, and perhaps a sword cut. The turban would be wound round in a particular way with a cloth of a particular colour, to show his tribe and to emphasize his individual tastes. He would be carrying the best weapon he could afford, to defend his honour and to impress his companions. He would kill his last sheep and boil up his last handful of tea leaves because you were a stranger and became a guest when you spoke to him.

This is not to suggest that change is not taking place in the Frontier. It is – and at an ever accelerating pace since 1947.

There are hospitals and schools within reach of even the most remote hill villages. New industries dot the Frontier towns, extending into tribal territory. Modern office blocks and hotels have added to Peshawar's services without disturbing its charm. Peshawar University has risen at the foot of the Khyber Pass. Opening in 1952 with a few hundred students, it now has about 4,000 students on its roll.

Social customs are changing too. Tribes are inter-

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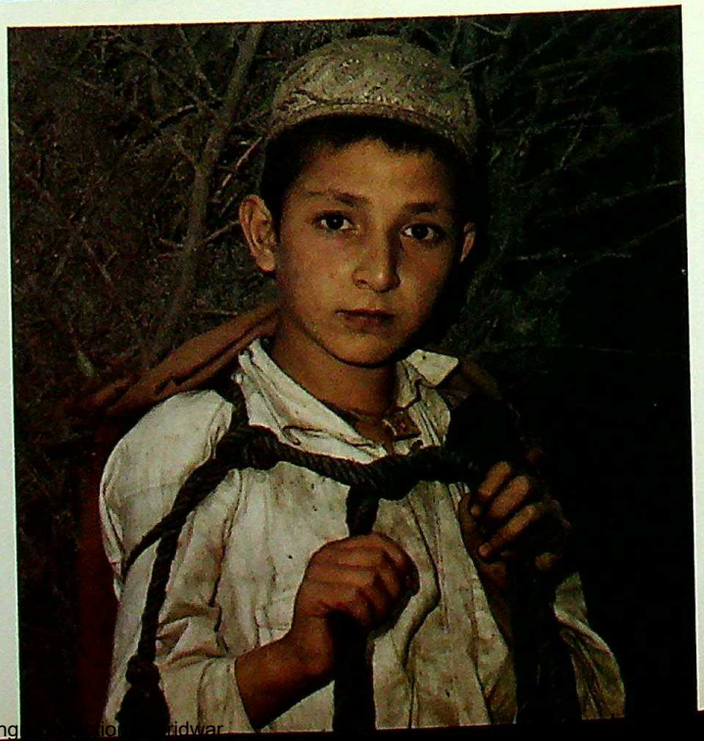
marrying with other tribes and with non-Pathans. For women, the veil is much less ubiquitous than twenty years ago. Urdu and English are now common in areas where not long ago communication was exclusively in Pushtu. More and more Pathans are finding their way from tribal territory into the Province and from both into other parts of Pakistan. Their numbers in the ranks of the civil and military services are growing. Despite the bitter battles that still go on between political parties and leaders, the Pathans' sense of being part of a large nation is clearer and greater than ever before.

Nevertheless, the Pathans' pride and vigour, their sense of honour and love of freedom have not changed. The Quaid-e-Azam, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, at whose behest they willingly threw in their lot with the new state of Pakistan, would, in the hundredth year after his birth, have no trouble at all recognizing them as his staunch followers always prepared to lay down their lives for the defence of the country in whose creation they played a dominant role.

J.W.S.



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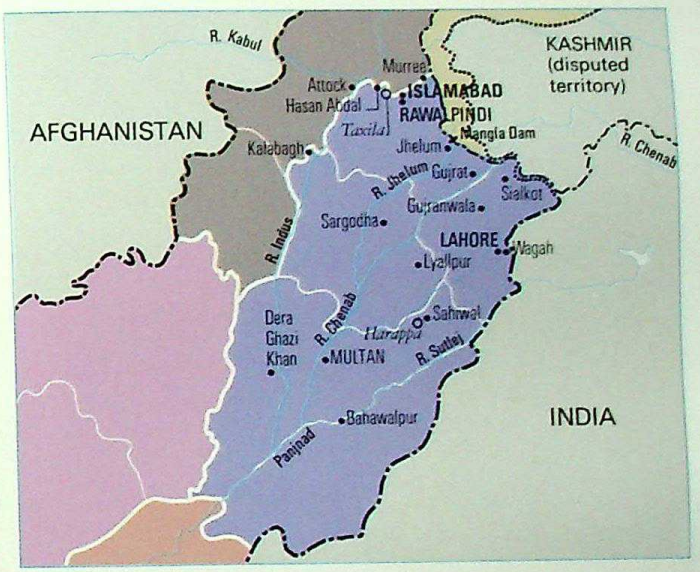
Punjab

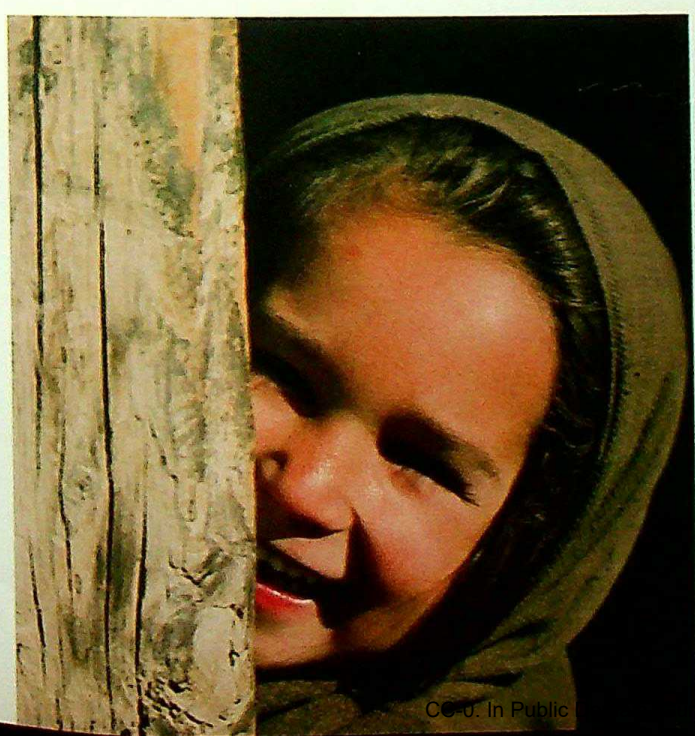
Nearly sixty per cent of Pakistan's population lives in Punjab. It is the nation's only province that touches Baluchistan, N-WF, Sind and Azad Kashmir, and contains the federal enclave of the national capital at Islamabad. This geographical position and a large multi-ethnic population strongly influence Punjab's outlook on national affairs and induce in Punjab a keen awareness of the problems of Pakistan's other provinces and territories. In the acronym P-a-k-i-s-t-a-n, the P is for Punjab.

In Pakistan, Punjab's eastern boundary was defined by the Radcliffe Award which upset the notional division announced earlier in June 1947. Sir Francis Mudie, first Governor of Pakistan's Punjab (in a letter to an editor of this book) has said, "I did not have any information about what the Radcliffe Commission would



Left and below left. *The children of the N-WF region enjoy good health in a sharp highland climate.*

The map above illustrates the role that Punjab, "The Land of Five Rivers", has played in the country's life.



decide, except for the telegram received about the 12th of August, giving advance information that Ferozepur would be included in Pakistan. This, of course, did not happen . . . I knew nothing about Gurdaspur, nor did I know that the question was of any importance until after the Radcliffe Award was announced and the importance of India's line of communication with Kashmir became apparent . . . The whole question of that Award and how it was arrived at has always puzzled me greatly and I am more and more doubtful about its *bona fides*." That Gurdaspur, as a Muslim-majority district, was not included in Pakistan is a grievance deeply embedded in the political psyche of Punjab and Pakistan itself.

Punjab's historical ties with Jammu and Kashmir and areas adjoining the disputed territory reach back some two millennia. Their political histories interpenetrate, but, more than their mutual conquests, it was the mingling of the people of these two regions that established a deep kinship between them.

The word Punjab derives from two Persian words: *punj* for five, and *ab* for water. Probably a coinage of the

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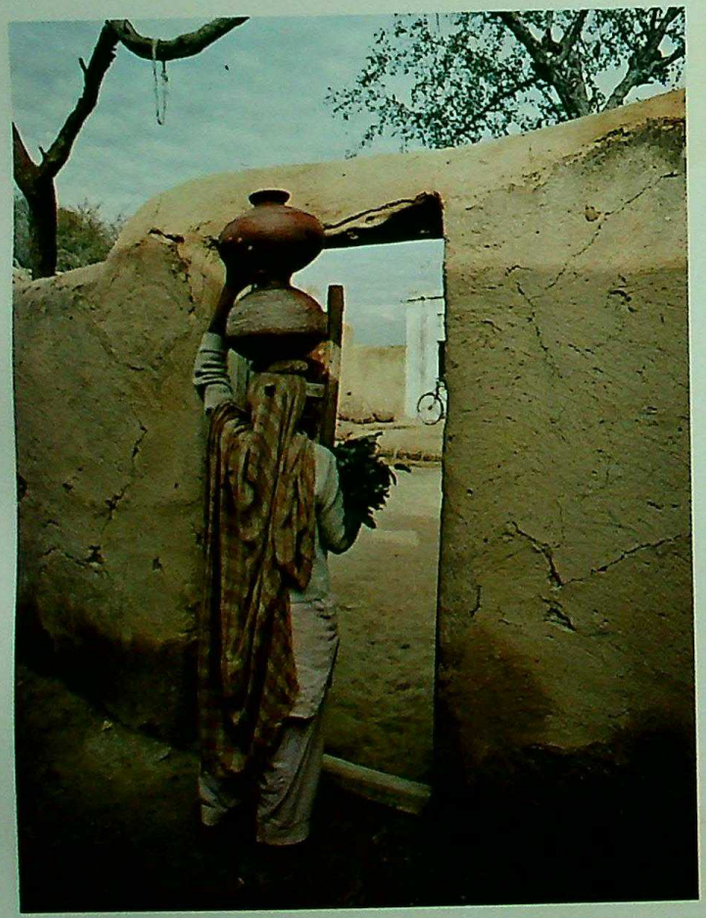
Persian-speaking Ghaznavids it is a variation of an ancient name given to the land when Punjab was a satrapy of the Persian empire of Darius. In Pakistan, the quintet of rivers that provide the basis for Punjab's name are the Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej. The rivers, with the richness of land they bring, define the character of the place, which has outlined all the variations of political boundary-drawing. And yet, however much Punjab may be identified for its rivers, the region can claim distinction on account of the religions that originated from or flourished among its people, and for political decisions and events of great importance that took place in its *doabs*.

Hinduism developed in Punjab. The *Rig-Veda*, the most ancient of the Hindu *shastras*, was composed in Punjab. It deals with the life of the Aryan people who settled in the Indus basin about 5,000 years ago and with their struggle against the race which had developed the civilization of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Of the two famous Hindu epics, *Mahabharta* places its action in Punjab. After the battle of Kurukshetra, Arjun, the conqueror, subdued the upper Indus plains and Gandharas (later known as Kandahar). The other epic, *Ramayana*, locates a pregnant Sita in the Ravi area during her second exile; in fact, her twin sons, Loh and Kash are said to be the founders of Lahore and Kasur. According to some writers, *Ramayana* was composed in Lahore by Valmiki.

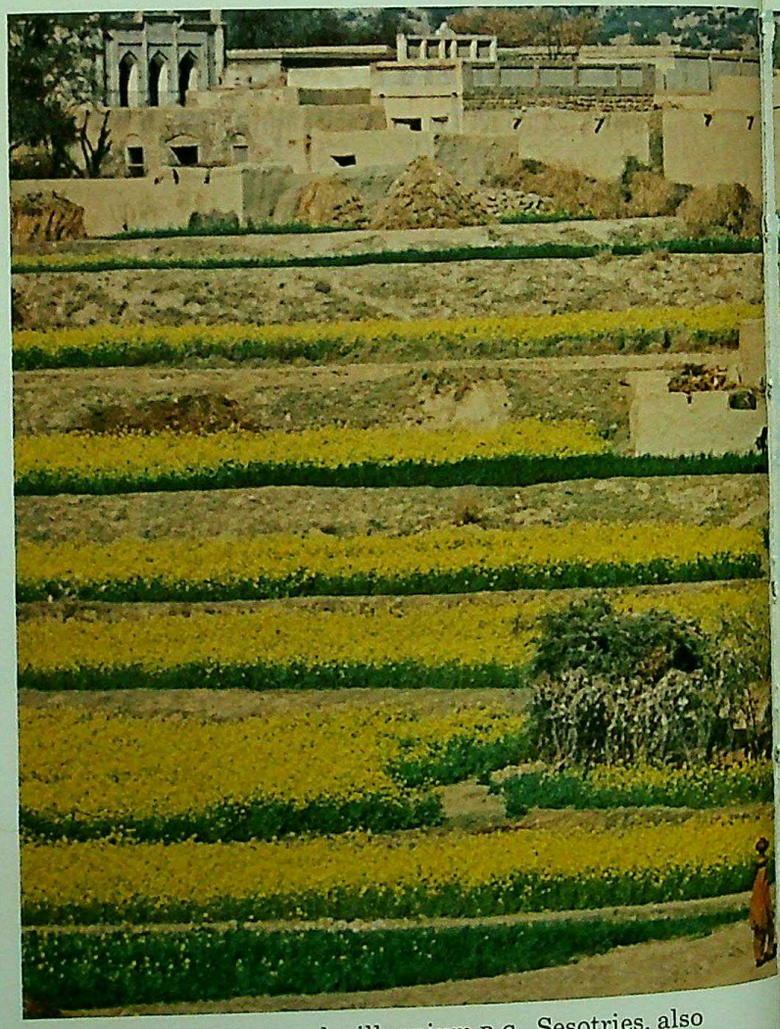
Punjab also played a prominent role in the spread of Buddhism. This was through a native of Punjab, Chandragupta Maurya, grandfather of Asoka. When Alexander's ally, Porus, was murdered by the Greeks in 318 B.C., there was a revolt in Punjab against the Macedonian invaders. Chandragupta organized the tribes of the north-west frontier against the Greeks and made himself master of Punjab and the lower Indus Valley. Under his son Bindusara and his grandson Asoka, Buddhism became the state religion of the Punjab.

Sikhism too originated in Punjab. The founder of the Sikh religion, Nanak, who was born in 1469 at Talwandi on the Ravi, in the Sharkpur area, was deeply influenced by sufis, and advised his followers to respect both the Quran and the Puranas. He never claimed to be a prophet. It was his tenth successor, Guru Gobind Singh, who converted the Sikhs from a quietist, reforming group into fanatical warriors.

This is one aspect of Punjab's past. Politically and militarily, Punjab's history tells of a sequence of invasions, the result of its location and terrain. The first conqueror of Punjab and also its first agriculturist and vinegrower is reputed to have been King Osiris of Egypt. Later, early in the second millennium B.C., Sesotries, also of Egypt, introduced into Punjab the practice of observing the stars and a religion prefiguring Buddhism. Nearly a millennium later, in about 900 B.C., Queen Semiramis of Babylon, thrusting eastwards and afraid only of the Indus and of elephants, was routed by Staurbates at the north-west border of Punjab. The Tartars and the Huns of Massagetae followed – the latter, known as Gates, spreading to inhabit the whole valley of the Indus. They are believed to be the Jats, perhaps the most numerous of all ethnic groups of today's Punjab; sharing the



Above. *The women of Alipur, fetch water from the village well.*



Right. *Homes made of the earth on which they stand nestle in mustard fields.*

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territory with Rajputs, Gujars, Arains, Ghakkars and Kashmiris.

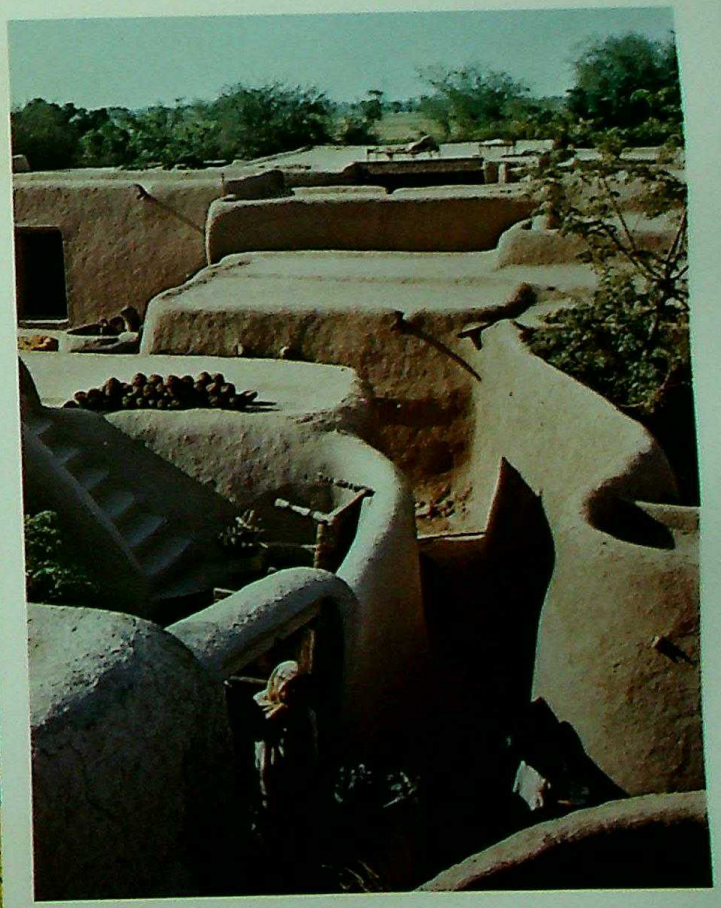
In 327 B.C. Alexander reached the Punjab at the head of his Macedonian army. The Greeks decreed that Pentapotamia would be their name for the Land for the Five Rivers, its King, Paurava, they knew as Porus. Alexander fought him on the east bank of the Hydaspes (now called Jhelum) – and after capturing him, asked how he should treat him. "Like a king," replied Porus, over seven feet tall, severely wounded and ready to fall. "That I would do for my own sake," said Alexander as he took a precautionary step backwards. "But what should I do for you?" A man of few words, by Greek standards, Porus said, "All my wishes are summed up in my first reply." Much impressed, Alexander declared that Porus would be his friend, and would remain king of the territories of his ancestors and of new regions that the Greeks would assign him. In the same battle Alexander lost his favourite horse, Bucephalus. The town of Phalia in the Gujrat district, founded by Alexander, is the Punjabi name for his steed.

Having crossed three more rivers – Acesines (Chenab), Hydraotes (Ravi) and Hyphasis (Beas) – the Greek soldiers refused to advance further east. They decided to take the south-west route through the remaining part of Punjab and Sind, and thence along the Makran coast and through the western mountain passes of Baluchistan. Alexander had touched the boundary points of what, 2,272 years later, was to be Pakistan. Only when he crossed the Ravi, to enforce the surrender of the ruler of Pimprama near Gurdaspur, did he enter what is now, but so easily might not have been, India.

In recorded history, the longest period of rule with a measure of continuity – that continuity being the factor of Islam – comprised the successive Muslim dynasties of Ghaznis, Ghuris, Tartar Slave Kings, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Lodis, Suris and Mughals. Muslim rule of one kind or another lasted for about 800 years up to 1821. It was from Lahore that the Mughal empire was ruled by Akbar for about fifteen years, and by Jehangir for about five. Shah Jehan was born in Lahore and to him and Noor Jehan, Punjab owes the splendour of its architecture.

The first mosque to be built in Punjab was a thousand years ago in 977 A.D. when Raja Jaipal of Lahore was defeated by the armies from Ghazni under Subuktagin, father of the famous Sultan Mahmud. The coming of Islam inaugurated a phase of Punjab's history which is of infinitely more lasting importance than the temporal rule of kings. The continuous sway of great Sufi divines has shaped the story of Punjab. Foremost among them is Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh al-Hujweri, whose mausoleum is in Lahore and Baba Fariduddin Shakar Ganj who is buried in Pakpattan. There are other shrines of famous saints at Taunsa, Multan, Bahawalpur, Kasur and Rawalpindi. While the Muslim kings seldom showed any interest in proselytizing, it is these Sufic saints who, by example and exhortation, converted the majority of Punjabis to Islam and made possible the ultimate establishment of Pakistan.

After the Muslim dynasties, the Sikhs came to power in 1799 with Ranjit Singh as their first maharaja. Three maharajas later, the Sikhs fought two wars with the



Clay and dung moulded by man preserve the intimate security of village life.

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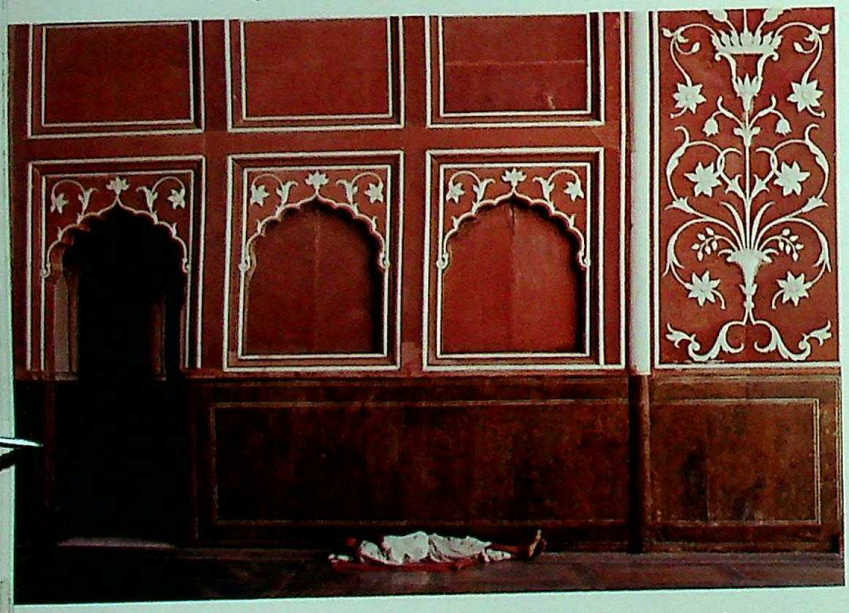
British. After the Sikh defeats at Chilianwala and Gujrat in 1848, Punjab was annexed by the British on 29 March 1849.

Because of a bellicose Afghanistan and an expansionist Czarist Russia, the British paid particular military attention to Punjab. It was in the first place for strategic reasons that they built a railway through Punjab almost up to the Afghan border at Torkham, and also a network of roads. The coming of the railway resulted in the river steam boats plying between Punjab and Sind losing their trade: development of Punjab came to a halt. The absence of boat locks in the Indus barrages made long-distance river transport between Punjab and Sind an impossibility. While this loosened traditional contacts in one way, the roads and railway resulted in greater mobility and rapid urbanization. Society began to change. The *biradari* system sanctioned by tribal conventions began to erode. The introduction of modern education established new professional classes.

Changes in the old tribal pattern of Punjabi rural and



To rest in the cool sanctuary of the glorious Badshahi Mosque (above) *is the privilege of any Islamic visitor.*

Right. *Muslims from cotton regions like Punjab were the first to perfect muslin cloth.*

urban society was helped by the profession of soldiering. "Mercenary" soldiering – and the term did not always have the odour it sometimes has today – had a tradition of several centuries. Punjabi soldiers joined armies and saw the world; they returned to their villages with new ideas and experiences and broadened the outlook of the common man. After the Second World War, Punjabi Muslims formed 44 per cent of the Indian army and almost invariably formed the vanguard of the three-line attack which was the basic British Army strategy.

In the twentieth century, Punjab has been the site of momentous political decisions: the resolution of the Indian National Congress in 1929 which for the first time demanded independence, and that of the Muslim League which demanded the setting up of independent Muslim states in the north-west and north-east of the subcontinent. The objectives of both resolutions were achieved to the extent described in the historical sections of this work.

Punjab is very conscious of its history and Punjabis take pride in their lineage. There is among Punjabis a

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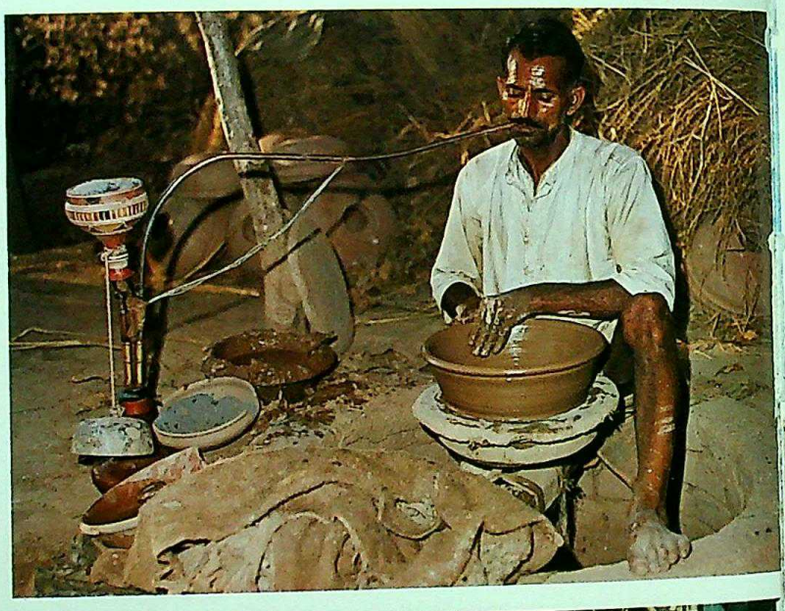
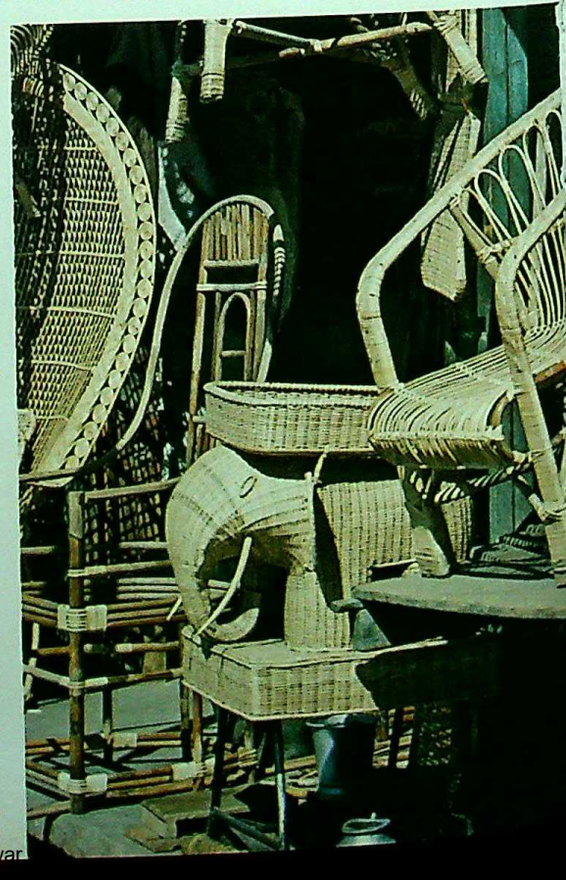
native pride, a consciousness of human dignity, a sense of loyalty, a steadiness of purpose, a spirit of hardiness, which makes them good soldiers, good farmers, good workers, and good friends. Their open-heartedness and hospitality to new ideas perhaps springs from an innate sense of equality, of a feeling of brotherhood among them. The people of Lahore will call each other *Bhaiji*, or "Brother", in everyday greeting. Punjab has escaped the taint of social stratification or courtly sycophancy.

This independence has its obverse, adding to the Punjabi character a strain of marked individualism. And yet, this is a simplification, because the Punjabi psyche is also nurtured on a complex value system, such as emerges so vividly in the folk legends incorporated in the great metrical romances of *Heer-Ranjha* and *Sassi-Punnu*. All these poems of folk romance emerged from the regions which now constitute Pakistani Punjab. The spiritual exaltation of Puran, the romantic idealism of Ranjha, the gallantry of Mirza, the self-immolation of Punnu and Manhiwal, the grand passion of Heer, the





Above. *The martial prowess of Punjab is captured by the uniforms of the attendants at the Lahore Race Club.* Above right. *A potter in Rawalpindi enjoys a* huqqa *while he works. Neither the pottery clay source, nor the shapes or design patterns have changed for centuries. The clay is burnt red, the painted patterns black. The* huqqa *is filled with tobacco and drawn through water.* Right. *Wool is dyed and hung out to dry in a back-street of Lahore. In other sections of the city, fine wool carpets are woven.* Far right. *Ingenious cane furniture is popular in Lahore. Cane, bamboo, wild rushes and wheat stalks provide raw materials for basketry.*

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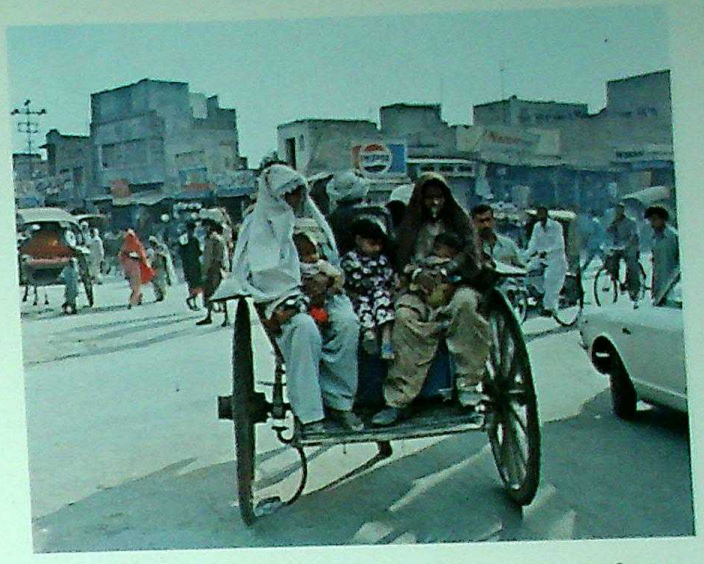
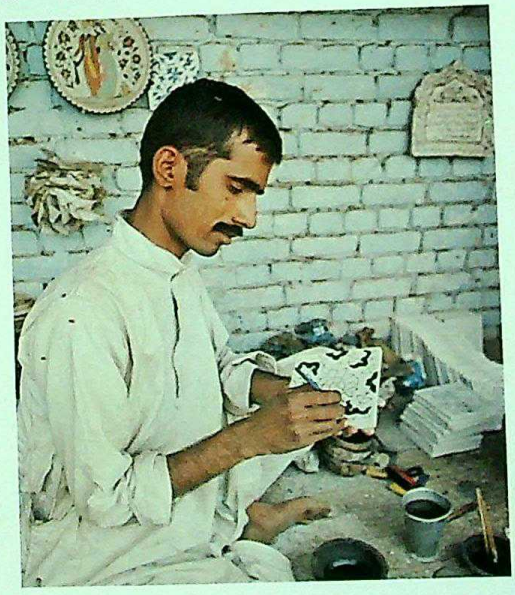
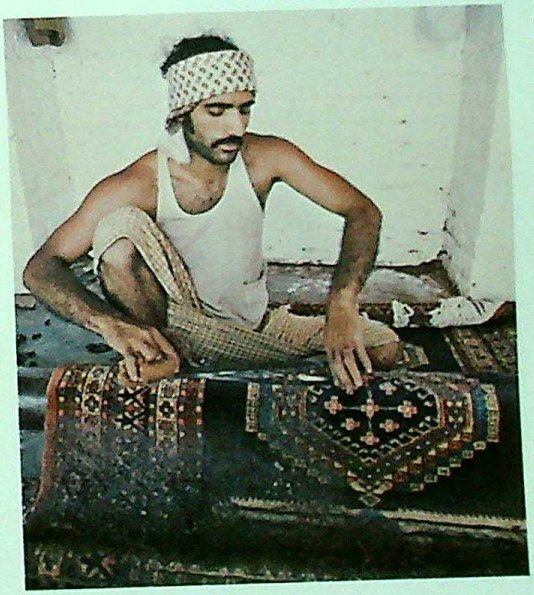
utter devotion of Sohni and Sussi, are archetypal patterns of Punjabi behaviour. By the time the poems came to be written down, characters like Heer and Ranjha had become symbols – Ranjha of the eternal lover and Heer of the yearning soul. Such legendary figures not only represent eternal types, but reveal most vividly the Punjabi ideals of honour, loyalty, steadfastness, courage and fortitude.

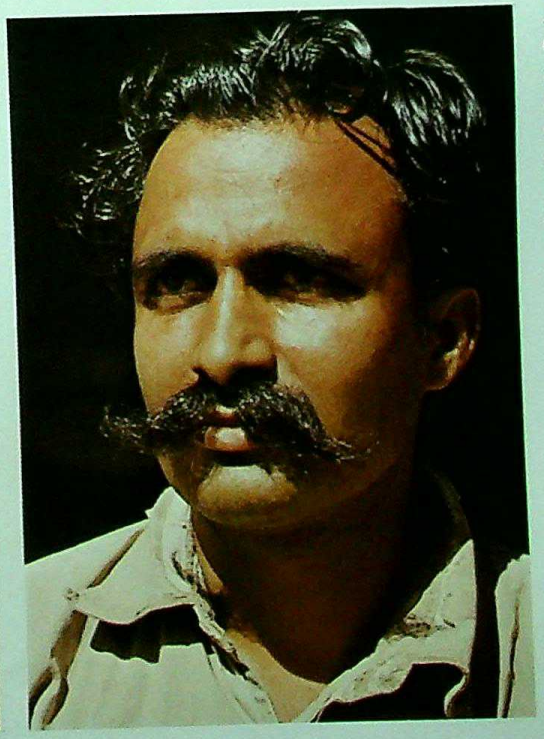
If we add to this the ecstatic utterances of the great Punjabi mystical poets (who form the largest group in the subcontinent), we gain further insight into the Punjabi character. Lal Husain, Shah Hashim, Sultan Bahuu, Bullhe Shah and Khwaja Ghulam Farid are all living voices speaking to the Infinite. They are sung daily, and induce in their hearers spiritual exaltation or rapturous yearning. The works of the Romance writers, the celebrants of ecstatic experiences, the spinners of war-poems called *Varan*, the anonymous song-writers, all such give evidence of the vigorous mental life of the people.







For a generation and more, the tonga (above), *a form of gharry ubiquitous in Pakistan, has competed with the motorized taxicab. Yet many families still prefer the tonga for city travel as here.* Far left. *The tradition of tile designing and enamelling in Punjab is ancient. But the original formula for the blue glaze, so characteristic of Multan, has been lost over the years. Carpet weaving* (left) *now has an assured place among the cottage industries of Punjab.*



Most Punjabi women such as this lady (far left) *have had the opportunity of receiving the same basic education as boys – writing and reading, both Urdu and local languages, plus general courses and vocational training. Such brings a sophistication to urban families and an equality between younger husbands of today, like the gentleman* (left), *and their wives. But some 24 million Punjabis work on the land, cultivating crops and raising cattle. An entire family unit may be pressed into service at harvest time. Among country folk traditional values prevail.*

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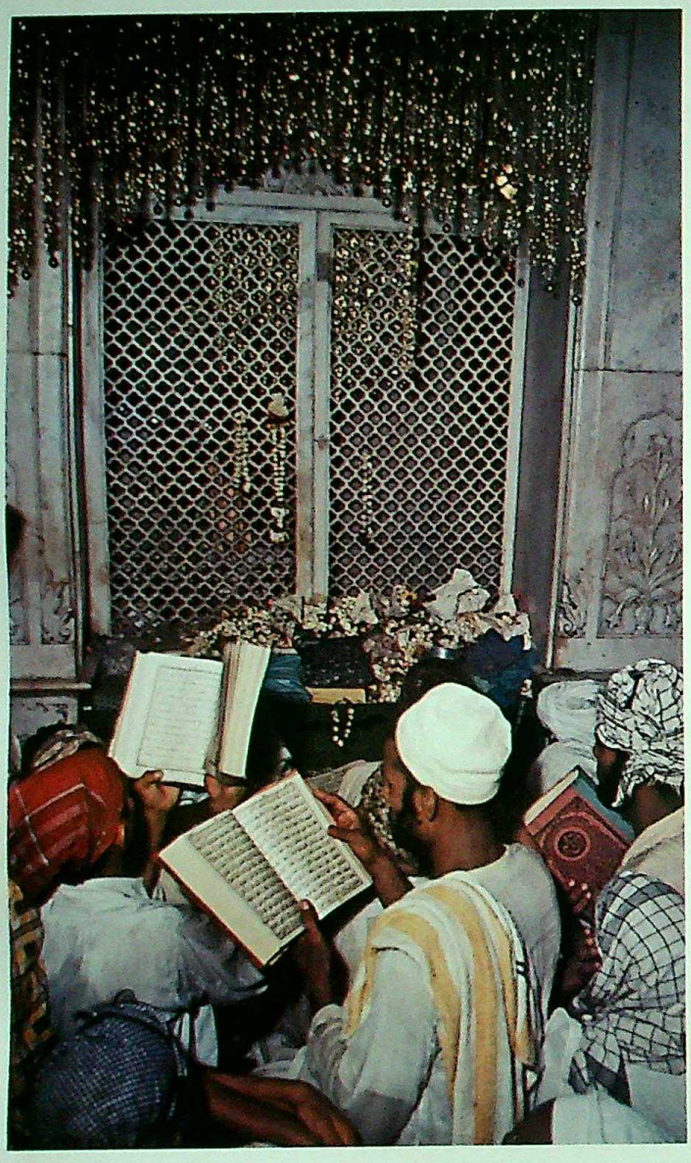
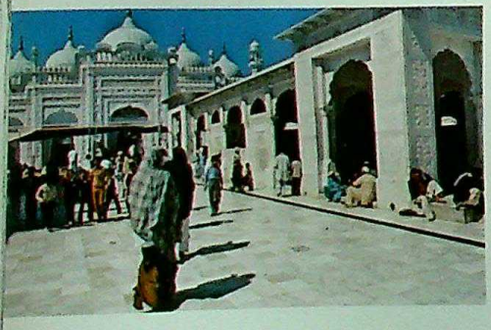


Above. *At the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh devotees recite the Holy Quran.*

Opposite. *The sun sets behind the homestead of a Punjab farmer and his cow.*



At Data Darbar in Lahore, many thousands pay homage to their saint every year by visiting his shrine and offering prayers.

One of the elements in the spiritual and moral life of the people has been the devotion given to spiritual mentors and guides, known as *pirs*. These saintly men have been a prominent factor in the subcontinent. They preached and popularized the word of Islam. Many left behind systems of devotion which were built into Spiritual Orders *(silajat)* that gave cohesion to the nascent Muslim community in the vast new land of the faithful. From Punjab came, for example, Sayyid Ali Hujweri, who died in 1072 or 1088. Known popularly as Data Ganj Bakhsh, he came to Lahore during early Ghaznavid times. He or his disciples did not set up an Order, but his influence on the spiritual life of Punjabis has been enormous. Khwaja Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan (d. 1262) belonged to the Suhrwardia Order. He and his family have had tremendous effect on the moral and social behaviour of the people of south Punjab. An earlier saint, Sayyid Sakhi Sarwar (d. 1181) of Dera Ghazi Khan (d. 1181), Baba Fariduddin Shakar Ganj of Pakpattan (d. 1265), Makhdum Jahanian Jahangusht of Uch (d. 1384), and many others have left a mark on the psyche of the Punjabis that neither the political nor the intellectual whirligigs of the last five centuries have been able to efface.

The post-Mughal and even the British periods did not make for the confident evolution of Punjabi society. There was, in the rural areas, social stagnation and a draining of self-esteem. On the other hand the bulk of Punjabis had always been living far from the centres of Indo-Muslim culture, and this gave them the advantage of evolving their own cultural patterns, their own literary forms, their own songs and dances, their own values, their own dress and deportment, and their own dour philosophy of life. The virus of court intrigue hardly affected them, and if they were seldom in the thick of the subcontinent's political life, at least during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it conserved their potential and saved them from becoming effete.

Punjab stock, as it has emerged over the centuries, comprises five identifiable social groups. The Sayyids, with their collaterals the Quraishis, all named after their particular ancestors, were mostly prominent in the learned professions and in religious affairs. They were made Qazis, Muftis and heads of endowed seminaries. The Turks, Mughals and Afghans formed the military and administrative aristocracy. The Rajputs and their collaterals the Jats comprised the yeomanry. The neo-Muslims kept their own castes or were called Shaikh Qanungo or Khwajas (corrupted to Khojas). They were confined mostly to the commercial classes.

In the smaller towns there is usually a separate *mohalla* (quarter) for most trades. There is likely to be a Mohalla Qazis (that is, of *qazia* or judges), a Mohalla Muftian, a Mohalla Hamdanian (that is of Hamdani Sayyids), a Mian Mohalla (that is of Imams or mosques), one of potters, another of butchers, others of weavers, tanners, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, artisans, and so on. Such segregation, though a legacy of the old Guild System, betokens a stable social order and is not necessarily a sign of rigid differences of social levels, or inherited snobbery or inferiority on any side. In a changing society like that of the Punjab today, the occupational castes have the upper hand.

An interesting symptom of this change is the adoption or rejection of *purdah*, in urban areas. The upper classes abandoned it quite some time ago. The working classes never had any use for it. In the rural areas, the generality of women have worked with their men in the fields. They

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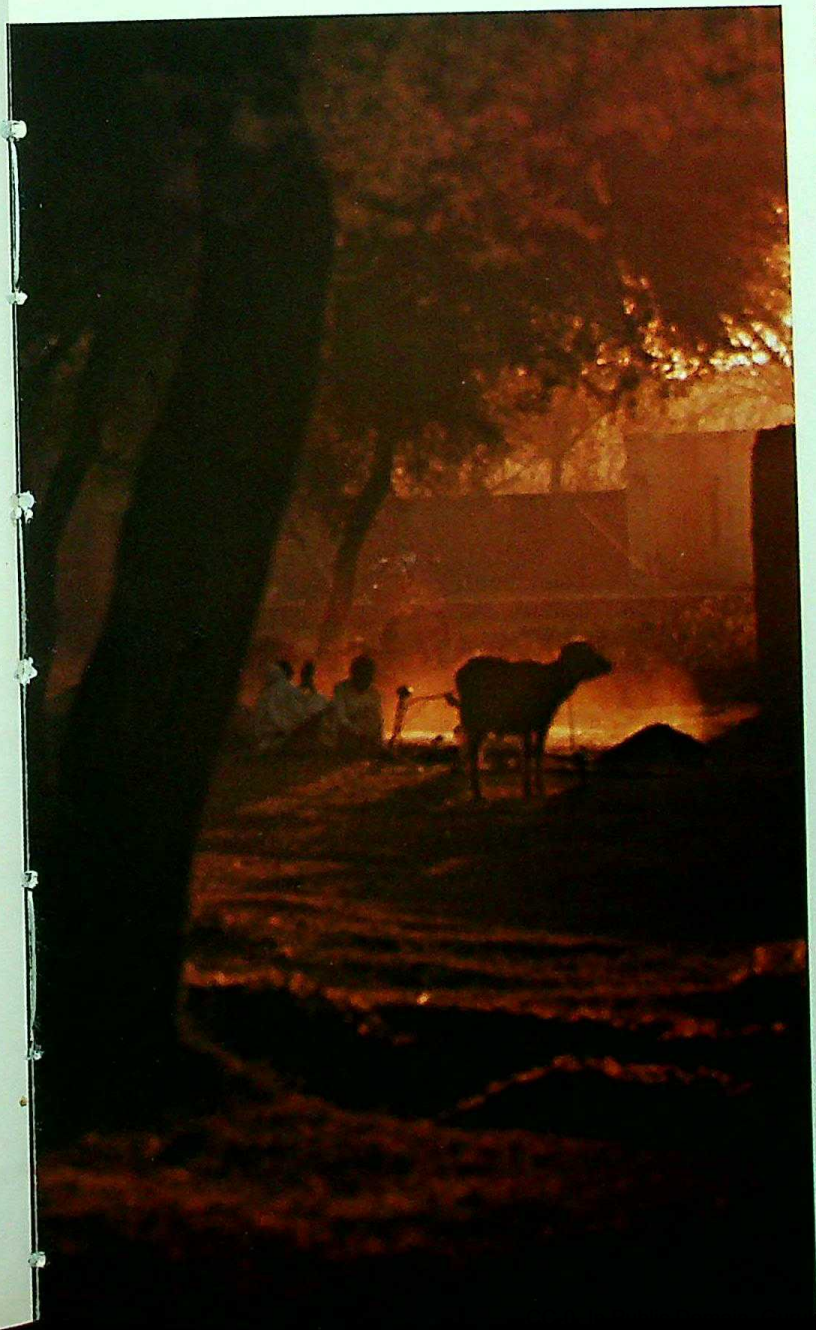
have cut grass, tended flocks, taken food to their people in the fields, helped in reaping harvests, and on the threshing floor. Now in the towns the first sign that a working-class girl has social pretentions is that she adopts *purdah*. It means that she has entered the lower middle class.

Most cities and towns are divided into old and new areas. Lahore that exists within the old wall rises vertically, its houses having three to five storeys and built along narrow winding lanes. The grid system used by town planners of the Harappa-Mohenjodaro era was, perhaps deliberately discarded for security reasons, and many of the tall houses had secret chambers where young women were hidden during invasions and civil wars. The newer parts of Punjab's cities are better planned with roads wide enough for wheeled traffic.

With the spreading network of canals in the last fifty years, new villages have sprouted so rapidly beside the squared-off farmland, that Punjabis – historically name-conscious – have numbered rather than named them. Called *chaks*, they are generally better laid out than the older villages. In their own way, they reflect another of the successive changes which have transformed the social landscape of Punjab throughout its history.

F.M., H.J. et al.



Sind

The name Sind, deriving from Sindhu, the river Indus, properly designates the plains on either side of its middle and lower course, from Attock to the sea. That is appropriate for these plains have been created by the river from the characteristic alluvial action of its overspill over many thousand years. However, to the world in general "Sind" denotes the country below the point where the flood-plain of the Indus – between the mountains of Baluchistan and the Thar, or great desert of India – is narrowest, about 450 miles from the sea. Sind, too, has always included within its boundaries varying portions of the western hill-country and of the desert lying eastward. The three distinct tracts – rocky uplands adjoining Baluchistan, the flat alluvial plains through which the Indus takes its capricious course, and the huge sandhills of the Thar – have one feature in common: very scanty and erratic rainfall. Without the bounty of its river, Sind could never have advanced beyond the precarious pastoral economy of the neighbouring regions. The striking resemblance of the country to Egypt was noticed long before the existence in it of a comparable great prehistoric civilization was even suspected; the idiosyncrasy of its people, when compared with Indians, is very marked.

Sind has been a Muslim country since 712 AD when, the Arab general, Muhammad bin Qasim, overcame the Brahmin ruler, Dahir. A succession of Muslim dynasties ruled it until 1843 AD, when it was annexed to British India and so remained for a little over a century before becoming a province of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, in 1947.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Sind prior to the emergence of the Indus civilization would probably have been hunters, fishers and fowlers, perhaps already in the stage of transition towards animal husbandry, with a little rudimentary subsistence agriculture. The growing of crops sporadically in the riverain tracts of Sind was by no means a difficult process, owing to the annual flooding of the Indus which deposited fertile silt. Seed grain was simply cast haphazardly on the muddy ground from which the flood had just receded; no embanking or manuring was required, nor any attention beyond securing the crop from beasts and birds as well as possible while it was ripening. This is still the practice in the *kachha* tracts abutting on the river.

The region of Sind is dominated by the river (whose name, in origin, it shares) and the great city of Karachi which is established as the country's principal port and commercial centre. The province of Sind itself is fertile and productive.

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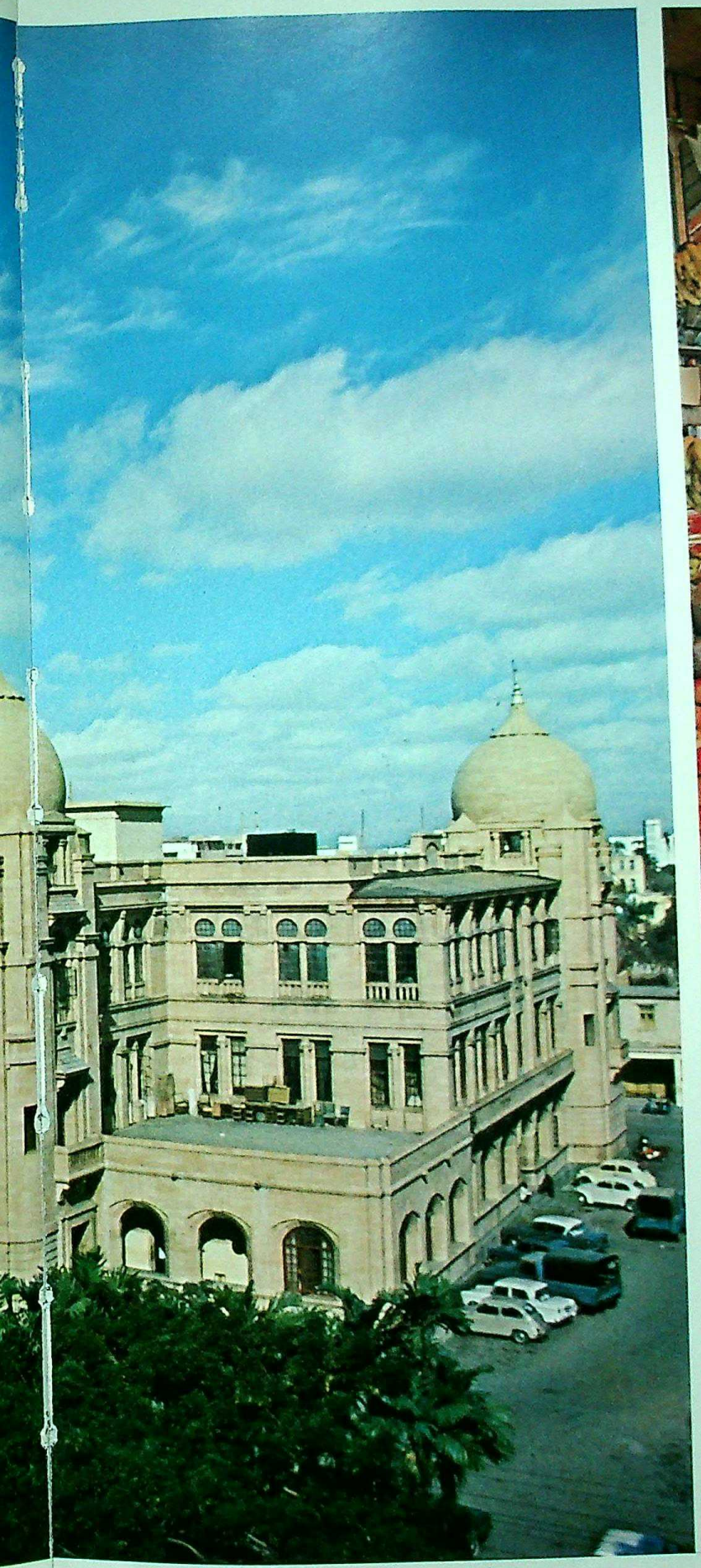

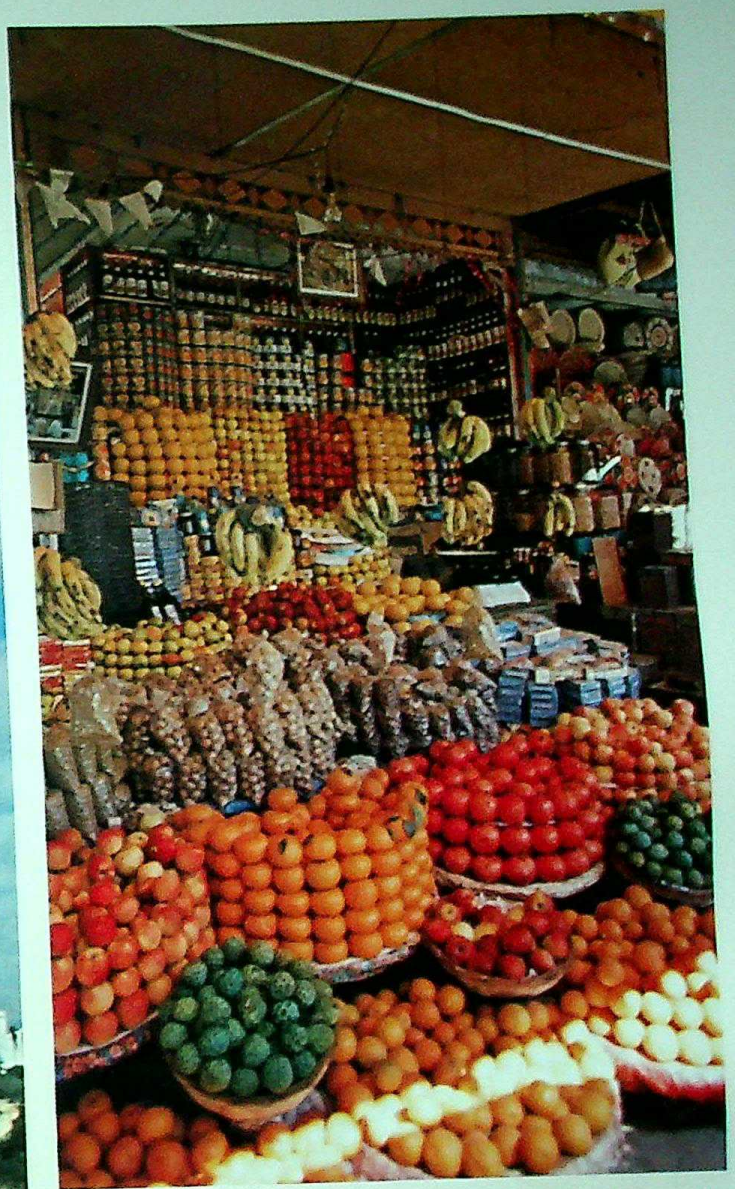

Left. *KMC – Karachi Municipal Corporation – is one of the biggest permanent bazaars in the Orient. Thousands attend it daily to buy the wares, above all foodstuffs* (as above) *fresh from the farms.*

It is possible that the Mohanas of the Manchar Lake, fisherfolk who live for the most part in their boats, may be the direct descendants of the lake-dwellers who we know existed in the dawn of Indus civilization. They would probably have been among the indigenous primitive peoples subjugated by those first bearers of true civilization from the west. Another class of Sindhi, whose way of life may have continued virtually unchanged since primaeval days, are the camel-rearing Jats of the Indus delta country, who subsist almost entirely on the milk of their she-camels. It is well to bear in mind that the land of Sind has been subject, at intervals throughout the entire period of which we possess knowledge, inclusive of those eras which are legendary if not mythical, to influxes of other races, mostly from the west, north and north-east. The latest great immigration, which took place in 1947 and following years, was of an altogether different nature from any that had preceded it.

Most of the Sindhi Muslims of modern times belong

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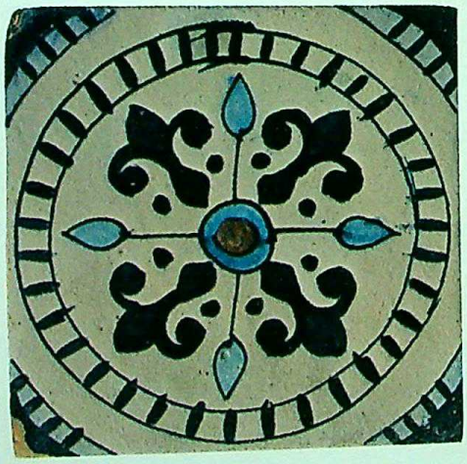
either to the indigenous stock or are of Arab or Baluch origin. Those who tend to classify themselves as Sammat, by race descended from the Samma, Rajput, Lakha, Lohana and Jat inhabitants of the country at the time of its conquest by Muhammad bin Qasim. Those remote forebears were predominantly Buddhist in religion, with a minority of Brahmin Hindus and Jains. The conversion to Islam of the great majority of their descendants was probably a continuous process during the succeeding eleven centuries of rule by Muslim dynasties. It is generally held to have been particularly rapid in the fifteenth century under the Sammas, and again in the eighteenth under the Kalhoras.

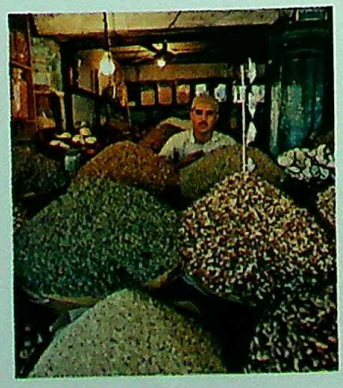
The occupation of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Sind is agriculture; next comes the herding of camels, cattle, water-buffaloes, goats and sheep; inland fishing and fowling are much less important than formerly, and the plying of boats on the river has all but ceased. There are two seasons for cultivation; in the autumn comes the harvest of rice, millet, Indian corn, sesame and *bajru,* with cotton much the most important crop other than food-grains, while wheat, gram, oil-seeds, mustard and chick-pea are reaped in the spring. Land producing rice, which requires heavier irrigation than any other crop during its growing season, is often cropped again for the spring harvest, usually with chick-pea, which has some fertilizing effect on the soil, and the very best rice-land can thus be double-cropped year after year without any fallows. This procedure was fairly common in lands dependent on the best of the old inundation canals, many of which were adaptations or extensions of bye-rivers and former courses of the Indus, and flowed to a greater or lesser extent for four or even five months from late May onwards. Those semi-natural water courses have been superceded almost everywhere by irrigation canals deriving their supply from three barrages built across the Indus in appropriate locations, affording a perennial flow. It was in consequence of the introduction of the first such system in Sind, from the magnificent structure at Sukkur, that a vast increase in cotton-growing began. The characteristic chronic variations in the volume and length of the annual inundations of the Indus, which formerly produced corresponding variations in the extent and quality of cultivation, no longer exert such influence. Agricultural expansion has naturally been accompanied by considerable development in all the ancillary industries and occupations, milling, processing, transport and the like. Another important effect has been much redistribution of population, leading to greater stability, the former fluctuations in means of livelihood from one year to another having been largely eliminated.

The system of land tenure in the province has of late years been subjected to long-overdue reforms designed to confer a quasi-proprietary stake in the soil on its actual cultivators. Hitherto, the predominant organization of agriculture has been by *zamindars;* that is, the landlord, being the person responsible for payment of the annual government tax on a given area, employed cultivators who were merely his tenants-at-will, remunerated on a crop-sharing basis which by long standing custom had acquired statutory force. These arrangements tended to perpetuate the prevailing feudal character of society in rural Sind. The peasantry were landless labourers, employed or dismissed at will by the landlords. They had no rights over the land they tilled – merely the right to the customary share of the crop they had raised. The most effective sanction these ploughmen possessed against ill-treatment by their landlords was to desert

Above. Rilli *is a colourful patchwork quilt made of dyed pieces of cloth. The basic design is a check* tukri, *popular in Sind.* Below. *Glazed pottery and tile work have been made since the 13th century in Hala, near Hyderabad.* Right. *Respect among the young for age is common. Western problems of youthful lawlessness seldom occur.*



Below. *Even a market stall selling dried fruit and varieties of nut becomes a celebration of the bounties of nature.* Below right. *Hubble-bubble or* huqqa *pipes are smoked throughout the land.*



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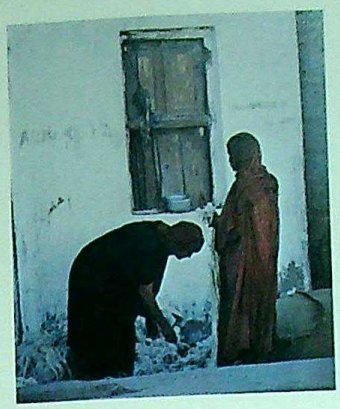
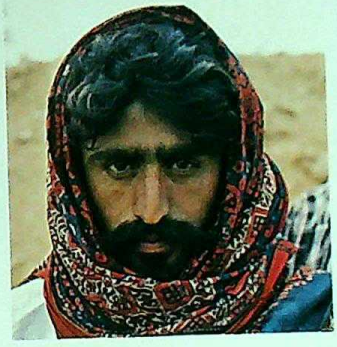
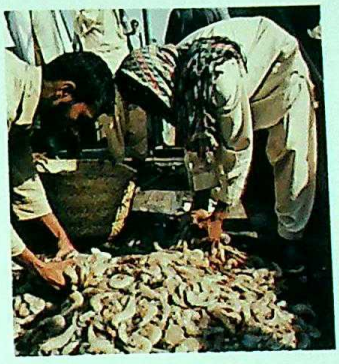
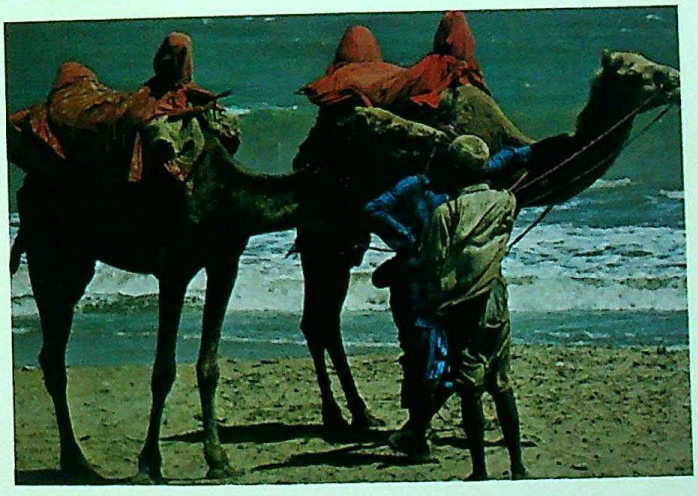


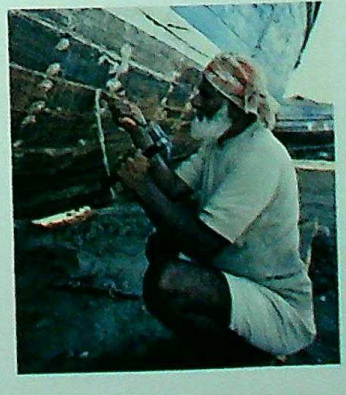






Top left. *Women prepare wool before dyeing and weaving*. Top right. *Enamelled bedposts display the Sindhi love of colour*. Left. *A typical Sindhi*. Above middle. *The crews of 6,300 boats fish off Karachi*.

Above. *Camels are a source of recreation on Karachi's fine beaches*. Below. *Jute is used for caulking the fishing vessels*. Below left. *Unglazed pottery is often decorated with only black and maroon in Sind*.



them and their holding and obtain employment elsewhere; and this move, or even the threat of it, was generally effective at times when there was a widespread shortage of cultivators. Such shortages occurred whenever large areas of virgin land had been brought under irrigation "command". Then came the opportunity for landless labourers themselves to become peasant proprietors; but a constant obstacle in their way would be the indebtedness which was endemic among them, and not uncommon amongst landlords.

These debts were incurred mostly with the *banias*, the Hindu shopkeepers and moneylenders, who, before the emergence of Pakistan, were to be found in small numbers in all but the smallest villages in every corner of agricultural Sind. Their ordinary interest rates were so high that modest sums borrowed for purchase of seed-grain or necessities such as cloth or household articles of all kinds, if not repaid quickly, could grow into crushing burdens. And Sindhi Muslims in all ranks of life have a tendency towards improvidence. Sharp and cautious individuals of course exist, but they are somewhat untypical of the general easy-going attitude to life. A good deal of the new land under the Sukkur Barrage made available for peasant proprietors after 1932 was taken up by Brahui and other migrant labourers, often on a family basis, out of savings from their wages. They at least were not in debt to the local *banias*!

The Muslim peasantry of Sind do not, for the most part, live in old-established villages, but in thousands of hamlets and isolated huts scattered all over the region, chosen for their convenience for cultivation or grazing. The typical dwelling of the cultivator is a single or two-roomed hut, the walls made of mud – which is baked almost as hard as burnt brick by Sind's torrid sun (and could only be employed so universally for building in a virtually rainless climate) – and the roof of jungle grass or twigs and matting often coated with that same Sindhi "cement". Alternatively the walls may be of wattle, and the roof of branches, the whole hardly superior to the adjoining cattle-shed. Such huts sometimes cluster round the high walls which enclose the mansion, separate guest-house, and dependants' quarters of a large landowner. The permanent villages and towns of Sind are conglomerations of flat-roofed houses, built of sun-dried brick made of mud mixed with straw. It is in the permanent villages, or in distinct quarters in the towns that one may look for the workshops and houses of handloom weavers, potters, blacksmiths, and other artisans.

Sind's cultural life has been shaped, to a large extent, by its comparative isolation in the past from the rest of the subcontinent. A long stretch of desert to its east and a mountainous terrain to the west served as barriers, while the Arabian Sea in the south and the Indus in the north prevented easy access. As a result, the people of Sind developed their own exclusive artistic tradition. Their arts and crafts, music and literature, games and sports have retained their original flavour. Sind is rich in exquisite pottery, variegated glazed tiles, lacquerwork, leather and straw products, needlework, quilts, embroidery, hand print making and textile design.

Melas (fairs) and *malakharas* (wrestling festivals) are popular, and falconry, *malh*, (the distinctive style of Sindhi wrestling) horse and camel breeding and racing are characteristic pastimes. Sindhi fishermen float earthen pots to catch the *palla* fish in the Indus, and bullock-cart racing and cockfighting are also typical of the province.

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Early professional minstrels, the Loras, carried Sindhi music to ancient Iran and the large number of indigenous instruments confirms the existence of a long-standing musical tradition. Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (d. 1752), a renowned poet, founded a new musical tradition of *Shah jo Raga* in which thematic music primarily based on popular themes was interspersed by folk melodies.

The Baluch, a Muslim people distinct racially from the Sindhis, have been of importance in Sind ever since making their appearance in the country some four or five centuries ago. They are, in general, a hardy, athletic, brave and honest people. In their earlier years in Sind they continued the pastoral way of life, to some extent nomadic, which they had pursued in their former habitat. The characteristic organization of the Baluch is tribal which continues to be the pattern in the Kachhi district of Kalat (Baluchistan) and in the Punjab district of Dera Ghazi Khan; but in Sind only two clans, the Chandias and the Burdis or Buledhis, remain identified with distinct *illaqas*, and only that of the Chandias is compact, adjoining the western border of the province.

The tribal system bears a close resemblance to that of the Scottish highland clans about three centuries ago. In Sind, the former organization of the Baluchis has become greatly relaxed since they turned to agriculture, for which such wide-spread facilities exist – incomparably better than in the typical *illaqas*. The heads of tribal sub-sections may no longer recognize the authority of a single hereditary chief, and rank-and-file clansmen are inclined to look up to some local magnate of their name, or assume virtual independence of clan-obligations. But they will adhere to Baluch custom in their individual lives – for instance, they may accept a bride from a Sindhi family, but will never give a daughter of their own in marriage to a Sindhi. The Baluch living in the western hills of Sind, or in the adjoining *kachho* (piedmont) are still predominantly pastoral; some of them are nomadic like their forefathers, pitching their black goat-hair blanket tents *(gidans)* or *pish*-mat shelters wherever they find grazing for their flocks and moving on when the neighbourhood is bare.

Through the western hills passes also the regular seasonal migration of Brahuis belonging to the province of Jhalawan in Kalat territory. Whole families come to Sind to work every winter, with most of their household belongings loaded on bullocks and donkeys, accompanied by cattle, goats and dogs. They, too, encamp in tents or mat shelters wherever they find work, and return to their upland homes towards the end of March. There is a good deal of seasonal migration from other quarters to obtain work in Sind; western Baluch are regular labourers in the cotton-ginning factories.

In the eastern desert, the manner of life of its inhabitants is dictated by the peculiar environment. In most parts of this wasteland there are wells every twelve or fifteen miles, and everything depends on them. Beside each well is a large trough at which the animals – mostly cattle, goats and sheep – have to be watered every morning and evening. The water is often brackish, and may lie a hundred feet or more beneath the surface. After good rainfall the people cultivate a little *bajru*, but their livelihood is derived from their flocks and herds. The desert grass is reckoned to be superior to any in the plains and, when at its best, cattle are driven in to be pastured for a fee. The inhabitants – Sodha Rajputs, Bhils and a variety of Muslims – live in well-built huts of wattle and brushwood, the majority of them shaped like the old-fashioned beehive, and located near the wells.

The provincial capital of Sind is Karachi, which, because of the vital importance of its port, has acquired prominence as the most cosmopolitan city in the country. There are the Borahs and Khojahs, Muslim communities engaged in trade, and Memons, a few of whom may also be landowners in Lower Sind. Then there are the Parsis, business and professional men, Zoroastrians by religion; Jews and Goanese; Sindhis, Pathans, Punjabis and many other groups of people from beyond the province who have come to make their living in Karachi. Since the establishment of Pakistan, the city of Karachi has received the main bulk of the Muslim migration from all parts of India, gradually raising its population to more than three million. Karachi is now a metropolis comparable with the bigger cities of the world. It is difficult to believe that one hundred and thirty years ago the population of this immense city was only eight thousand souls. Karachi is the symbol of a new Sind, a prosperous and lively region which faces its challenging future with confidence.

H.T.L.

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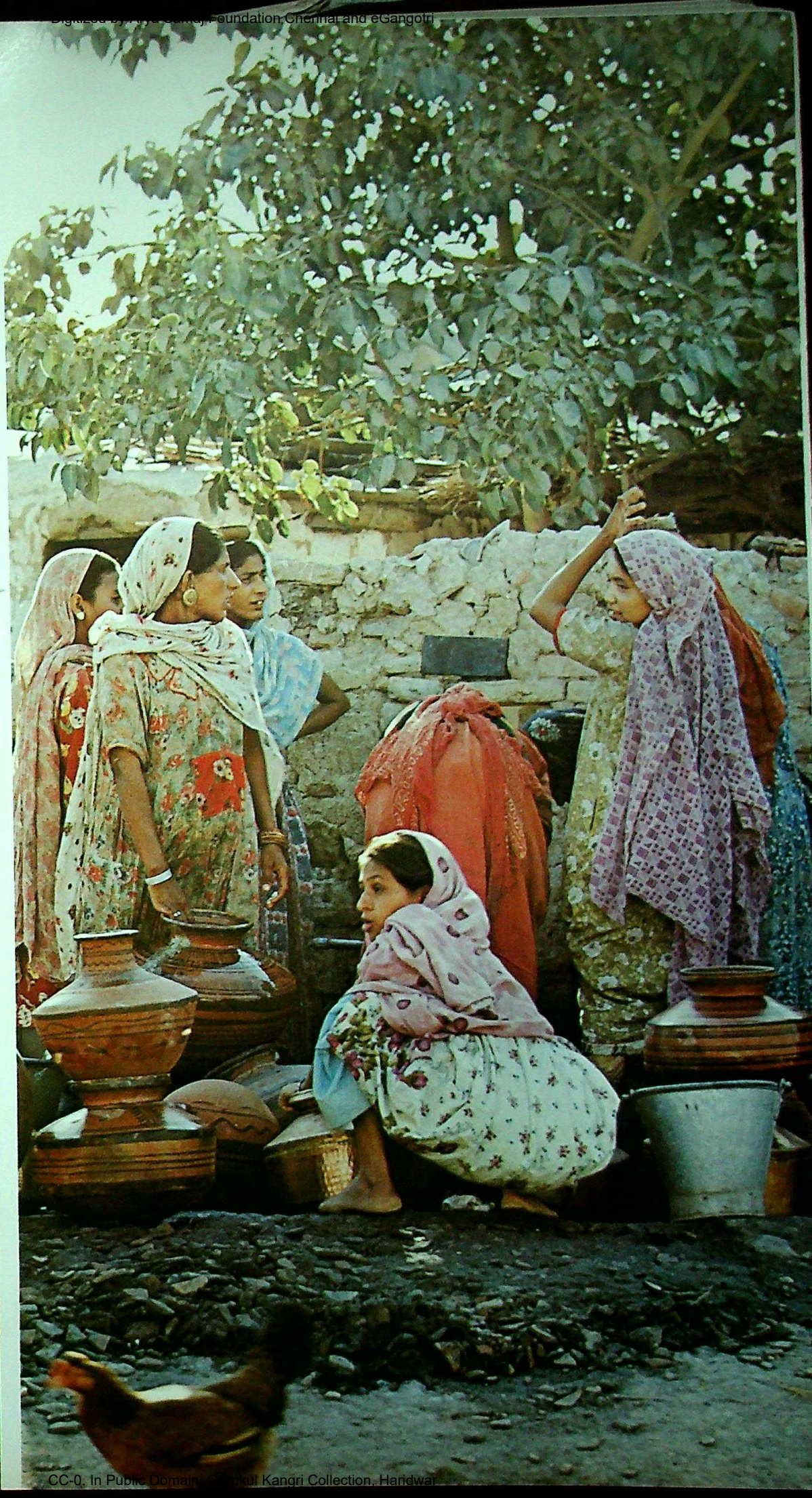
Above. *The skilled and the patient catch Indus cranes by a decoy perched on the head.* Below. *Villages of the Dadu district are blessed with fertile soil and good irrigation.* Right. *Sindhi women wearing hand-blocked* ajrak *cloth gather for a chat as they fetch the day's water in urns.*



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Baltistan
For over five centuries Islam has prevailed in high Baltistan, although the region is fringed with adherents to Buddhism towards Ladakh, and the capricious spirits of rivers, winds and mountains in some of the wildest inhabited territory on earth cannot be easily ignored. Agriculture is pursued by laboriously irrigated detrital fans, especially near Baltistan's capital of Skardu, where water is tapped from the Indus before it bursts forth from the Baltistan plateau through a tremendous gorge.

Above. *At Khaplu, the Baltis are influenced by Ladakhi culture and language. Many resemble modern Greeks.* Left. *Prayer flags flutter on a saint's grave at Skardu. Beyond Queen Mindok's fortress range stark mountains.*

Left. *An Askole turns to Mecca for evening prayer. Askole folk speak a Tibetan dialect.* Below. *Baltis saw timber at Katchura; nearby Skardu lies on the banks of the Indus just above its confluence with the Shigar.*

Jammu and Kashmir

Bounded by Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and, over a mere thirty-mile strip of land in the south-east, by India, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a territory of 86,023 square miles with a population of nearly six million of whom more than three-quarters are Muslims.

The conjunction of the two names is a product of nineteenth century history. Actually, the State is a conglomeration of about half a dozen regions, all disparate in topography, climate and language. These include the Dogri-speaking Jammu in the south-east, the Punjabi-speaking south-western region, the western part which blends with Hazara in Pakistan, Dardistan and Baltistan in the north and Ladakh comprising the eastern part.

In the middle, guarded by range after range of great snow mountains, nestles the Vale of Kashmir (called Kasheer by its inhabitants). Shaped like an elliptic saucer, it is a terraced plateau, about 6,000 feet above the sea, eighty-four miles in length and twenty-three miles in average breadth. Here the language is Koshur (called Kashmiri by foreigners) which owes its skeleton to an ancient Dardic tongue, its flesh to Sanskrit and its life to Persian and Arabic. The Dardic languages stand midway between the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian branches of the parent Aryan stock; Kashmiri is the only member of this group with a developed literature of its own. The spread of this language to Kishtwar and Bhadrawah to the south-east and parts of Poonch to the west has socially, if not physically, integrated these neighbouring areas in the Vales.

Kashmir's own writers have been joined by Persian poets, notably Urfi and Faizi, and European travellers in hymning praise to the Vale's landscape: the first group with some narcissistic pride, the second in rhapsodic utterance and the third in prose which hardly conceals their wonderment at an Alpine scenery magically set apart from most of its surroundings. Francis Bernier, who visited Kashmir in 1659 during the reign of Jehangir, quotes the Mughal Emperor as having said that he would rather be deprived of every province of his kingdom than lose Kashmir. His father, Akbar, had called Kashmir *Bagh-i-Khass* (the Chosen Garden). Two centuries earlier, the great travelling saint, Syed Ali Hamdani (1314-1384) had termed it *Bagh-i-Suleiman* (the Garden of Solomon). Later writers like G. T. Vigne, Francis Younghusband and Walter Lawrence in the nineteenth century were so struck by the individuality of the place that they focused on the special ethnic characteristics of its people; Vigne called them the Neapolitans of the East, Lawrence likened them to the Irish and both Younghusband and Lawrence found pronounced Hebraic features in them. Even that most perceptive observer, al-Biruni (973-1048) who accompanied the unsuccessful expedition of Mahmud of Ghazni to Kashmir in 1021 noted that the Kashmiris did "not allow any Hindu to enter" their land. A small group, with some pretensions to being historians, still existing in both Kashmir and Pakistan, uses meagre evidence and much fanciful imagining in tracing the ancestry of Kashmiris to one of the lost tribes of Israel. All this attests to the fact that the Vale, a vast amphitheatre of six thousand square miles, interspersed with lakes and woodland, tranquil in appearance but dramatically surrounded by the grandeur of mountains like Nanga Parbat (26,620 feet) and the lesser

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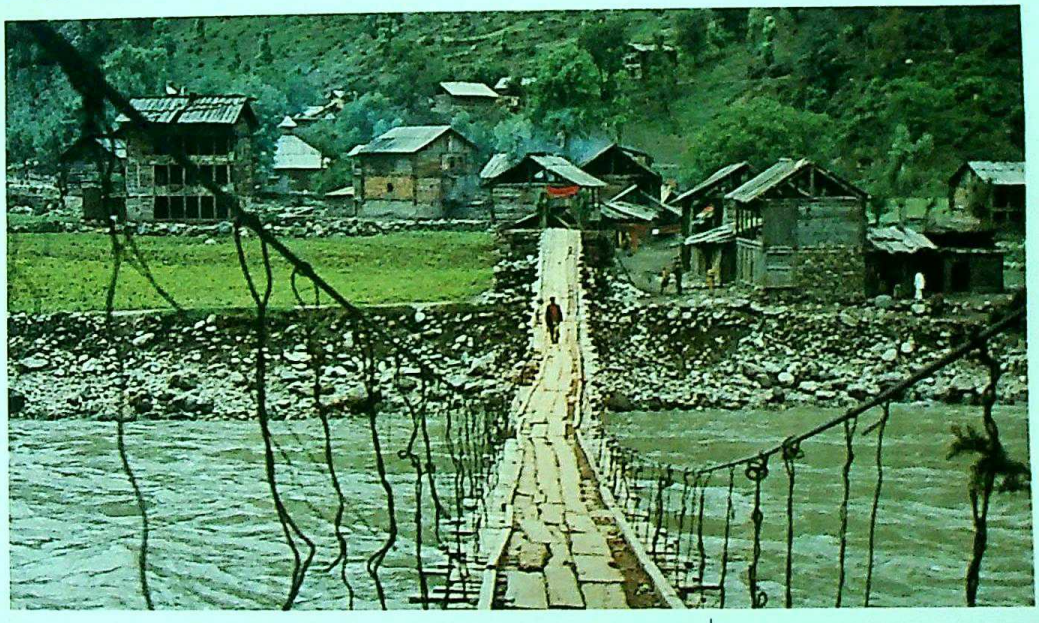
but majestic Haramukh and Amarnath, each with a demeanour of its own, possesses a personality that stamps itself on the psyche of its natives.

A legend as picturesque as the Vale itself holds Kashmir to have been once a vast lake. While the theory of this lacustrine origin has obtained some uncertain geological support, the poetry of the myth about Kashmir having been recovered in a struggle against demons seems to have permeated the Kashmiri consciousness. There has been diverse speculation about the origin of the name *Kashmir* with attempts to relate it to a quasi-historical figure *Kashyapa* or to a semitic tribe called Kash (who are supposed to have also populated *Kashgar* in China and *Kashan* in Iran). All that is certain from a continuous chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries is that the name is very ancient. It is not, therefore, fanciful to suppose that, of all the regional societies of South Asia, Kashmir can claim the oldest settled continuity. Antiquity apart, Kashmir has the further distinction of being the only region in this part of the world which chronicled its history before the Muslim advent. The sole attempt at historiography made by the pre-Islamic Hindu mind is the work entitled *Rajatarangini*. Originally composed by the Kashmiri *Pandit* Kalhana, in 1148, it is a narrative in Sanskrit verse of Kashmir's ruling dynasties from the earliest period which was supplemented by successive authors (notably Jonaraja in the early fifteenth century) and updated after the Mughal Conquest in 1586. Though the antique Hindu orientation shows itself in erasing the boundaries between mythology and historical fact and in a wild chronological confusion, the work is a continuous account unlike any possessed by other parts of the subcontinent.

From *Rajatarangini* down to the profusion of later historical expositions, one fact emerges startlingly: Kashmir's sheltered location is not matched by a quietly insular development; in contrast to its placid scenic beauty, its history has been tempestuous. This is apparent from the two motifs which are discernible in the whole fabric of Kashmir's historical experience. One is the alternation of long epochs of autonomy, assertion and cultural efflorescence with the briefer but devastating periods of turbulence, tyranny and mental submergence. The other is Kashmir's implication in those movements of religious origin and social significance which have shaped the development of the Indo-Muslim community in the adjacent areas now included in Pakistan.



In Azad Kashmir suspension bridges span several rivers.

In broad political chronology, the history can be briefly summarized. The pre-Muslim period extends to 1320. From that year to 1560 (except for an anarchic interlude between 1323 and 1338) stretches the long period of Kashmir's independence under its own Sultanate. Its decline promoted the ascendancy of the Chaks, who were of northern ancestry, till 1586. Civil unrest under the Chaks invited Mughal intervention; Kashmir was the ornament of the Mughal empire from 1586 to 1752. Then came Afghan rule which lasted until 1819. In the latter year, Kashmir was annexed by the Sikhs of Punjab who ravaged the land until they were ousted by the British in 1846. The British handed over Jammu and Kashmir to a Dogra freebooter through a sale deed miscalled a treaty; the ignominy persisted through Dogra rule from 1846 to 1947. The current era has seen Kashmir as a disputed territory, a theatre of insurrection and war; until its status is decided by its own volition, the State will remain a scene of strife and potential explosion.

There are chapters of the pre-Islamic part of this history which are identical with that of Pakistan. Including the rule of Mauryas (third century BC) and Kushans (first century AD), the seizure of Kashmir in 515 by the White Huns ruling from Sialkot and the consequent reign of terror by Mehrakula (the name is still familiar in Kashmir), they are singularly

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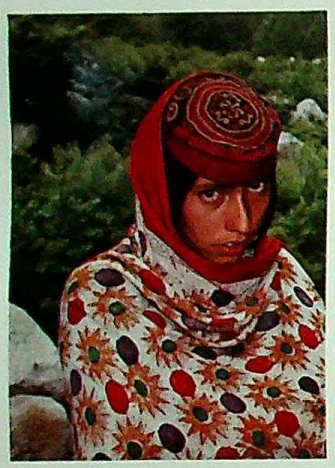
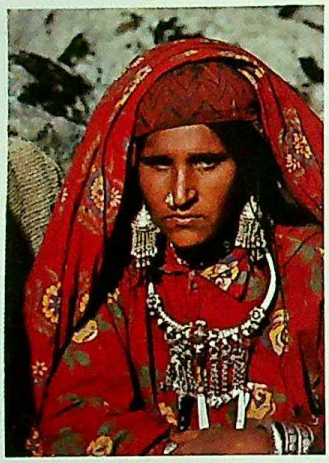
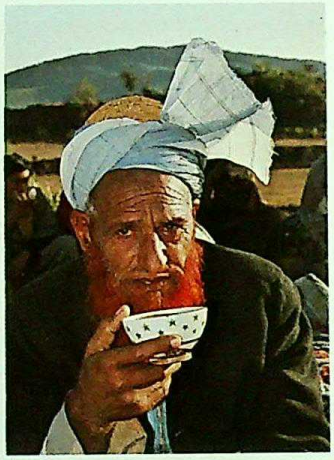
unrevealing about Kashmir itself. Kashmir's personality is more clearly silhouetted under the earlier indigenous reign of the Pandus, to which period it owes the still fragrant romantic legend of Heemal and Nagrai and in the much later period of the Karakota dynasty from 627 to 980. The powerful figure of this epoch is Lalitaditya (697-738) whose domain included Tibet, Hazara and Punjab down to Multan. The Karakota expansion had not only a political dimension; there was also a cultural explosion. Kashmir had earlier produced







The heart of Kashmir cleaves to Muslim Pakistan. Yet the Kashmiris' traditional territory is divided by war and international dispute. In regions under the flag of Pakistan live various groups, like this Leepa girl (far left), *and the Kashmiri bride and man* (centre left and left). *Sheep and goat rearing, for "Cashmere" wool, occupies many families* (right).

a succession of philosophers, including the great sage Samdhimati (a contemporary of Christ) and Nagarjuna, one of the founders of Mahayana Buddhism. Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese traveller, visited Kashmir around 632 and was impressed by the natives "love of learning"; the common Kashmiri surname "Bhatta" denoted a scholar. Out of the sixteen great rhetoricians of ancient India, fourteen came from Kashmir. Now, a philosophical movement reached its fruition in the establishment of Kashmiri Shaivism in the eighth century. Systematized by Somananda in the ninth century, it was a distinctive branch of Hinduism, infused with an idealistic monism and temperamentally akin to Islam in its denunciation of self-mortifying, fantastic ritual. But this philosophy became effete through the intrigues and exactions of the Brahmin priestly class. The last centuries of the pre-Islamic period are replete not only with assassinations and internecine warfare, probably stemming from the ethnic heterogeneity of Kashmir's dominions, but also with the conflict between Buddhism and Hinduism and an intense, inner turmoil in Hinduism itself. The burning down of Buddhist monasteries was not so significant as the destruction of Hindu temples under King Harsha (reigned 1089-1101), himself a Hindu.

This impasse and exhaustion of Hinduism in its intellectual stronghold set the stage for the entry of Islam. For centuries since Arab armies had marched into Gilgit in 751, Kashmir had enclosed itself in its spiritual and political shell. It had remained sequestrated despite the expedition of Mahmud of Ghazni in 1015 and the Dardic conversion to Islam in the twelfth century. Marco Polo had noted a meagre presence of Muslims in Kashmir on his visit around 1277. Now the shell was broken, not by soldiers, but by saints and friars. Islam penetrated peacefully into Kashmir when Rinchan (d. 1323), a commander from Ladakh who had conquered Kashmir, started his personal quest for religion, was baffled by the mutually contradictory answers he received from Brahmins, happened to watch Sayyid Bilal (d. 1327) at prayer, was enchanted by the simplicity of the Sayyid's faith and embraced it with fervour.

This inaugurated a renaissance in Kashmir which had its political, spiritual and cultural expressions. Politically, it begot the reign of the Shahmiri dynasty, comparable in quality if not in scale with the Seljuks and the Mughals in their patronage of culture and a succession of illustrious monarchs. The representative figures are Sultan Shahabuddin (reigned 1354-1373), conqueror and builder, whose rule extended to Kabul, Kashgar and Kangra on three sides, and Sultan Zainul Abedin (reigned 1420-1470) who was a forerunner of Akbar in his tolerance and eclecticism, though, unlike Akbar, he was an accomplished scholar and no believer in an ersatz faith. In the spiritual realm, Sayyid Bilal, called Bulbul Shah, an immigrant from Turkestan, was followed by a long line of saints from Central Asia and Iran who propagated Islam in Kashmir; the most illustrious among them was Syed Ali Hamdani (1314-1384) called Amir-i-Kabir, author, poet, traveller, a leader of the Kubrawi mystic order, to whose memory the mosque Khanqah-i-Mualla (erected in 1395) stands as a monument in Srinagar. The movement was furthered by the native *Rishis* of Kashmir, notably Shaikh Nuruddin (1377-1438) and Shaikh Hamza Makhdum (1494-1576); they fostered an intense religious sensibility with a focus on inwardness and a Vedantist overlay on Islamic material. One can perceive the cultural matrix in which this spirituality was embedded from the utterances of the hermit-ess-poet Lalla Arifa (b. 1335) owned by both Hindus and Muslims, the contemporaneous Sanskrit jargon full of Arabic and Persian words which became a vehicle of the Islamic message and the Sanskrit inscriptions on graves of Muslim saints.

At the same time, however, there was a massive absorption by Kashmir during this phase of the learning and the arts of Bukhara, Samarkand and Hamdan. First imported by Syed Ali Hamdani and his followers, they gave a stimulus to

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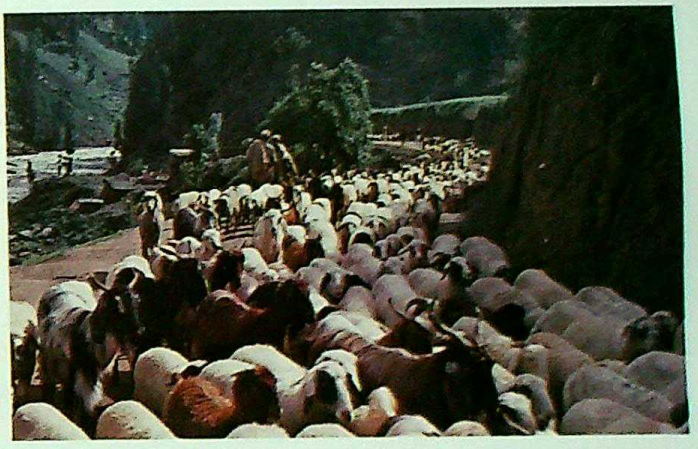
Kashmir's artistic genius and made Srinagar (historically known, like the Vale, as Kashmir) rank with Damascus and Isfahan as a centre of craftsmanship. Woodcarving, silverwork and woollen embroidery, particularly on the shawl, handwoven of the underfleece of an Asian goat, and fine carpet-making became its specialities. The residential colleges founded by the Shahmiri Sultans and later patronized by the Mughals earned Kashmir the title of *Iran-i-Sagheer* (Little Iran); their alumni included the famous Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri (c. 1450) Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (1521-1594) Mulla Kamal (d. 1608) the teacher of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi and Muhsin Fani (1615-1671). Medicine was an esteemed branch of learning. Poetry flourished. Mullah Tahir Ghani (d. 1668) is only the best-known in a galaxy of Kashmiri poets writing in Persian. While, in these respects, Kashmir became a lively contributor to the Islamic Indo-Persian culture, it also developed its indigenous literature. Habba Khatun, a peasant girl, then the Queen of Yusuf Shah Chak (reigned 1580-1586) and finally a recluse, invented the authentically Kashmiri ten-line lyrical form known as *Lol* which means a longing and a tugging at the heart. Her successors were Khwaja Habibullah Nawshehri (d. 1617), the Hindu Rupa Bhawani (1624-1720) and Arani Mal (c. 1750). There was also the development of an individual architectural style, which resembles the timber construction of the Scandinavian and Alpine regions and is characterized by sloping roofs waterproofed with layers of birch-bark overspread with turf and flowers, projecting upper storeys and casement windows resembling the chalets of the Austrian Tyrol. The open work traceries of window screens and balustrades and the *Khatamband* ceilings made of panels of pinewood arranged in geometrical designs are some of its distinctive features. A parallel development occurred in music with a blend of native, Turanian and Persian elements; *Rast* Kashmiri, invented by Habba Khatun, is its most striking expression.

In sum, Kashmir blossomed under the Sultanate. The Mughals loved Kashmir which owes its exquisite gardens to them; statesmen like Khwaja Inayatullah (eighteenth century) and calligraphists like Muhammad Husain Zareen Qalam (d. 1611) rose to eminence in the Mughal court.

After the Mughals, there is a steep descent into darkness. Kashmir's institutions withered. Misrule, famine and epidemics characterized the Afghan era. However, Afghan rule seems healthy when compared to the pestilential Sikh period. Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi died in battle at Balakot in 1831 while engaged in a mission to liberate Kashmir. The rule of Dogras was vouchsafed to the State by the mere circumstance of the East India Company's need for ready cash. Kashmir, Kulu, Mandi, and Kangra were ceded by the Sikhs to the British in lieu of an indemnity of ten million rupees; the Dogra chieftain from Jammu, Gulab Singh (d. 1857) made payment of seven and a half million *nanakshahi* (equivalent to $680,000) and through the infamous Treaty of Amritsar (1846) obtained possession of Jammu and Kashmir. Apart from the simulation of modernity under British influence, the Dogra period was but a continuation of the chapter which began with the Sikhs. The tale is of sordid exploitation. India's present claim to the State derives solely from the signing of the instrument of accession by a Maharaja who had been involved in scandals in Britain and described by an eminent British judge (Lord Simon), as "a poor, green shivering, abject wretch".



Kashmir's current history starts from 13 July 1931 when the Muslims started a mass agitation against Dogra rule. As at the time of Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi, they were supported by the Muslims of the subcontinent; nearly 30,000 people from Punjab alone filled the Maharaja's prisons. The resistance movement reached its climax in 1946-47 with a "Quit Kashmir" campaign and with the adoption by the principal political party of the Azad (free) Kashmir resolution. Subsequent events are listed elsewhere in this volume. What needs to be said here is that the occupation by India of 53,665 square miles, including the Vale of Kashmir, leaving only Azad Kashmir, the area of highlands (32,358 square miles) free is an unnatural dispensation, designed to cut Kashmir away from its moorings, reverse its history and denature its being. International justice may not yet be a reality but the workings of power politics notwithstanding, such an arrangement cannot endure for long.

M.Y.B. and Q.U.S.

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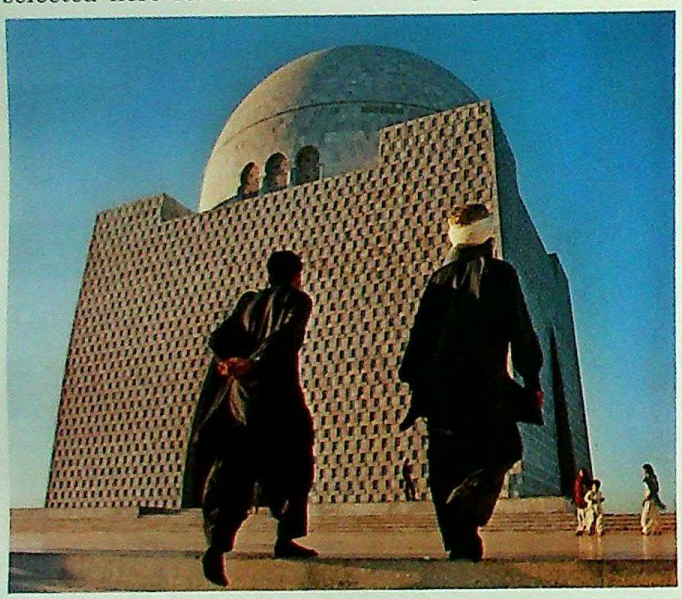
Common Ethnic Factors

The unity of a people is not a gift from God or nature. It is gained and maintained by the efforts of man. Religion, language, way of life, common descent, history and territory are forces which can bring groups of people together, but may sometimes lead to strife and separation as well.

The Arab conquest of Sind in the eighth century made Islam a main cultural force in the south of what is now Pakistan. Three centuries later its influence was extended to the north.

As its influence gained ground, it became a factor uniting the bewildering multitude of groups varying in descent, history and way of life. It would be of no purpose to enumerate all the names of these groups which together constitute the Pakistani nation. A few are selected here for more detailed description. These are



The Quaid's mazar (*tomb*) *in Karachi, built of marble from Mardan, is a focus of unity to a diverse people.*

groups that live in different parts of the country, and the importance of group names will emerge; tribal and occupational designations, and often the confusing changes in meaning, are important for understanding the history of these groups. Let us start with the ethnic group-names.

The Jats of Pakistan prove to be an unexpectedly instructive example of possible changes in meaning of an ethnic name with time, locality, and people. Apparently the name Jat was used during the last centuries BC in regions to the north-west of Pakistan. If so, there is no certainty about its ethnic meaning. The first definite and specific meaning was given to the word Jat by the Persians during the Sassanian period. Soldiers from the subcontinent were grouped in "Jat divisions", regardless of their ethnic, caste, or religious affiliations at home. It is obvious that "Jat" for the Persians had a generic meaning, synonymous with "Indian"; for in military units, ethnic names were often used in a generic sense.

The Arabic equivalent of Jat is Zutt, also meaning "Indian". Unlike Persian usage, however, the name carried with it no military association. From pre-Islamic time, Zutt were known to the Arabs as migrant buffalo-breeders. They were known also as seafaring people living along the coasts of the Persian Gulf and as inhabitants of the mountains of Baluchistan, the Indus Plains and beyond. Thus two contemporary and originally equivalent terms, Jat and Zutt, had different meanings in countries west of Pakistan. Still a third name (or names) must be surmised, i.e. that used in the subcontinent. The name Jat there probably had an ethnic meaning, at least partly, if an ethnic unit is defined by common name, language, way of life, descent, cult and religion.

At that time, as now, ethnic meaning must have been differentiated according to locality. Records of the battles of Chach in the middle of the seventh century, and of the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim at the beginning of the eighth century, list several groups of Jat. Some were orderly peasants, submissive to any conqueror who could assert his supremacy. It is possible that these land-tilling people were Jat in a generic sense. Others were unruly herdsmen, evading control by roaming about and fighting for their independence, but willing to lend a hand in the battles of their lords if it suited their own purpose. They were harshly dealt with but kept their independent and rebellious attitude throughout the reigns of the Sumra and Samma in Sind.

During the fifteenth century, when the Baluch started to conquer the Indus Plains, the word Jat took on a new meaning. All people of the Indus Valley who were obliged to acknowledge the Baluch as master were called Jat. The Baluch did not bother to differentiate among them according to caste, tribe or religion. This new generic meaning was used so widely that the compilers of the first British census in the nineteenth century were hard put to understand the exact meaning of the word "Jat".

At the same time, a dialectically different pronunciation, i.e. Jatt, took on a purely occupational meaning in Sind and Baluchistan. All camel-drivers, regardless of tribal or caste origin, were called Jatt by the Baluch. They still are. Even if a Baluch works as a camel-driver, he is Jatt by occupation – and is in danger of becoming Jatt by caste or tribe if he and his descendants stick to camel-driving. Camel-driving is not highly esteemed by the Baluch, but camel-rearing is. In Sind and Baluchistan camel-driving Jatt are lower on the social scale than the agricultural Jat. Camel-rearing was the original way of life for most of the Baluch tribes. Consequently, a number of men now classed as Jatt are Baluch by descent.

Fate was more favourable to the Jat in Punjab. Their social position is one of the highest: "The Jat is in every respect the most important of the Punjab peoples . . . and from an economical and administrative point of view he is the husbandman, the peasant, the revenue-payer *par excellence* of the Province. . . ." (Ibbetson). Thus, "Jat" became a generic term for the husbandman in Punjab. It follows that the exact meaning of the word "Jat" in a given locality must be ascertained, if one of their ethnic units is to be studied.

Although having different meanings in India, Persia, and Iraq the name Jat has been in use for 1,500 years. At least in Pakistan certain groups called Jat have existed throughout this period. Perpetual integration and disintegration have transformed these ancient groups

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while adapting them to changing historical and geographical conditions.

Whereas the Jat have always been chiefly people of the plains, the Baluch represent people of the mountains. They were organized in tribal groups named after ancestors or territories. The possession of territory and a strict social system distinguished them from other ethnic groups.

According to Denis Bray, the Baluch came as a vast nomadic horde from Persia. They were loosely knit together by a consciousness of common descent, and by herding in clans descended from a common ancestor. For conquering and defending land they developed a characteristic tribal organization, the *tuman*. Denis Bray describes that of the Marri-Baluch, which he considered the most archaic. A *tuman* was made up of clans or *takars;* each clan was made of sections or *phalli;* each *phalli* comprised smaller subsections or *para;* and each *para* consisted of groups of households or *loghs*. At the head of the *tuman* was the *tumandar,* then hereditary, and "hedged round with divinity". At the head of each *takar* or clan was a *wadera,* then also hereditary. At his side was an executive officer called a *mukaddam,* the working man of the clan who owed his office to selection, usually from some particular section. The *wadera* and *mukaddam* did not deal directly with the individual tribesmen, but worked through the *motabars,* the chosen heads of the many *phalli* and *paras*.

In the old days of tribal warfare, numerical strength was most important for the *tumans*. Therefore, refuge was offered to all malcontents from other *tumans* and to aliens who were attracted to it by the success of its forays. For aliens living in the tribal country it usually took some time for these *hamsaya*, or "sharers of the shade", to gain Baluch status by adoption into one of the subsections. They shared from the outset the common blood feuds. The term *hamsaya* implied that the refugee received protection by placing his powers at the disposal of his protector. The next step was their admittance to blood-kinship, i.e. being given wives from among the tribeswomen. Finally they were accorded rights to tribal land, thus becoming tribesmen. The decisive step in the process of affiliation was not admittance to kinship, but participation in the use of tribal lands. Land, not blood, was the corner-stone of the tribal system at the time of Denis Bray, and for the former alien, the fiction of common blood was as good as common blood itself.

There have been developmental changes in the use of tribal land. At first, land was common property of the *tuman* for grazing and hunting purposes. At a later stage it became subject to periodical and temporary distribution among the members. Still later, land distribution became final. Thereafter, the *tumans* were no longer interested in gaining new members, because each share of land would have diminished their own holdings. The tendency of the *tumandars* was to get proprietory rights in their hands, and Denis Bray mentions that they were successful in the Rind-country. Thus war-leaders managed to transform themselves into hereditary chiefs and landlords. A similar tribal pattern was more or less valid for the Afghan, Pathan and the Brahui. Apart from this, they had ethnically and locally distinct customs, crafts, clothes, rites and marriage regulations. Furthermore, the Brahui had a special language, probably Dravidian, which is looked upon as one of the most interesting riddles in the ethno-history of Pakistan.

At one time in the eighteenth century, the leading lineage of the Brahui, the Ahmedzai, were ruling from Kalat over a territory which embraced many tribes and ethnic groups as members of a confederacy named after the Brahui. It seemed on the brink of achieving some cohesion, but disintegrating forces from inside and outside proved stronger. The confederacy broke up into ethnic groups, still called Brahui, of mixed origin and without any political power.

Since pre-Islamic times marginal groups that are not socially integrated have lived in Pakistan, e.g., the landless "gipsy" tribes (Nath, Dom or Lori-smiths), the fishermen (Mohana), mat-weaving and rope-making groups (Labana in Lower Sind) and many more. Another

By the magnetism of a city, the streets of Peshawar are enriched by many dialects and tribal styles.

inheritance is the low social status of ethnic groups or castes in an occupational sense. They are part of the Islamic society but professions such as sweepers, washermen, barbers, camel-drivers and so on are looked down upon. These survivals of the Indian caste system include numerous groups of menial professions since the castes were transformed into social classes or ethnic groups.

Such ethnic and social differences are not a hindrance to a united nation of Pakistan, any more than the presence of diverse racial or ethnic strains in most other contemporary societies weakens their cohesion. The modernizing process generates integrative forces, primarily economic and political, which are far stronger than ancestral memories or attitudes that isolate one group from its neighbour in the same land. The process is underway in Pakistan, particularly in its less developed and hitherto more inaccessible areas. The study of the few groups mentioned here merely underlines the fact that, not to speak of religion or a lingua franca, even the ethnic composition of the people of Pakistan does not conform to any neat division into a number of parts.

S.W.H.

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Smaller Religious Groups

In terms of cold statistics, religious minorities form only three per cent of Pakistan's population; but in business, education, medicine and the arts, their contribution is much greater than their numbers would suggest.

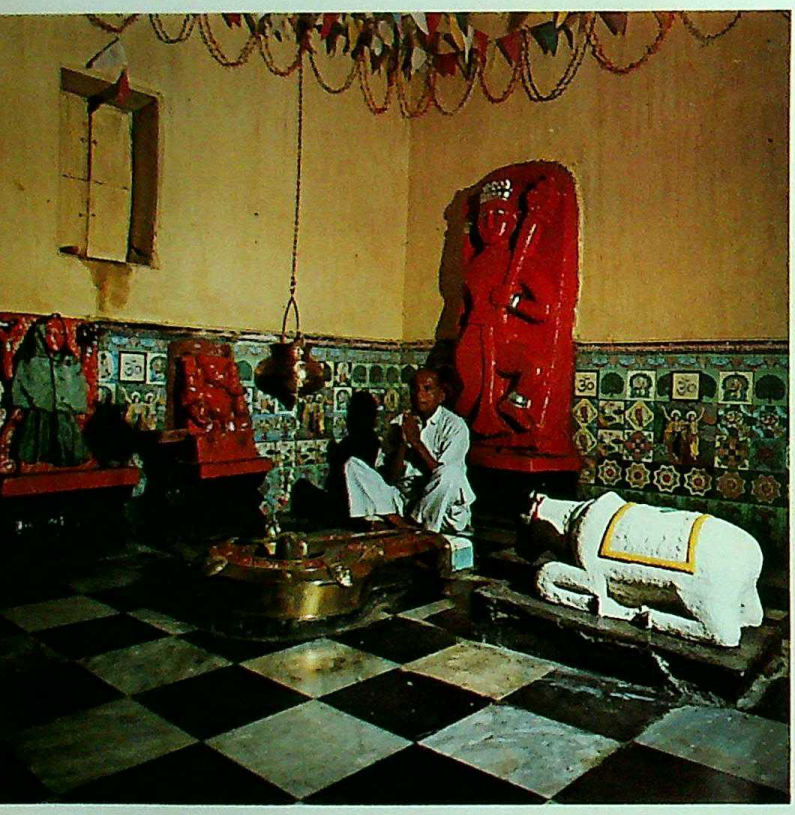
Not only have the minorities been able freely to follow their professions and trades but encouraged to contest the specially created and reserved seats for them in the legislative assemblies of the nation. Since 1973, the number of reserved seats for minorities in the national and provincial assemblies has been increased and a Federal Minister for Minority Affairs appointed to safeguard their interests.

The reason for this treatment of the minorities, at both official and individual levels, are Islamic injunctions. In the early Islamic period, the only difference between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens was that the latter were required to pay a small tax *(jaziya)* because they were not bound by law to answer the call of the religious war *(jihad)*. Even this distinction was often obliterated when non-Muslims allied themselves with the Muslim cause and attained the status of *muahids* which literally means "allies". Common allegiance to the Constitution by all Pakistanis is regarded as a pact in the same tradition as the Holy Prophet's pact with Jewish and Christian tribes of Medina who were treated as *muahids*.

Christians are the biggest minority group in Pakistan, and have made their homes in most parts of the country. Coming as it does from all over the subcontinent, the Christian community represents a wide cross-section of ethnic and linguistic stocks. Churches of virtually every denomination embellish the architectural horizon of most Pakistani cities. Although Pakistani Christians have not restricted their attention to any one area of activity, it is in health, education, railways and the police force that they have made, and continue to make, an outstanding contribution. Some of the best schools and hospitals in the country were established by them and have catered to the minds and bodies of Pakistanis without making any distinction between their religions. Today, young Christians are entering civil and defence services in growing numbers and senior positions are held by them.

The so-called scheduled castes form the second biggest minority; in pre-Partition times the term was a euphemism for the untouchables and continues to be used in this context in India. In Pakistan these people are not legally or economically discriminated against; nevertheless, the hang-over of the Hindu caste system has not yet completely evaporated and members of this community continue to engage in largely menial tasks. Within the last few years, however, more and more children from this group have acquired education and are making their way up the socio-economic ladder.

The Hindus of Pakistan are generally settled in Sind where they engage mostly in agriculture. In the larger cities (and particularly in Karachi) the Hindu acumen for business comes into full play and members of this community are very active in commerce. Their holy days are celebrated with all their traditional colour.



Some Hindus never left Pakistan at Partition, but stayed to enjoy all the privileges of citizenship.

The active Parsi community in Karachi manages their places of worship, schools and hospitals.

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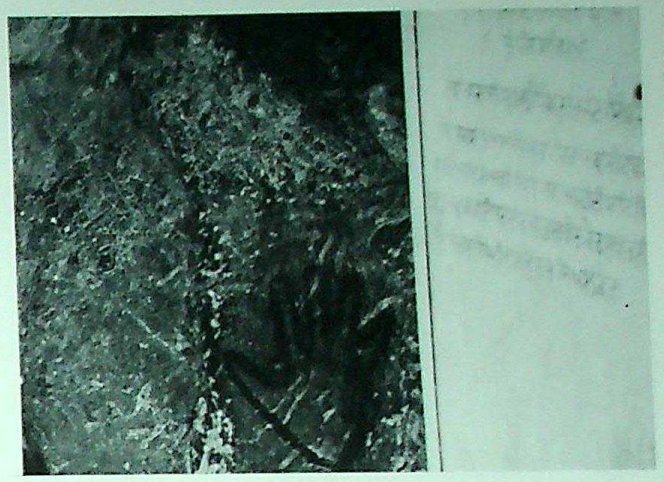
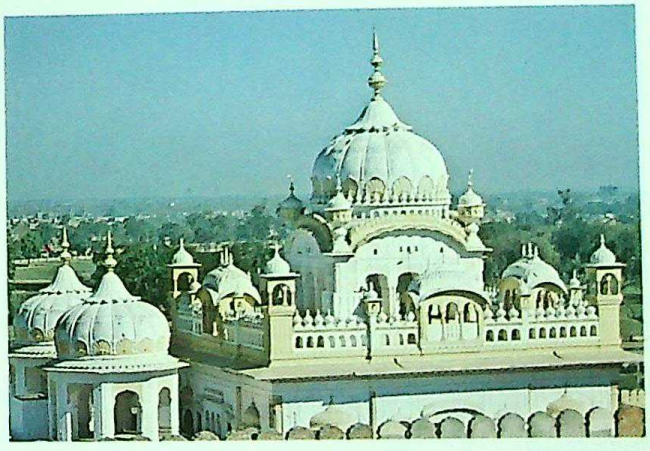
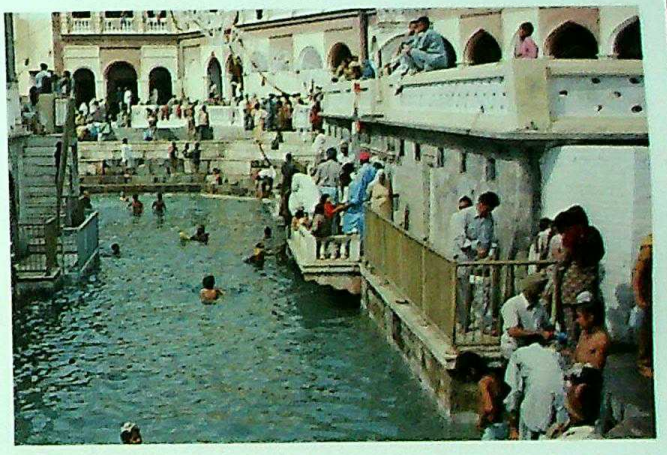
The Sikhs

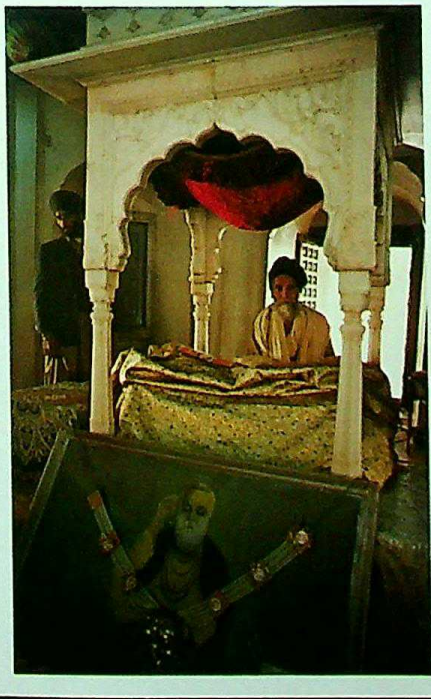
The powerful military confederacy built up by the Sikhs in the 19th century included a significant portion of what is today Pakistan. Ranjit Singh's chosen capital was Lahore, and it is there and elsewhere in Pakistan's Punjab that several major Sikh shrines exist, scrupulously protected by the Government of Pakistan. Sikhism, originally a quietist and exclusively religious movement, founded by Nanak (1469-1538) attempted a purified form of Hinduism, in which the influence of Islam was detectable. But within little more than a century Sikhs had come into conflict with Mughal rule, and by the early eighteenth century Sikh militancy had begun.

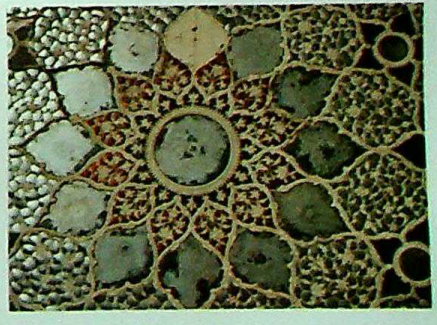






Built around the imprint of a hand attributed to Baba Guru Nanak (top), *Punja Sahib is at Hasan Abdal near Rawalpindi.* Above right. *It attracts large numbers of Sikh pilgrims every spring.* Above left and below, far right. *The ceilings and main dome of the* Samadhi *of Ranjit Singh in Lahore are brilliantly decorated with patterned glass fragments. Sikh shrines and relics, have been preserved – even during the worst crises of Partition.*





Sikh gurdwaras (far left) *are not only places of worship, but also hospices and schools.*
Guru Nanak was born in 1464 at Nankana Sahib, which is at Sheikhupura near Lahore. Left. *Malji Sahib is named from a sacred tree, whose shadow, Guru Nanak's landlord observed, did not move with the sun when the* guru *was sheltering beneath it.*

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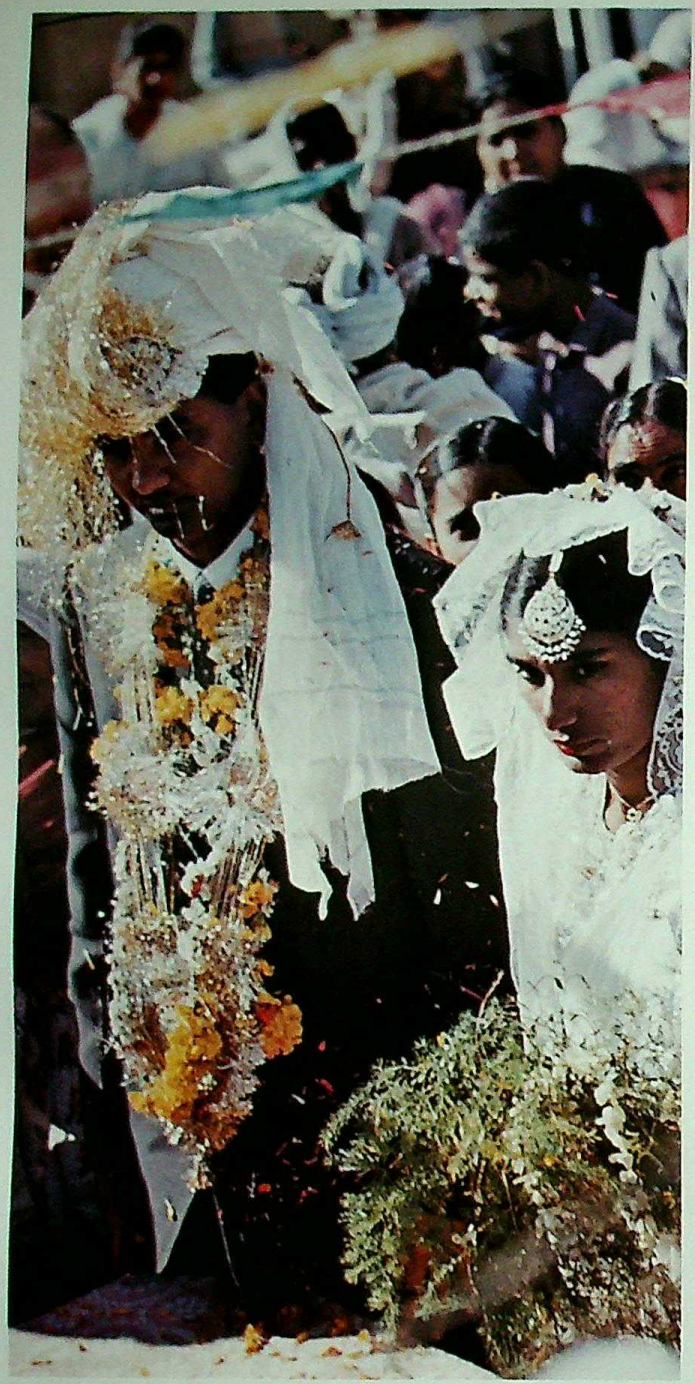

At this Christian wedding the white robe of the bride symbolizes the sanctity of marriage vows.

The Ahmadis are a relatively recent religious community and most of them are of Punjabi origin. The sect first came into being at the end of the last century when the preaching of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad attracted a large number of followers. Although this doctrine is very close to Islam on most points, the two diverge and become incompatible when it comes to the inviolable finality of Prophethood. Ahmadis are also known as Qadianis since the belief originated in the town of Qadian in East Punjab. Though divided into the Qadiani and Lahori groups, they are a well-organized community and represented in virtually every field of economic activity.

The Parsis (or Zoroastrians) are a very small minority concentrated in the larger cities of Pakistan and are almost exclusively engaged in business. Some of the foremost hotel and shipping magnates of Pakistan are Parsis and the richer members of this community are well known for their philanthropic activities. Although in terms of *per capita* earning, Parsis are probably Pakistan's wealthiest minority, they have generated admiration for their well-honed business sense.

The Buddhists are numerically very few; but the cultural impact made by their ancestors has enriched the heritage of Pakistan. Ancient Buddhist temples, schools and cities dot the archaeological map of Pakistan.

There are many important Sikh temples and shrines in Pakistan which are looked after by the Government. The most notable among these is Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and the Punja Sahib and the *Samadhi* of Raja Ranjit Singh. Sikhs from India come every year on pilgrimages to these places which are looked after by the Sikhs themselves.

S.M. et al.

Extract from the speech of Quaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah delivered in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11th August, 1974 on his election as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

". . . You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to with the business of the State *(Hear, Hear)*. As you know, history shows that in England conditions some time ago were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State.

. . . We should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state."

Although a tiny community, Pakistan's Jews have their own synagogue in Karachi as their centre of worship.

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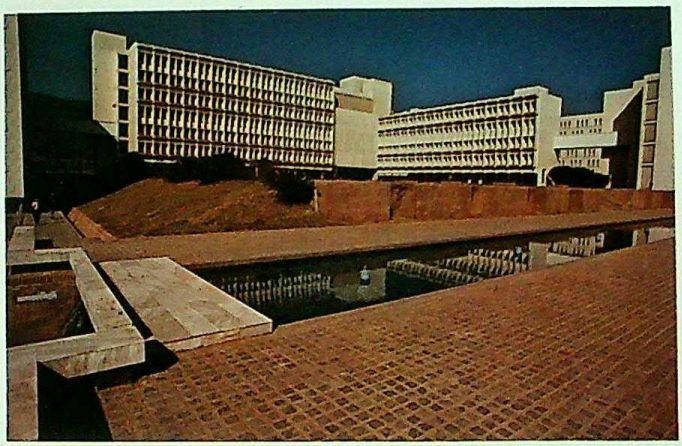
5 The Nation's Enterprise



The severe lesson of self-sufficiency began for Pakistan at the instant of its creation—by the partition of an imperial territory. In its structures of government, in communications, education and welfare, it has fought through to its own solutions. But above all, the country's success has grown out of the marriage of natural resources and human skill to produce an industrial structure of breadth and efficiency that will secure its future and fulfil the people's energies.

As the glittering new capital of Islamabad steadily grows to fulfil the master concept, the Secretariat buildings dominate the administrative sector.

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An Economic Survey

Natural Resources

PAKISTAN has large resources of land and water and a total area of about 804,000 square kilometres, of which 48 million acres are under cultivation and about 7.2 million are forested. There is considerable scope for bringing more land under the plough and for increasing the intensity of cultivation of land already under the plough. Water resources, both surface and underground, are enormous, and are being tapped. Pakistan has the largest irrigation system in the world, which irrigates about 33 million acres. There is great potential for increased utilization of available water resources by surface and lift irrigation.

Except for coal, natural gas and rock salt, mineral resources seemed relatively limited, but recent geological surveys have provided evidence of the existence of large reserves, which need to be further explored.

Gross National Product

Pakistan's gross national product for 1975–76 was estimated at Rs 121.3 billion at current market prices. With a population of 71.3 million, this gave a per capita income of only Rs 1,701. The GNP increased at an average annual rate of over six per cent during the Sixties. However, it declined very sharply during the early Seventies due, among other factors, to political upheavals. But the position has changed for the better recently and the GNP increased by five per cent in 1975–76. The achievement of this rate of growth in spite of the prevailing world recession, very adverse terms of trade and other unfavourable developments was quite remarkable. The Government anticipates a growth rate of eight per cent in 1976–77.

Agriculture

Agriculture, which accounts for over one third of the gross national product, is the mainstay of Pakistan's economy. It provides employment for the bulk of the labour force, food, and raw materials for domestic industry and export. Exports of agricultural raw materials and of manufactured goods produced from them account for about two thirds of the total exports of the country.

Agriculture was stagnant during the 1950s when the increase in agricultural production did not even keep pace with population growth. There was a remarkable upsurge during the Sixties when agricultural production increased at an annual average rate of five per cent largely on account of the "green revolution" with the greater use of chemical fertilizer and of seeds of hybrid varieties of crops. But agriculture stagnated once again in the early Seventies, mainly because of adverse weather conditions, and the problems faced in extending the "green revolution" to medium and small farms. However, the position improved in 1975–76 due to the implementation of a package of Government agricultural policies and programmes. Since then, minimum prices

If a symbol was required of the country's commitment to economic progress, it is the Tarbela dam.

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Heavy mechanical complexes are not confined to the major cities. One – for example – is sited at Taxila (far left). *Despite promising surveys, oil in quantity has so far eluded prospectors, although Mayal* (left) *and other areas in Pakistan are producing worthwhile quantities. Cement* (right) *is a major industry in Sind.*

have been guaranteed for wheat, rice, cotton, sugar cane, maize, potatoes, and onions at which farmers sell their produce in unlimited quantities to procurement agencies. Chemical fertilizers, pesticides and tubewell equipment are made available at subsidized prices and farmers have responded favourably to these incentives.

Yields per acre for various crops in Pakistan are very low by international standards. There is, therefore, every reason to expect increased yields by the adoption of improved farming practices and a balanced use of chemical fertilizers and other inputs. The intensity of cultivation can also be increased by the greater use of irrigation water which has become available from Tarbela Dam since 1976. The future prospects for increased production in agriculture appear to be good.

Industry

Pakistan had practically no large scale industries at the time of Independence, so the Government followed policies which proved effective in promoting industrial development. Domestic industries were protected both by the imposition of tariffs and by quantitative restrictions on imports. The maintenance of low rates of interest reduced the cost of capital. The provision of foreign exchange for the import of capital equipment at the official rate of exchange, when the rupee was overvalued, resulted in the supply of equipment below its real cost. Liberal depreciation allowances were allowed, which greatly reduced the tax liability of industrial concerns. These concessions were further increased during the Sixties by a grant of tax holidays. As a result of these policies, industrial development proceeded at a rapid pace. The value added by large scale industry increased at an average annual rate of over 16 per cent during the Fifties and of over 12 per cent during the Sixties. Pakistan's progress in industrialization was quite remarkable.

However, the position worsened dramatically in the early Seventies and there were various causes for it. The growth of investment in large-scale industry became stagnant in the mid-Sixties due to the 1965 war with India and reduction in foreign aid; and again in the late Sixties and early Seventies, due to political disturbances which resulted in the secession of East Pakistan. This reduction of the population of Pakistan by some 70

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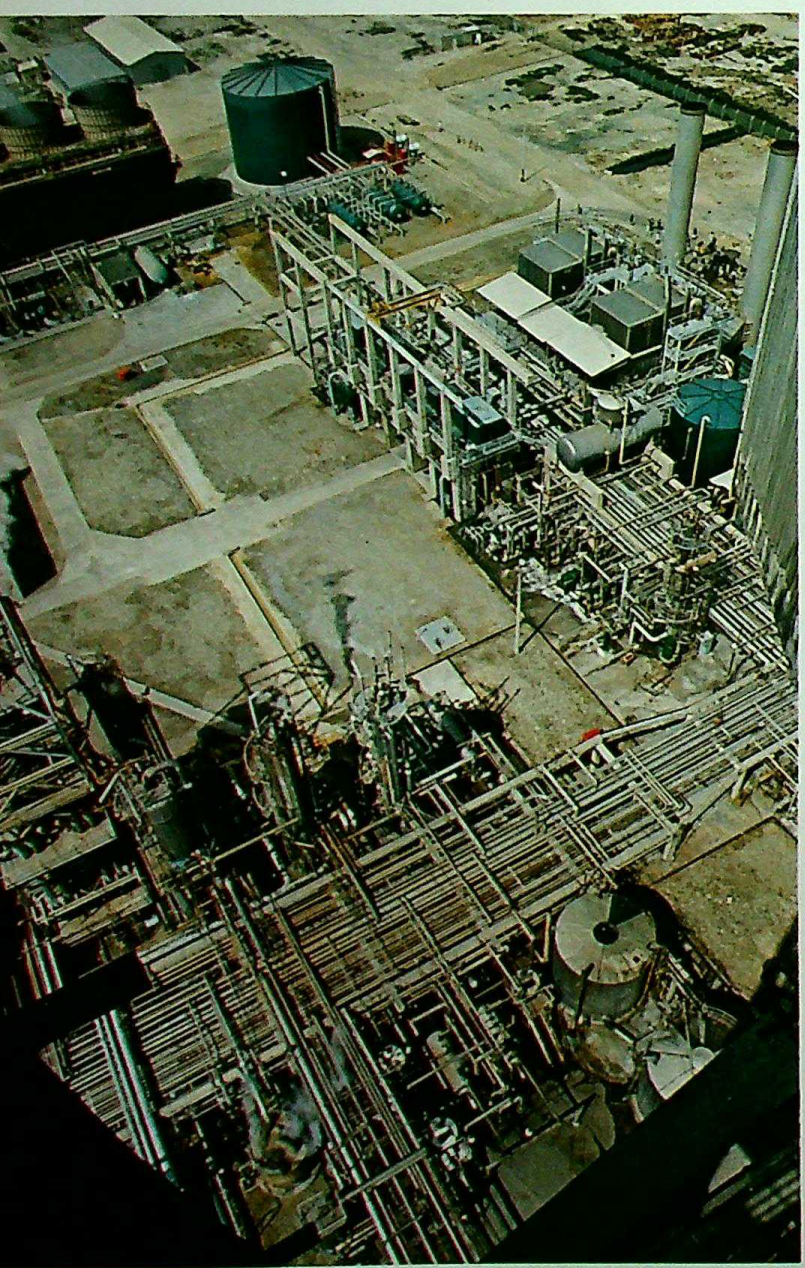

million people had less effect than was feared upon the economy of West Pakistan, since it was there that the main industrial development had occurred. The devaluation of the rupee, in 1972, by 130 per cent greatly increased the cost of imported equipment and of capital investment. Scope for import-substitution in consumer goods industries was practically exhausted and investment in intermediate and capital goods industries was much below expectations. The recent world recession provided another setback to industrial development in general, and to the cotton textile industry, the largest in Pakistan, in particular.

However, there are strong indications that the worst is over. As a result of assurances given by the Government to the effect that no more industries will be nationalized during its current tenure, the climate for private investment has greatly improved. There has been a sharp increase in investment during 1974–75 and 1975–76. However, the bulk of new investment in large-scale industry has been in the public sector and this pattern is likely to continue in the future. The completion of projects under implementation in fertilizer, cement, chemicals, ceramics, and heavy and light engineering industries in the near future will make a substantial addition to industrial capacity in the country.

Prices

Pakistan, along with the rest of the world, has suffered a steep rise in prices. Wholesale prices increased by 13 per cent in 1972–73, 27 per cent in 1973–74 and by 26 per cent in 1974–75. This brought about a redistribution of incomes, largely in favour of traders and manufacturers. It also discouraged savings. The real interest rate became negative, as the interest actually paid on savings was more than offset by the erosion in the real value of the savings. The sharp increase in prices has caused great hardship to fixed-income groups.

The causes of inflation were partly external and partly internal. Pakistan's economy is oriented towards foreign trade and cannot remain unaffected by changes in prices in the world market. The increase in international prices of Pakistan's imports and exports tended to increase the prices of these goods in the domestic market. Thus inflation in Pakistan was partially imported. However, Government policies and actions also played an important role. The long overdue devaluation of the rupee in 1972 greatly increased the domestic prices both of Pakistan's imports and of exports. The spectacular increase in Government expenditure on development, accompanied by a drop in savings, necessitated deficit-financing on an extensive scale. The result was that the demand for consumption and investment goods was far greater than available supplies, which aggravated inflationary trends.

The situation has, however, greatly improved recently. The price level increased by only six per cent during 1975–76. World inflation has also slowed down and will therefore not have the same adverse impact on Pakistan's domestic prices as previously. Before the 1976 monsoon floods, the weather was favourable and a bumper wheat crop was harvested. This has greatly helped to stabilize food prices. Government policies for controlling public

Top. *The base of the economy is – rightly – the good earth. Mechanization and improved seed are increasing yields.*

Left. *Fertilizer plants play a key part in the economic structure. Natural gas has been harnessed to this end.*

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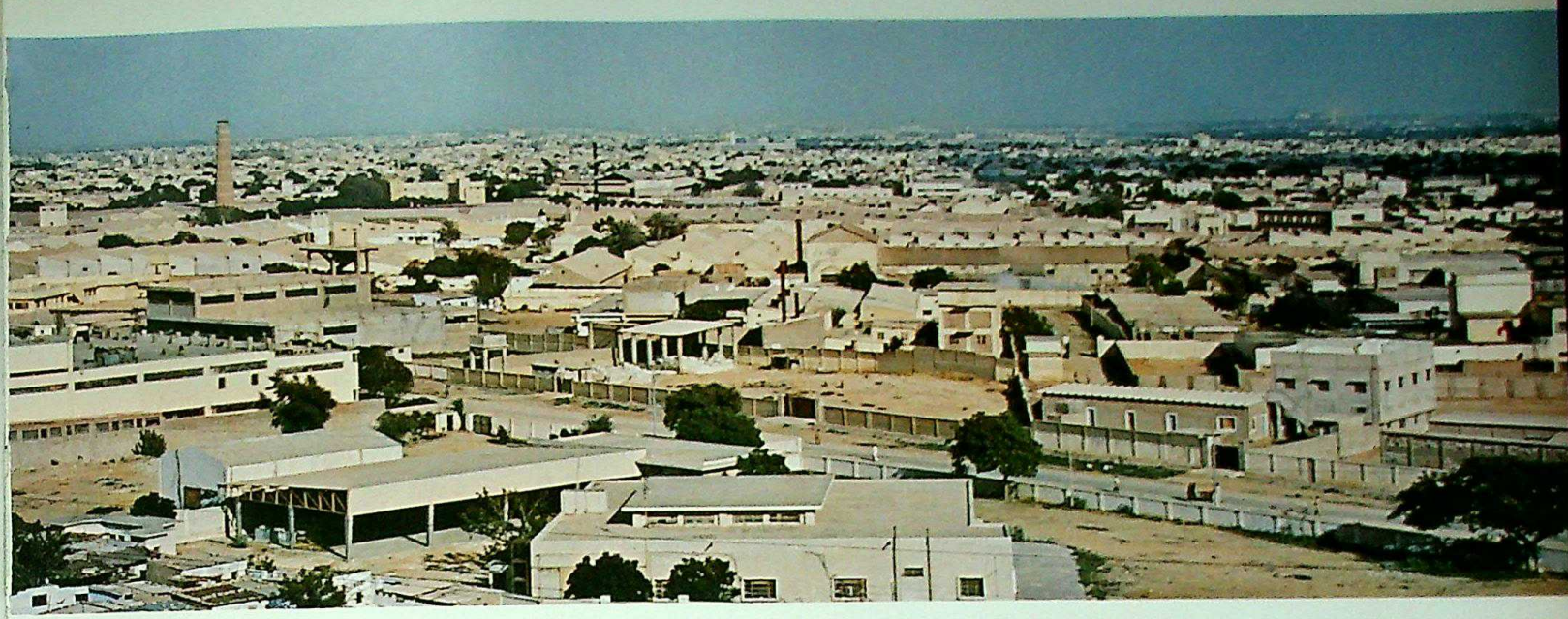


expenditure, for increasing agricultural and industrial production, for promoting savings, and for the distribution of essential commodities have worked successfully in controlling inflationary pressures which are expected to be weaker in the future.

Balance of Payments

The balance of payments has been under great strain in recent years. The deficit increased from U.S. $481 million in 1973–74 to U.S. $1,039 million in 1974–75. Although it declined to an estimated U.S. $880 million in 1975–76, the deficit remains high. This is largely due to massive deterioration in Pakistan's terms of trade as well as world recession. There was a steep rise in international prices of some of Pakistan's principal imports, such as oil, wheat, edible oil, and fertilizers, without a proportionate increase in the prices of her exports. Cotton exports further decreased because of the fall in cotton production due to adverse weather conditions and insect attacks on the crops in 1975–76.

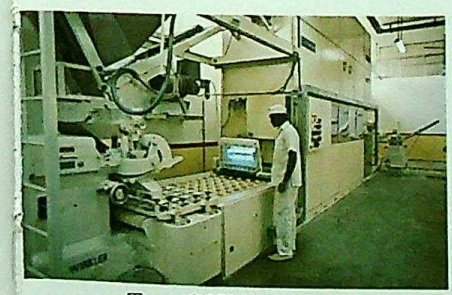
World recession appears to be over and the demand for some of Pakistan's exports is picking up. There is also some evidence that Pakistan's terms of trade might improve. But the demand for imports, in view of the large increase in the development programme and the normal increase in imports of oil and other raw materials, is bound to rise. Consequently, the balance of payments is likely to remain "in the red" in the near future unless Pakistan is able to achieve a substantial expansion in the production of its exportable goods.

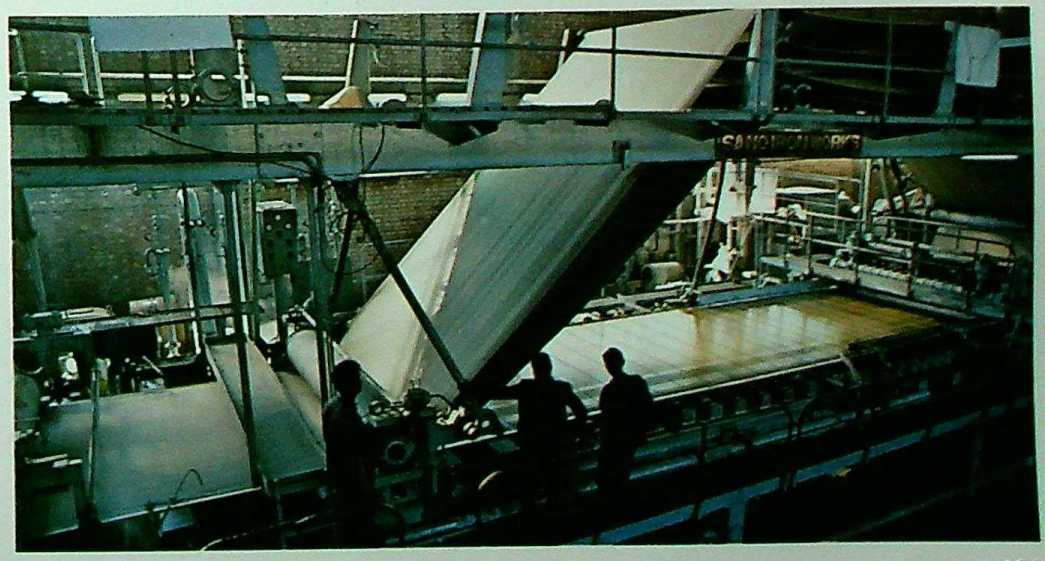
External Aid

The large increase in the balance of payments deficit has necessitated a corresponding increase in the flow of resources from abroad. So far, Pakistan has been able to secure sufficient external aid to meet its needs without having to slow down its development effort. In addition to its normal aid sources, Pakistan has obtained substantial help from the OPEC countries. This amounted to about a third of the total aid disbursed during 1974–75 and 1975–76. The amount of aid pledged and disbursed during the period 1973–74 to 1975–76 is as follows:

	(U.S. $ millions)		
	1973–74	**1974–75**	**1975–76**
Aid pledged	1,306	1,289	848
Aid disbursed	497	1,135	1,242

This shows the magnitude of Pakistan's dependence on external aid. It also shows that pledges of aid have





Top. *SITE – Sind's custom-built industrial complex – has Karachi's port at hand. The "Roti project"* (above) *is the fully automated* pitta *bakery at Lahore. Paper* (right) *is also manufactured in Lahore.*

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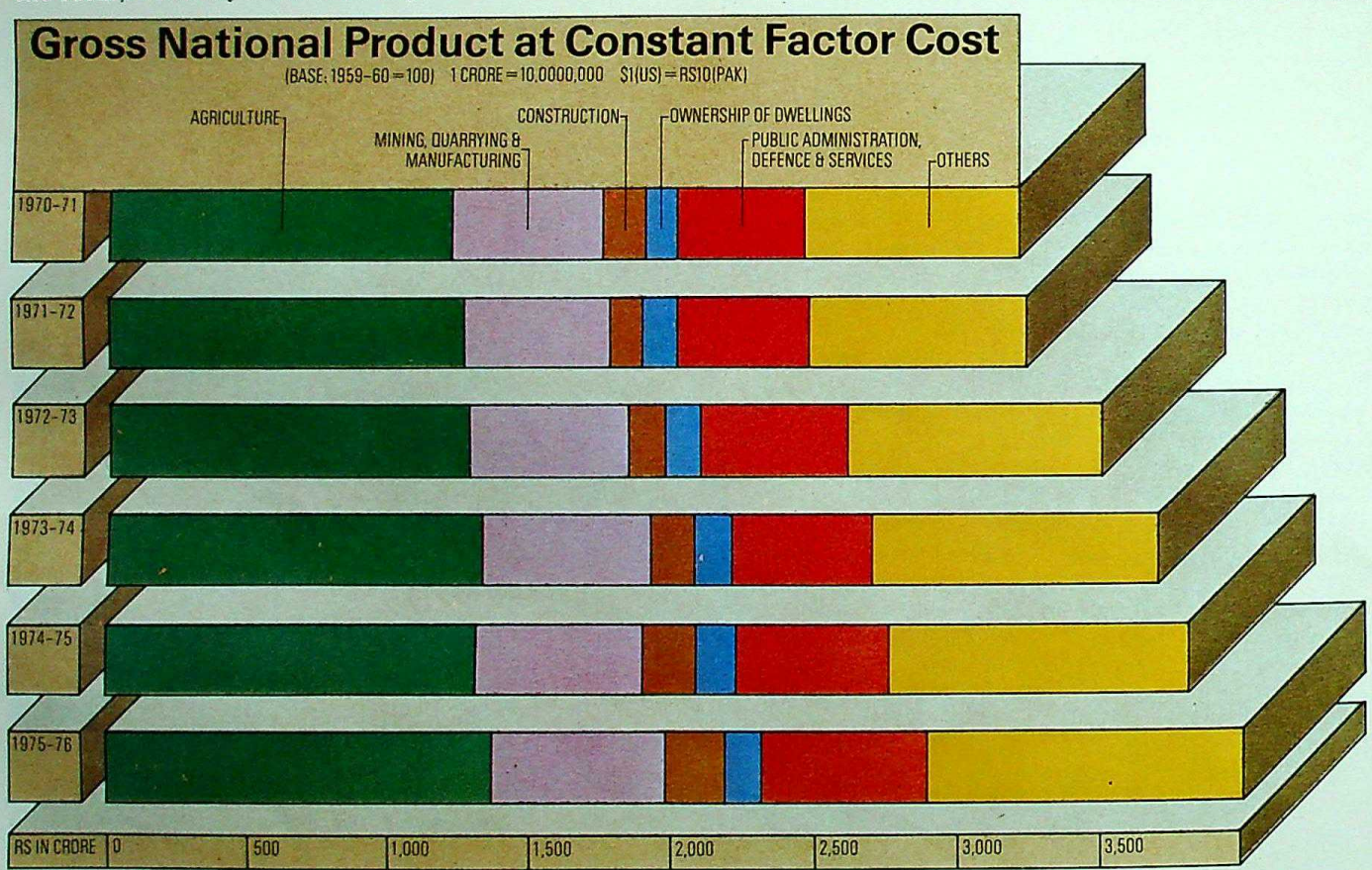
declined markedly in 1975–76 and will result in a corresponding decline in aid disbursements in future years.

Foreign assistance to Pakistan started in 1950. By 1974–75, the cumulative disbursement of loans amounted to U.S. $6.4 billion of which U.S. $1.1 billion has been repaid.

Debt service payments have been increasing over the years. They amounted to U.S. $107 million in 1973–74, U.S. $264 million in 1974–75, and U.S. $295 million in 1975–76 which accounted for about 17 per cent of foreign exchange earnings, in spite of the substantial debt service relief granted to Pakistan by its creditors. This proportion is likely to increase in the future in view of the additional indebtedness incurred since 1974–75 and the end of the debt service relief in 1978.

Dependence on foreign aid on such a scale is a great weakness in the economy. However, if external assistance is wisely used for increasing the productive capacity and export capability of the country, the debt service payments can be met without much difficulty. Pakistan's ability to borrow from abroad on such a large scale reflects the confidence of its creditors in the future viability of its economy.



Development Planning

Pakistan has a long history of planning. The preparation of the Colombo Plan in the early fifties was followed by the formulation of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Five Year Plans. Implementation of the First Five Year Plan fell short of targets, but it laid the foundations of future progress by the establishment of various institutional arrangements required for development. The Second and Third Five Year Plans were implemented more successfully, and the country achieved an annual average rate of economic growth of over six per cent during the Sixties. However, the benefits of development were very unevenly distributed, resulting in the emergence of serious social and political tensions. The Fourth Five Year Plan was not implemented in view of the serious political conflicts which resulted in the secession of East Pakistan in 1971. The country has since shifted to annual Development Plans to provide an interim framework for its development effort until the Fifth Five Year Plan (now in preparation) is launched.

Government policies for development have been radically changed since 1971. The emphasis is on preventing the concentration of wealth and economic power in a few hands, on achieving a more even distribution of incomes, and on improving the quality of life for the common man. To this end, ten basic industries, as well as banks and life insurance companies, have been nationalized and the distribution of certain essential commodites has been taken over by the Government. Recently, cotton-ginning, wheat-flour and rice-husking mills have also been nationalized. Land reforms have been carried out imposing fairly low ceilings on the ownership of land (150 acres for irrigated and 300 acres for unirrigated land) and exempting owners of very small holdings (12 acres of irrigated and 25 acres of unirrigated land) from land revenue and other land taxes. Labour reforms have been implemented to improve the bargaining power of the workers, to raise their wages and to give them self-confidence and dignity. It is hoped that the formulation of the Fifth Five Year Plan will result in a proper integration of Government policies in the various social and economic fields and provide firm guide-lines for future action.

Relative Position in the Developing World

Pakistan is one of the low income countries, i.e. countries with a per capita income of less than U.S. $200, and is included within the group of countries which were most seriously affected by the rise in prices of oil and

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other raw materials in 1973 and 1974, and which have serious balance of payments problems. It is also dependent on external aid for financing the bulk of its development programmes. However, it is one of the better-off countries in this low income group.

Unlike many other developing countries, Pakistan has a relatively well developed physical and social infrastructure. It has an extensive system of roads, railways and air services which connect various parts of the country with one another and with the rest of the world. It has an efficient irrigation system which can be further expanded. Its power generation, transmission, and distribution systems have been developing fast and it will soon have a power grid serving the whole country. It has an efficient system of postal services and telecommunications and a large network of banking and insurance services.

Pakistan's economy has already undergone remarkable structural transformation. The proportion of manufacturing to GNP is one of the more important indicators of the stage of economic development. This proportion is very low in most developing countries, but in Pakistan it has increased from less than eight per cent at Independence to an average of about sixteen per cent during the Seventies.

Pakistan has a large and industrious labour force. Its educational system is turning out large numbers of technical personnel at various levels in different fields and is providing technical assistance to many other developing countries. It has a strong institutional base for the organizations which formulate and implement development projects and programmes. It has reached a stage where its capacity for formulating and executing development programmes is far in excess of the financial resources that can be mobilized. In contrast with many other developing countries, financial constraints rather than "absorptive capacity" have become the limiting factor to progress.

Future Prospects

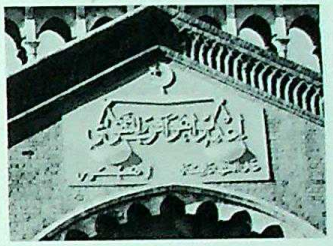
Pakistan's economy is inherently strong and can withstand the many challenges it faces. Although the reduction in the rate of population growth in the immediate future is likely to be small, the population planning programme will have its impact in the long run. Agricultural production has already registered an increase of four per cent in 1975–76. This exceeds the rate of population growth. Pricing policies for agricultural produce, larger availability of agricultural inputs at subsidized prices, and increased supplies of irrigation water from Tarbela Dam will result in a further increase in agricultural production. The country is expected to become self-sufficient in wheat and have a surplus for export in the next two years or so. In the field of industries, the completion of industrial projects, now under construction, should make a substantial addition to industrial capacity. The liberal import policy for raw materials and spare parts is expected to result in better utilization of existing and new industrial capacity. The Government expectation of an industrial growth rate of nine per cent in 1976–77 appears to be realistic.

Inequalities in income and wealth are likely to persist, although the concentration of wealth and economic power in a few hands has been curbed by the nationalization of certain industries, as well as banks and life insurance companies and the imposition of ceilings on land ownership. Further progress in the reduction of income inequalities can take the form of raising the real income of lower-income groups by the provision of opportunities for productive employment and the extension of subsidized social services to these groups.

The economic recovery which is well underway in many industrialized countries will, after a certain time-lag, have a favourable impact on Pakistan's exports. An improvement in Pakistan's terms of trade appears to be in sight. The greater availability of export surpluses from agriculture and industry, the emergence of the large Middle East market for Pakistan exports, and the increase in the home remittances of Pakistani nationals working abroad should tend to increase Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings.

It should be possible for Pakistan to achieve and maintain a high rate of economic growth during the rest of the Seventies. The economy of Pakistan has shown great resilience under abnormal conditions of strain. The overall future prospects appear to be very good.

M.L.Q.et al.



The Scales of Justice are moulded beneath the pediment over the main entrance to the Lahore High Court.

The Constitution

One of the main problems of government in Pakistan, as in all larger developing countries, is how to reconcile genuine regional autonomy with national cohesion. Pakistan's instinctive response to the question has been the adoption of the federal system. This has an historical sanction. Regardless of provinces' changing boundaries and their fortuitous demarcation, the Province as such in Pakistan (like the State in India) was a constitutional entity under the Delhi Sultanate and in the Mughal Empire as much as under British rule.

Pakistan is a federal republic, with Islam as its state religion. The Constitution provides for a Parliament consisting of two houses. The National Assembly represents the population and the Senate is composed of representatives of the provinces. The duration of the National Assembly extends to a maximum term of five years. The Senate is a continuous body but its members' tenure is four years, half of them retiring every two years.

The Constitution provides for the election of the people's representatives by secret ballot on adult franchise to the National Assembly. Two hundred general seats are distributed among the four provinces, the federally administered tribal areas and the federal capital at Islamabad on the basis of population.

The interests of the federating provinces are represented in, and protected by, the Senate, consisting of sixty-three members (fourteen from each of the four provinces, five from the tribal areas and two from Islamabad), who are elected by the provinces on the basis of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote.

There are two legislative lists: one federal, the second concurrent. The power to make laws on all subjects, not included in these two, rests with the Provincial Govern-

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ments. The Constitution distributes power between the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments with much greater safeguards for the financial and economic interest of the provinces than those provided earlier in the country or at present in India and some other federal unions. For instance, the approval of both Houses of Parliament is required for any legislation on inter-provincial subjects such as railways, natural gas and development of industries. The provinces can also, through the Senate, prevent amendments to the Constitution which are not to their liking.

The authority of the Federation is exercised in the name of the President by the Federal Government. The orders of the President require the Prime Minister's counter-signature for their validity. The Prime Minister is the chief executive of the Federation and his advice is binding on the President. While the President is elected by members of Parliament in a joint sitting of both Houses, the Prime Minister is elected by a majority vote of the National Assembly.

The Federal Government, located at Islamabad, is entrusted with the normal functions of a modern federal state, principally defence, external affairs, communications, currency, immigration and emigration, and control over imports and exports, maritime shipping, navigation and air traffic. Education, agriculture, health, social welfare and industries are subjects of provincial jurisdiction. They come within the Federal Government's purview for purposes of national planning and co-ordination. These subjects, singly or in combination, are entrusted to Ministers, drawn from Members of Parliament.

All four provinces have their own legislatures elected on the same basis of adult franchise as the National Assembly. The structure of government at the provincial level is similar to the one at the federal level, the chief provincial executive (Chief Minister) being elected by the Provincial Assembly. The Governor, appointed by the President, can act only on the Chief Minister's advice. The most important functions entrusted to Provincial Governments are law and order, education, health, agriculture, industry, labour relations, roads, public buildings and irrigation canals.

In order to coordinate policies involving two or more provincial governments and/or the Federal Government, two special bodies have been created: the Council of Common Interests (an innovation of the Constitution) and the National Finance Commission. The Council, comprising the Provincial Chief Ministers and an equal number of representatives of the Federal Government, formulates and regulates inter-provincial policies concerning railways, location of industry, hydro-electricity and distribution of water for irrigation. If the Federal Government or a Provincial Government is dissatisfied with a decision of the Council, it may refer the matter to Parliament in a joint sitting for final decision. The Commission, comprising the Finance Ministers of the Federal and Provincial Governments, makes recommendations for distributing the net proceeds of certain specified taxes between the Federation and the Provinces and among the Provinces themselves.

The National Economic Council, headed by the Prime Minister and including at least one nominee of each Provincial Government, reviews the overall economic condition of the country and formulates economic plans.

The judicature consists of a Supreme Court of Pakistan, a High Court for each Province and a number of subordinate courts. The Chief Justice is appointed by the President and the other judges by him after consultation with the Chief Justice. The qualification for appointment as a judge of the Supreme Court is at least five years' experience of being a judge of a High Court or fifteen years' experience as an advocate of a High Court. Besides being the ultimate court of appeal, the Supreme Court has exclusive jurisdiction in any dispute between two or more Governments. The Federal Government may obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court on any question of law considered to be of public importance.

The Constitution enshrines the supremacy of the legislature and the independence of the judiciary. An index of the latter is that a judge of the Supreme or High Court can be removed from office only on the recommendation of the Supreme Judicial Council, consisting of the Chief Justice of Pakistan, two ranking judges of the Supreme Court and two ranking Chief Justices of High Courts. The higher judicial officers are thus accountable only to their conscience.

Elections are controlled by the Chief Election Commissioner who is, or has been, a judge of the Supreme Court or qualified to be appointed a judge. He cannot be removed from office except in the manner prescribed in the case of a judge. His duties include, *inter alia,* the preparation and annual revision of electoral rolls for election to the National and the Provincial Assemblies, and the appointment of election tribunals. A general election is required to be held within sixty days preceding the day on which the National Assembly's term is due to expire, and the results of the election are to be declared at least fourteen days before that day. In the case of earlier dissolution, the election is required to be held within a period of ninety days.

The Constitution creates a Council of Islamic Ideology. Its members, from eight to fifteen in number, are appointed by the President from experts in Islamic philosophy or in the country's economic, political, legal or administrative problems. Various schools of thought are represented in the Council; at least two of its members are, or have been, judges of the Supreme Court or of a High Court, at least four are required to have had fifteen years' experience in Islamic research or instruction and at least one is required to be a woman. The Council's functions are recommendatory.

There is a procedure laid down for amendment of the Constitution. A bill to this effect has to originate in the National Assembly, be passed by a two-thirds majority of the total membership, transmitted to the Senate and passed by a simple majority there before it is presented to the President for assent. The President has to give his assent within seven days.

The Constitution bears the stamp of Pakistan's national experience in the first twenty years of its existence. When it was enforced on 14 August 1973, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as the first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, said: "Today we bid good-bye, finally and for all time, to the palace revolutions and military coups which plagued Pakistan for nearly two decades."

Aware of the impunity with which the country's earlier rulers undermined the rule of law, the framers of the Constitution have laid down in Article 6 that, "any person who abrogates, or attempts or conspires to abrogate, subverts or attempts or conspires to subvert the Constitution by use or show of force or by other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason."

The concept of governance by Constitution and orderly change is thus immutably inscribed in the text of Pakistan's political life.

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The Organization of Government

The Federal Government, located at Islamabad, functions through its secretariat comprising 36 divisions which operate in accordance with the published Rules of Business. The Prime Minister allocates portfolios amongst his Ministers, drawn from Members of Parliament. The number of federal ministries constituting the Federal Cabinet varies from time to time. The Cabinet as a whole acts on the basis of collective responsibility.

A Ministry may consist of one or more divisions. The administrative head of a division is designated as Secretary. He assists his Minister in the formulation of policy, its execution and submission of proposals for legislation to the Cabinet. When a subject concerns more than one division, there are inter-divisional consultations at various levels. Advice is also sought, where necessary, of Law, Finance and Planning Divisions. The Planning Division, a staff agency consisting of professional experts, assesses periodically the human and material resources of the country and initiates development programmes which are included in the government's Annual (or Five-Year) Development Plan. The annual budgetary proposals are drawn up by the Finance Division, approved by the Cabinet and submitted to Parliament prior to the commencement of the financial year on 1 July.

All divisions are required to comply with the Rules of Procedure and Standing Orders of the National Assembly and the Senate in their relations with Parliament. The relations of a Federal Division with the Provincial Governments are governed by provisions of the Constitution.

Apart from defence, foreign affairs and inter-provincial coordination, which are purely federal concerns, the provincial secretariats handle the same subjects as the federal. Each of the four provinces of Pakistan is subdivided into smaller administrative units called Divisions, Districts and *Tehsils*. These vary in size and population. The Commissioner is the representative of the Provincial Government at the Division level; below him are Deputy Commissioners at the District level. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police constitute the "District Administration" whose principal tasks are to maintain law and order, collect land revenue and coordinate (at district and sub-district levels) the activities of different departments of the Provincial Governments. The Deputy Commissioner has magisterial powers and he is a judge of disputes relating to assessment and collection of land revenue.

At the sub-district level are subdivisions or *tehsils*. The activities of Government thus stretch down to the village level which has served as the nucleus of grass-roots local government embodied in the concept of *panchayat*.

The traditional *panchayats* were replaced by the British with formal local bodies. However, the Royal Commission on Decentralization (1907–1909) observed that local government was "still in many ways a democratic facade to an autocratic structure". The Constitution declares the encouragement of elected local government institutions, with special representation given in them to peasants, workers and women, to be a principal State policy.

Some of the districts in the north-west of Pakistan are inhabited by tribesmen who adhere to traditional regulations. These districts, described as Political Agencies, are granted a generous measure of autonomy in ordering their own affairs according to local custom and usage. But with social and economic change since 1971, the tribal structure is being steadily eroded and, with the policies of the People's Party Government, the day is not far off when tribesmen will enjoy the same rights as other Pakistanis. Excepting these areas, the country is governed by uniform civil and criminal laws.

All penal offences are investigated and tried according to the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which confers powers on five different classes of courts in Pakistan – High Courts, Courts of Session, and Magistrates with First, Second and Third Class powers. Every province in Pakistan has Sessions Divisions which have jurisdiction over one or more districts. The Sessions Division has a court of Sessions (for the trial of criminal cases) presided over by a Sessions Judge who is also the District Judge for civil cases. In every District the Provincial Government also appoints a District Magistrate who orders the distribution of business among subordinate magistrates. Likewise, the Sessions Judge has Assistant Sessions Judges subordinate to him. For the administration of criminal law (as embodied in the Pakistan Penal Code) the District and Sessions Judge and the District Magistrate supervise the work of the magistracy.

A High Court may pass any sentence authorized by law, and a Sessions Judge may do likewise, with the proviso that a sentence of death passed by him is subject to confirmation by the High Court. A First Class Magistrate may imprison an offender for two years, a Second Class Magistrate, for up to six months and a Third Class Magistrate, for up to one month. Magistrates are empowered also to impose fines.

Criminal law in Pakistan differentiates between cognizable offences for the commission of which a police officer may *suo moto* arrest an offender without a magisterial warrant, and non-cognizable offences which the police are not allowed to investigate without the order of a competent magistrate. The protection accorded thus to citizens is reinforced by the provision that he (the citizen) can also initiate criminal proceedings, by lodging a complaint directly with a magistrate.

Criminal as well as civil law, both substantive and procedural, and the law of evidence in Pakistan, are drawn in great measure on Roman law and jurisprudence and English case law. However, in matters relating to marriage, succession and inheritance the courts follow the law based on *Shariat*.

Until recently, leading administrative positions in Government were occupied by the *élite* and exclusive Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP), successor to the famed Indian Civil Service (ICS). The system was unsuited to an evolving society. In 1973, major administrative reforms were introduced abolishing the old classification of services and rigid rules of recruitment and replacing them with a unified grading structure of thirty-five occupational groups and provisions for lateral appointment. A sizeable number of public servants are now drawn from business, banking, and the academic, legal and military professions. The aim is to enlist the participation of the nation's talent in the business of government.

Mu. A. and A.G.

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Communications

One of PIA's passenger fleet, which uses 747s for internal as well as international routes – such is the demand – has just landed at Karachi.

Airways

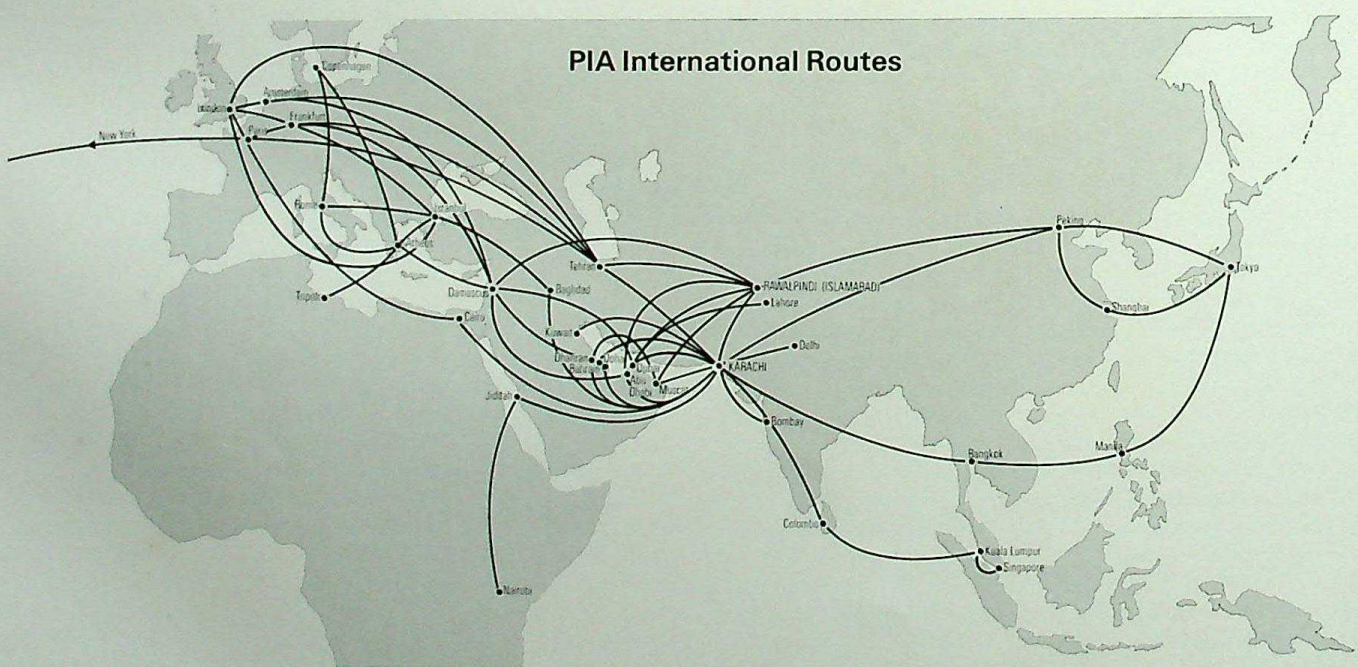
Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) has grown with remarkable speed from modest beginnings. It began operations as a department of the Government in 1954, but its history goes back to the formation of the Muslim-owned Orient Airways, with three DC-3s, in Calcutta in 1946. Following Independence, Orient moved its headquarters to Karachi, and established services between East and West Pakistan and on internal routes. Two other companies, Pak Air and Crescent, had short-lived careers but also helped to popularize aviation.

An airline is a luxury for many newly-independent nations. For Pakistan it was a necessity. Orient steadily expanded; its fleet consisted of eleven DC-3s and three Convair 240s by the time of the merger with PIA.

In 1955, PIA started its international service from Karachi to London. It was then equipped with fifteen piston-engined aircraft. In 1960, PIA leased a Boeing and became the first Asian airline to operate a pure jet aircraft. Its Boeings were subsequently purchased for international operations. On domestic routes the Dakota was replaced with the Fokker F-27 and the Viscount with the Trident 1E. In 1964 PIA became the first non-communist airline to fly to the People's Republic of China and to operate a service between Asia and Europe via Moscow. In 1970, the Tridents were phased out and five additional Boeing 707's acquired.

With passenger traffic approaching 1.5 million a year, the airline seemed set on a steady course of progress and expansion, when the tragic events of 1971 resulted in the curtailment of its operations to and within East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). This rendered about half of PIA's capacity redundant. In early 1972, the airline was losing nearly a million dollars a month.

But PIA is now once more a profit-making airline. During the years 1974 and 1975 its passenger capacity increased by 70 per cent. This expansion is expected to continue, and, by 1980, PIA should have doubled its present operations.



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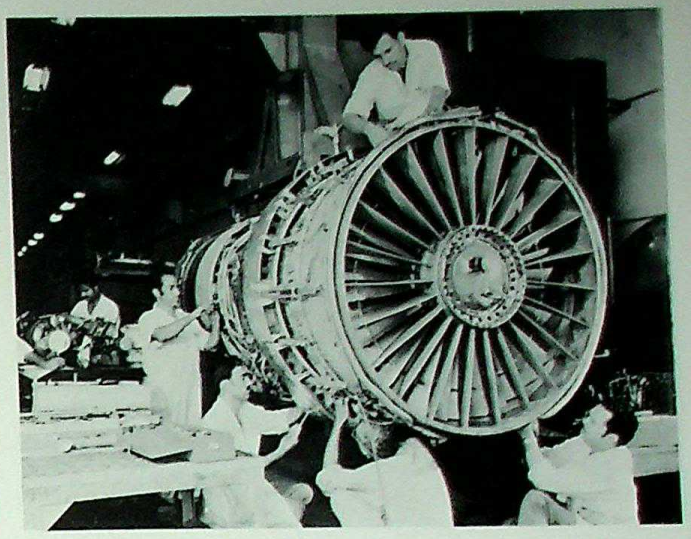


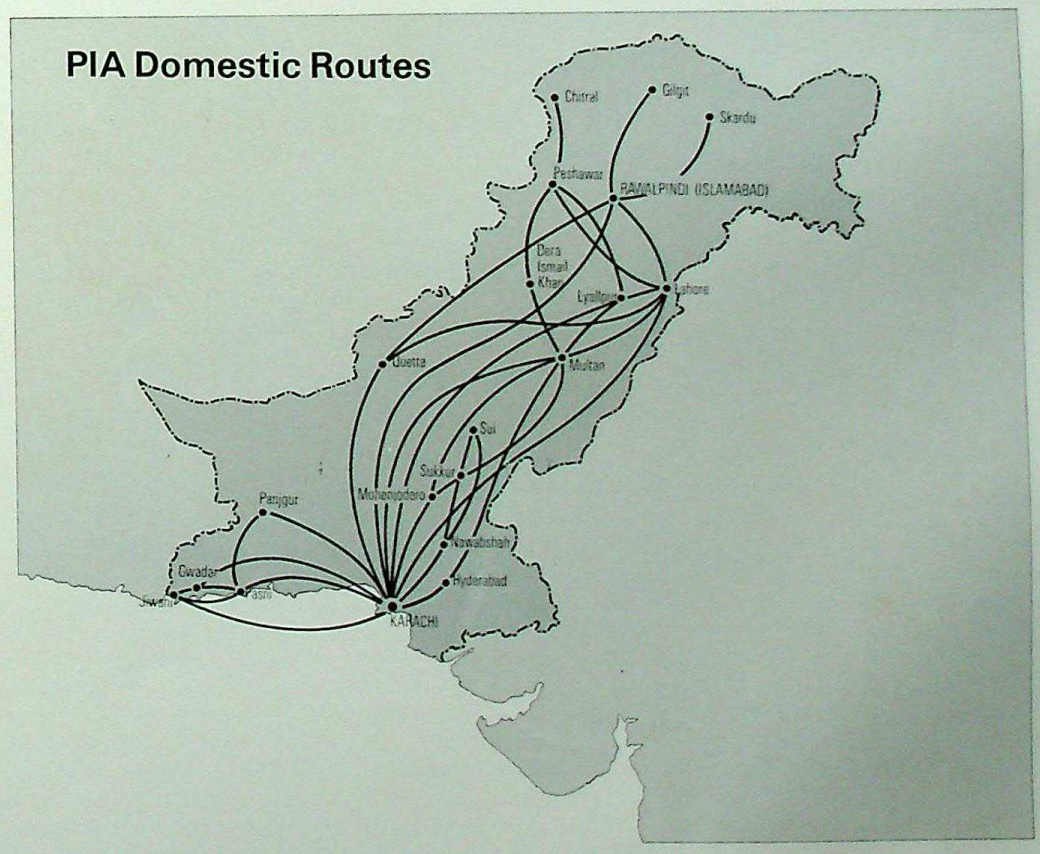
With port congestion a world- wide phenomenon, air freight of urgently required cargo (above) *is a growing business. Maintenance engineers are seen overhauling a jet.*

The current PIA fleet comprises two Boeing 747s, four DC-10-30s, six Boeing 707-Cs, six Boeing 720-Bs and eight Fokker F-27s, serving twenty-nine countries. Its domestic services cover twenty cities and towns in Pakistan.

PIA is one of the few airlines in the world to have shown a profit year after year since 1960, except for one year following the 1971 upheaval – and this despite the fact that, in the national interest, PIA has maintained some services which cannot make a profit.

PIA's workshops are the best equipped outside Europe and the United States. The ground training school has trained 1,500 personnel from twenty-two foreign airlines. Amongst the school's present commitments is the training of a large number of pilots, flight engineers, maintenance engineers and other staff for Air Malta, in which PIA has a twenty per cent shareholding and which is run by a PIA management team.

One of Pakistan's sustained success stories has been the development of its civil aviation through Pakistan International Airlines. Its record for safety and efficiency is exceptional, and PIA expertise is frequently called on for the training of crews and of maintenance teams by other airlines. Flying among mountains, and from high altitude airfields in winter into lowland tropical conditions, demands versatility. There are nineteen airports in the country. Karachi, Islamabad Rawalpindi and Lahore are on international routes.



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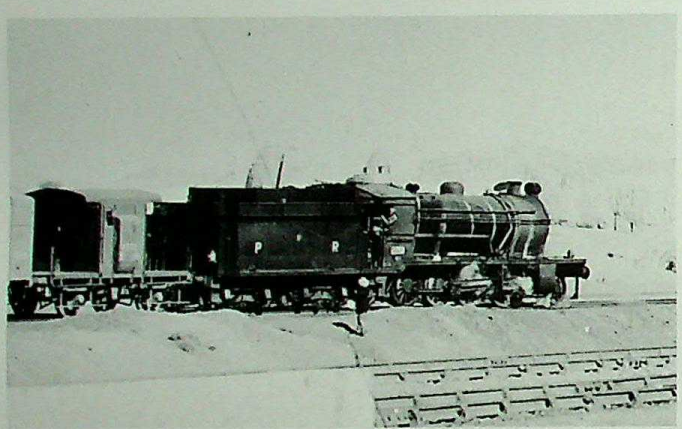
Masterpieces of engineering, the roads traverse some of the most spectacular terrain

Highways

Civilization in the subcontinent is six thousand years old and so are the roads. The excavation of Mohenjodaro, one of the principal cities of the Indus valley civilization, (4,000 BC) has shown a people already adept in the art of road construction. By the sixth century BC, recognized trade routes covered most of northern India; the most important of which stretched from Calcutta to Central Asia via Delhi, Taxila and Kabul, and served as a trade route with the Roman Empire. Though of course the route has varied somewhat through the centuries, this has always been the chief artery of northern India. A mediaeval text tells of main roads forty-five feet wide, gravelled, properly cambered and with drains on both sides. The roads were marked with milestones, and provided with rest houses, shade, trees and wells for drinking water at regular intervals.

During the sixteenth century, Sher Shah Suri in his short rule of India made an earnest effort to build roads. The present Pakistan Highway from Multan to Torkham follows the exact line of Sher Shah's road. In the early period of British rule, road improvements were undertaken chiefly to facilitate postal communication. It was only after 1839, when it was decided to connect Calcutta with Delhi by an all-weather road suitable for wheeled traffic, with bridges over small streams, and ferries or boat bridges over large rivers, that a highway system in the modern sense began taking shape.

Pakistan, at its inception, inherited about one-fifth of



Swamps, deserts and mountains exact from Pakistan's road and rail builders remarkable feats.

The old Baluchistan locomotive is distantly linked to Karachi's modern marshal-ling yards.

Railways

The communication system of any country establishes the parameters of progress. In a country like Pakistan, where great distances separate centres of population, industry and trade, this is even more true. Since the creation of Pakistan, the railway has played a key role in transporting people and goods from near the Khyber to Karachi, a distance of about 1,200 miles. The line from Quetta to Sukkur traverses some of the most spectacular terrain in the world.

The railway network consists of 7,765 track-miles on which run 3,194 passenger carriages and 37,239 wagons. In 1974-75, the system transported 142,402,587 passengers and 13,222,788 tons of goods. The motive-power for this enormous work-load is supplied by a mixture of electric, diesel, and steam engines.

These statistics, however, convey very little about the organization required to support the system: with 140,000 employees, the railway is the second biggest employer in the country. Its workshops in Lahore alone have over 20,000 workers to maintain the rolling-stock. Together with the diesel workshops in Karachi, there is a well-equipped pool of trained manpower which manufactures the bulk of the spare-parts requirements.

Despite growing competition from road and air transport, as well as increasing operating-costs, Pakistan Railway has managed to keep its fares among the lowest in the world. For example, the ticket from Karachi to Rawalpindi, a distance of about 1,000 miles, costs only around 45 rupees or slightly more than £2. Even with these fares, the railway has consistently shown a profit from its operations.

A trip by train in Pakistan is a movable feast indeed: every stop is enlivened by dozens of stalls and hawkers who cater for all the needs of passengers from earthenware water containers to fruit and fried fish. A milling crowd is at hand to receive or see passengers off and porters pop in and out of compartments with large bundles and suitcases balanced on their heads.

For Pakistan Railway, electric engines are the work-horses of the future. With 180 miles of track already electrified, and with more sections to follow, the trend is clear. The diesel engines will hold their own for some time to come, given the huge expense involved in electrification, but as always, the senior citizens will be the first to be retrenched. In this case, the fleet of 485 steam engines, "modernized" by its conversion from coal to furnace oil, and already exiled to the Siberia of branch-lines, will be the first to be melted down for scrap. And with their departure, the railway system will undoubtedly gain in efficiency. But it will also lose the flavour of the golden age of rail transport.

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in the world — often following routes that have been used for thousands of years.

the population and one-fourth of the area of the sub-continent, but only one-tenth of the road mileage which worked out at 36,190 miles; of these only 5,307 were metalled. During the past twenty years approximately 10,000 miles of roads have been added. The strategy now being pursued entails: developing sub-standard portions of the National Highways; improving the existing roads in the developed areas; opening up hitherto isolated areas to remove inter-regional disparities; developing an alternative north-south link; providing dependable farm-to-market roads; facilitating the exploitation of forest and mineral resources; and constructing bridges to ensure all-weather road connections between various parts of the country.

Near completion in the Karakoram Mountains is a massive highway project – the Silk Route. First opened by traders in the seventh and eighth centuries AD, and traversed by Marco Polo in his epic journeys, the Silk Route slashes across some of the most spectacular and rugged terrain in the world. When completed, it will link Pakistan with Sinkiang province in China.

Another major new highway in the advanced planning stage is the Indus Super Highway, which, when completed at a cost of Rs 3,100 million, will reduce the distance between Peshawar and Karachi by 400 kilometres and will run along the west bank of the Indus.

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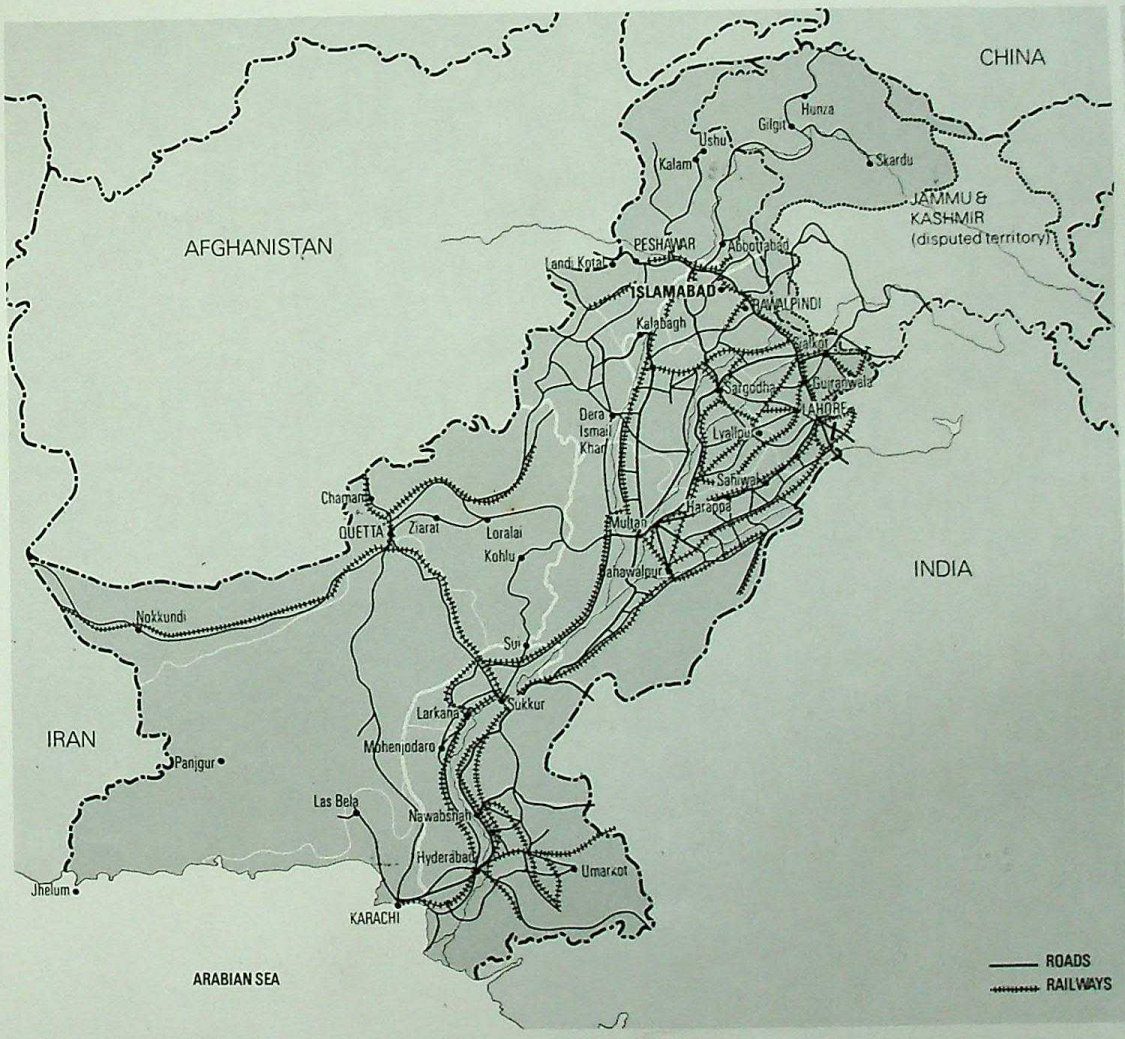

North-western roads converge at the Khyber Pass.

Shipping and Ports

At Independence, Pakistan inherited three main ports: Karachi, located in Sind, with twenty-one jetties, one oil pier and functionally obsolete port structures and installations; Chittagong, located in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), with four jetties; and Khulna, also in East Pakistan, with one jetty and some river moorings. There were three ships of 18,500 deadweight tons, owned by a private shipping company.

The country's transportation system, especially the ports and shipping sectors, had obviously to be expanded. Steps were taken to strengthen the Government departments concerned; port consultants were appointed to prepare master plans, review tonnage requirements and establish ship acquisition programmes. ship-building and repair facilities were planned and training centres set up for Merchant Navy personnel.

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Traffic through the port of Karachi increased from two million tons in 1947 to over ten million tons in 1975. Despite a significant expansion of facilities, the port is at present being worked 15 to 20 per cent above its designed capacity. Traffic projections establish a 10 to 12 per cent annual increase in sea-borne trades, reaching 23 million tons by 1980. Additional facilities are, therefore, being constructed. When these are complete, the port will have twenty-eight dry-cargo berths (and eight more under construction), four tanker berths, a harbour channel deepened to forty feet, marshalling yards capable of handling two thousand wagons a day, bonded warehouses and other facilities to handle container and LASH ships. There should be a capacity of 15 million tons by 1980.

Karachi port is working under heavy strain resulting in occasional congestion, with a consequent increase in ships' waiting time, congestion being aggravated by the limitations of road and rail clearing facilities. The Port Administration is making every effort to expedite development projects and, as a long-term measure, the Government is building an alternative port facility – Port Qasim. After detailed examination of various sites, it was decided to locate the new port on Phitti Creek, about twelve miles south of Karachi. Port Qasim will handle bulk cargoes of oil, iron ore, coal, cement, foodgrains and fertilizers. It will be able to take ships up to 75,000 dwt. The port is estimated to cost $179 million and should be completed by 1985.

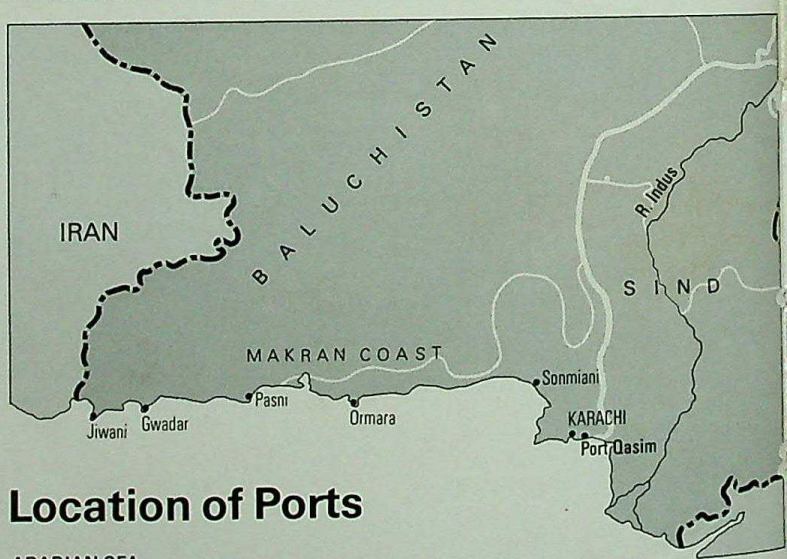
There are secondary ports at Jiwani, Gwadar, Pasni, Ormara, Hingol and Sonmiani on the Makran coast. Most of these are open to the sea and are used by fishing craft and small coasters. Bigger vessels discharge at anchorage.

The Pakistan merchant fleet, at the time of Independence, was grossly insufficient to meet the country's trade requirements. Large sums of money in foreign exchange were being spent on freight. To meet this deficiency, private investment was encouraged, and by 1962 there were forty-three Pakistani-owned ocean-going vessels of 390,212 dwt. capacity. The shipping industry was given various incentives, and in 1963, the National Shipping Corporation was set up with 25 per cent equity participation. The present fleet strength is fifty-three, including forty-six general cargo ships, one tanker, one bulk carrier, one coaster and four passenger ships, with a carrying capacity of 620,000 deadweight tons and 6,000 passengers. Approximately 10 per cent of the country's total sea-borne trade and 43 per cent of the liner trade on the important European route is carried in Pakistani ships. Thirty-three more ships are scheduled to be acquired, including twenty general cargo, eight bulk carriers, three tankers and two coasters. The eventual aim is to carry 40 per cent of the total sea-borne trade.

On 1 January 1974 the Government took over the management of all ten shipping companies. Two Boards have been set up, one for the National Shipping Corporation and the other for the nine private shipping companies.

Karachi has two dry docks which can take ships up to 26,000 deadweight. On average, they handle one ship a week. Their turnover is more than Rs 50 million a year. Karachi also has shipyards equipped to turn out medium and large ships.

R.A.



Location of Ports

ARABIAN SEA

Above and right. *The port of Karachi is not only the premier port of Pakistan but serves landlocked Afghanistan also. Soon brand new docks at Port Qasim will speed the flow of imports and exports.*

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Water and Power

Every ten minutes in the early sixties, Pakistan was losing, to salinity and waterlogging, two acres of cultivated land. And two acres, as then estimated were the unit of land on which an average person was dependent for his annual requirements of food, fodder and fibre. But the population was increasing by about thirty persons every ten minutes.

This was, until a few years ago, the danger signal on Pakistan's economic situation chart, which showed land, water, power and the growing population as the principal components of a growing challenge to the well-being of the nation. The people have gradually cooperated in an organized response to fight back, and to strengthen and expand the various segments of the infrastructure on which depend the country's progress and prosperity. Electricity also is an important part of this infrastructure. An indication of how much more electricity is needed to raise the people's standard of living is provided by the readings on the statistical meter which even in 1976 showed only one kilowatt of installed power generating capacity for three persons, with a per capita consumption of 140 units (kilowatt hours) per annum. The 1947 readings were about seventy to eighty times less.

Water

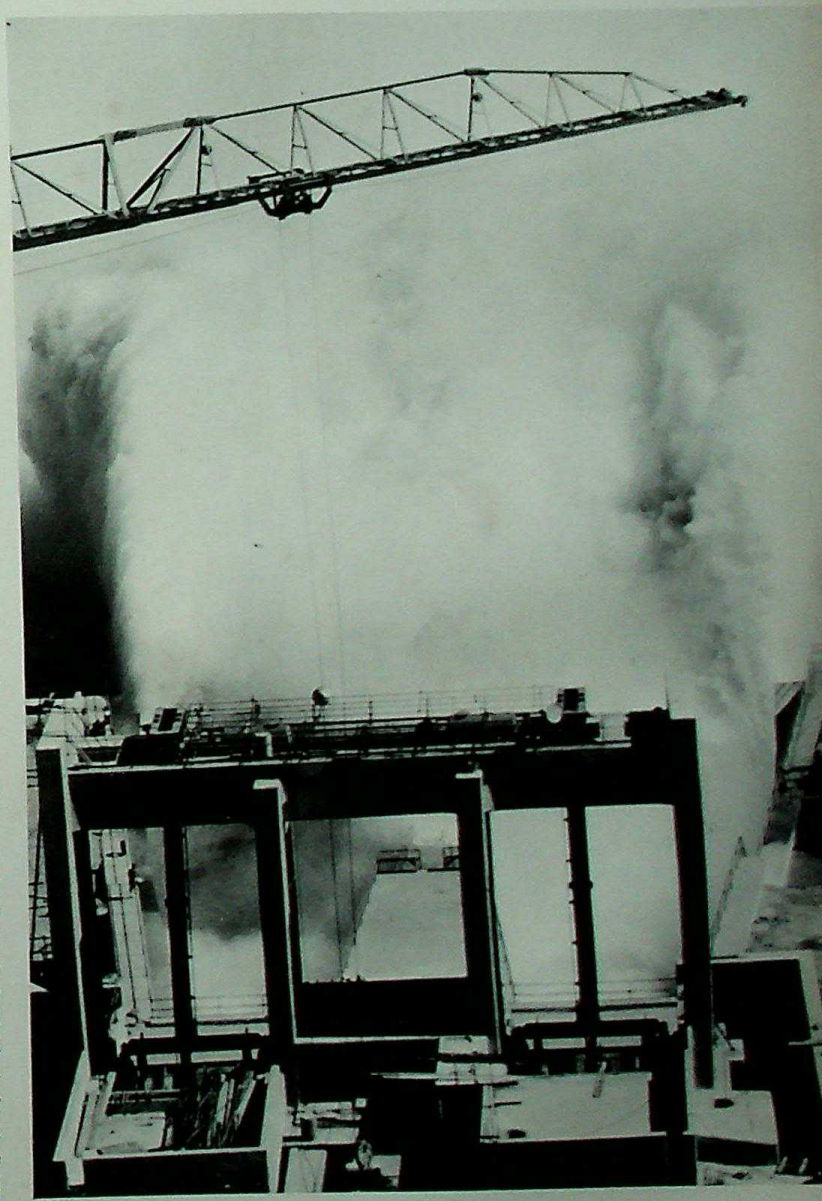
The arena, in which the battle for survival, stability and socio-economic progress in the water and power sector is being fought, is the whole of Pakistan, of which half – about 150,000 square miles – comprises the Indus basin. The remaining half consists of rugged mountainous terrain, narrow valleys and foothills. One-third of the Indus basin itself is covered by deserts while the rest contains the famous Indus canal system.

The low gradient of the Indus plains made it possible for engineers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to give Pakistan the world's largest network of canals dependent on a single river system. Their total length is over 30,000 miles – 5,000 miles more than the equatorial circumference of the earth – and they are regulated by two of the world's largest dams, at Mangla and Tarbela, and sixteen further low but wide dams, known also as barrages. The Indus basin rivers, harnessed in this manner, enable farmers in what is predominantly an arid region, to plan the irrigation of their land with far greater certainty than those dependent on an uncertain rainfall of not more than twenty inches a year in the rest of Pakistan's cultivated areas.

Eight months after Independence, India cut off supplies of water coming to canals in Pakistan from the eastern rivers, affecting nearly eight million acres – that is, about one-third more than the area irrigated by the Nile in Egypt. After 12 years of discussions the Indus Waters Treaty was signed under the auspices of the World Bank. Following this, the World Bank helped Pakistan to build the world's largest earthen dam at Mangla and the world's largest rock-filled dam at Tarbela, six new barrages and a gated syphon – their combined length being 3.5 miles – and eight huge link canals for a controlled transfer of surplus flows of the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab rivers to the Ravi and Sutlej to replace the supplies of the three eastern rivers apportioned to India. The link canals are about 400 miles in length and six of them each can carry more water than the peak flow of the Thames at London Bridge. Along with these water transfers, some of the irrigation projects completed a little before or after Independence also came into full operation. The average annual irrigation flows increased by almost 50 per cent from about 65 million acre-feet, but with most of the increase concentrated in the *kharif* (summer) season. The *rabi* (winter) crops also were better because of regulated releases from such storages as Mangla.

But the resultant increase in the irrigated areas from 22 million acres to 34 million acres is not wholly due to the increase in surface supplies from 1947 to 1975. Much of this increase came from the additional tubewells installed during these twenty-eight years.

Most of these tubewells are performing a dual function. Besides providing water for agricultural use they have also emerged as the main weapon against salinity and water-logging. When the Arabian Sea retreated it left behind as much as 30 to 100 tons of salt per acre. This salt remained in the deeper layers of the basin as new silt from the rivers covered it, a process that continued for centuries. With canals came also rail and road



Tarbela is the largest rock-filled dam in the world, and completes the vast Indus Basin Scheme.

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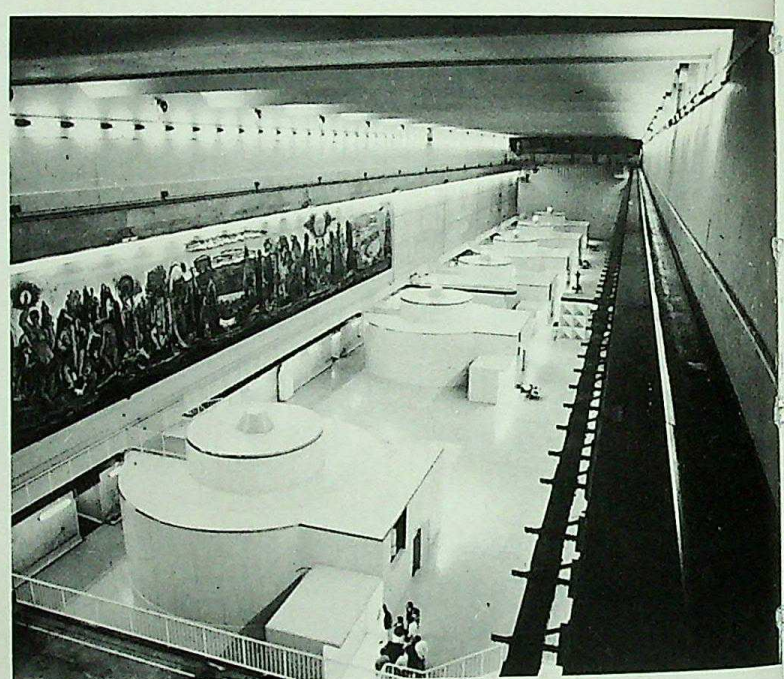
embankments, many of them built across the normal flow of surface water in the plains. On permeable land this water, prevented from flowing down the gradient, had only two alternatives: either to evaporate or to seep underground. It did both but in the latter state it had little chance of resuming its journey, because of the low gradient, at any significant speed to the sea as a viscid subsoil river. To the normal seepage of the rivers was added that from a web of canals with channels thirty thousands miles long. They leaked almost fifty per cent of the water they carried.

Over the centuries so much water has accumulated under the Indus plain that it forms the largest reservoir of ground water in the world. With the advent of canals the level of this muddy paste gradually rose high enough to be affected by the heat of the sun. With this evaporative process the salty water moved upwards in capillary action. At or near the surface the moisture evaporated, leaving the salt or enough sub-surface brackish water in the root zone to prevent or stunt the growth of crops, trees and other vegetation. During some seasons this salt emerges and powders vast tracts of what was once agriculturally productive land.



Five international consultants and the World Bank combined to construct Tarbela (above) *which has made a 100 sq. mile lake. The Indus Basin Scheme now consists of two dams, six barrages and eight link canals.*

In 1976, Punjab had about 40 per cent of its gross irrigated area of 24 million acres waterlogged, with subsoil water within ten inches or less from the surface and 25 per cent or 6 million acres affected by salinity. In Sind, 53 per cent of its gross irrigated area of 15 million acres was affected by salinity.

This was the nature and extent of the challenge posed by the twin menace which was depriving Pakistan of an acre of culturable land every five minutes. To cope with this menace, after careful investigation and planning, about 10,500 tubewells have been installed by the Government and 120,000 by private owners of land, since 1960, and 3,500 miles of drains have been constructed to dispose of saline water. The installation of private tubewells was stepped up after 1972 when the State gave land owners special loan and other facilities for irrigation pumps in their fields. During 1975 and 1976 the rate of installation averaged over fifty a day. In 1976 over 130,000 tubewells were pumping out over 28 million acre-feet of water from the groundwater reservoir which it is estimated can yield annually about 40 million acre-feet of fresh water for irrigation use. This is equal to over one third the yearly average discharge of all the Indus basin rivers, and more than three times the total quantity of water that can be drawn each year from the Mangla and Tarbela dam storages.

This means that, on an average, the loss of culturable land to waterlogging and salinity has been reduced by about half. By 1985 this twin menace will not only have been halted but production substantially increased from the same land.

At Independence, the canal system was using 65 million acre-feet of water; in 1976 they were taking off 95 million. The increase is mostly due to the three new barrages, namely Jinnah, Taunsa and Guddu, constructed on the Indus and the regulatory effects of the Indus basin works.

Further increase in agricultural production in the near future is dependent on Tarbela coming into full operation. This project with its initial reservoir capacity of 9.3 million acre-feet of water is designed to increase *rabi* (winter) flows in Indus by more than one-third. This is an important factor in Pakistan's drive for self-sufficiency in foodgrains. Later, new dams, including off-channel storages, will further increase the production of food both for the increasing population and for export to the nearby Gulf states and other countries.

Dams start silting up from the day they are completed. Because of this, future storage will be necessary not only to create the optimum storage of 27 million acre-feet but also to replace Mangla's capacity lost to sediment from earth erosion in the lower defrosted catchment of the nearby streams that flow into its 100 square mile reservoir. Sites on the Indus itself and off-channel storages which can be filled even from a depleted Tarbela reservoir have been surveyed and selected. The second major storage on the Indus is to be built at Kalabagh and the third in the southern part of the Thal, with smaller reservoirs in the southern part of the Indus basin. Storages at Sehwan, Manchar and Chotiari in the lower reaches can impound another 3 million acre-feet of Indus

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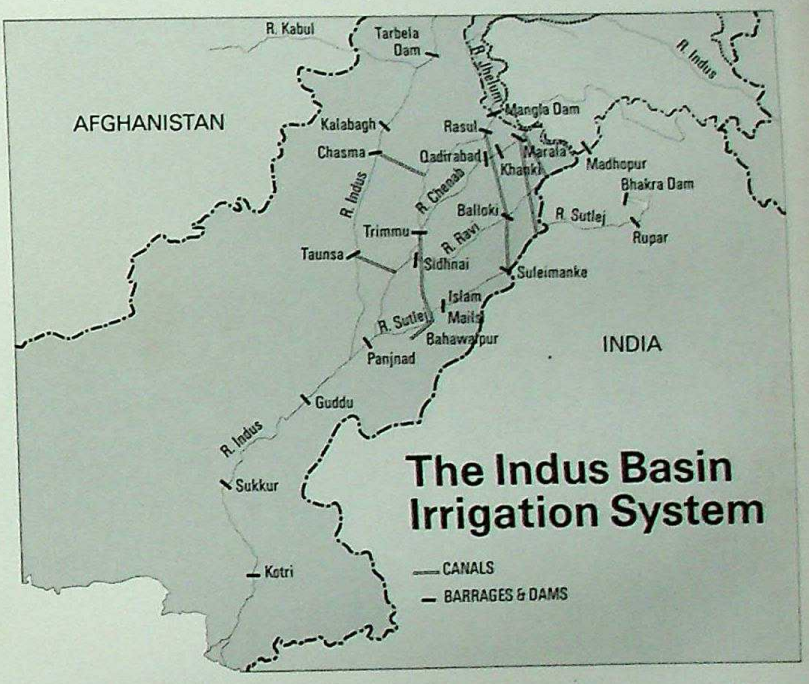
water. The Jhelum water storage at Mangla can be increased by raising the dam and impounding another 3.6 million acre-feet. The enlargement of some canals to carry 5 million acre-feet of surplus *kharis* (summer) flows is under consideration.

In Baluchistan, intensive work is in progress to increase the traditional water supplies that are tapped and carried underground by *karez* channels. Since 1974 work has been in progress on the Bela project which will give this arid province 88 tubewells to pump out 40,000 acre-feet of water to irrigate nearly 9,000 acres along the Mor and Hub ranges. The multi-purpose Hub dam, which will provide water to south-west Baluchistan for the irrigation of 21,000 acres of land and 110 million gallons for Karachi's industrial and domestic use, is nearing completion. Feasibility studies are in progress in Baluchistan to investigate the building of dams and other irrigation works at Mirani, Badin Zai, Shina Katai, Rud Faqir, Sehan, on the Hingol and Basol rivers and on the right bank of Pat Feeder.

Left. *On the long interior wall of the powerhouse at Mangla Dam is a spectacular mural by the artist Sadequain.*

Above. *Warsak Dam on the River Kabul supplies water for irrigation and generates electricity for Peshawar.*



Electric Power

The development of electricity is planned on a similar scale. At the time of Independence the total power generation capacity in Pakistan was about 30,000 kilowatts: one-third imported from the Uhl hydro-electric (*hydel)* power station in India. The remaining power generation was mainly from small thermal stations using diesel or coal which supplied electricity not only to the cities in which they were located. The exceptions were the Lahore-Uhl grid which also served Kasur, Sheikhupura and Lyallpur, and the Malakand *hydel* station which transmitted electricity to Mardan, Nowshera, Peshawar and Charsadda. The per capita consumption of electrical energy was less than two units.

After twenty-nine years, the position is that Pakistan has increased its power generating capacity eighty times to 2,420,000 kilowatts and the per capita consumption has increased seventy times to 140 units.

With the objective of having a national grid, five grid zones have been created covering North West Frontier and Punjab, Upper Sind, Lower Sind, Quetta and Karachi. Except for Quetta the other grid sections have been connected and the national grid is to be ready in 1977.

Among the thermal stations are those based on nuclear power. The first to come into operation was the one at Karachi with a capacity of 137 kilowatts. Another one is being built at Kundian near the Chasma barrage; its capacity will be 600,000 kilowatts.

The setting up of the national power grid has involved the installation of 8,040 miles of high voltage transmission lines which in 1947 were only 245 miles long. A further 31,385 miles of eleven kilovolt lines have been added since Independence when the mileage was only five hundred. 290 new grid stations have been built to raise the 1947 figure of fourteen to 304 grid sub-stations handling 220, 132, 66 and 33 kilovolt transmission lines. For Tarbela power, a five hundred kilovolts extra high voltage transmission line, 206 miles long with a traffic capacity of a million kilowatts, is being installed to Lyallpur and from there fed into the national grid. This will greatly strengthen and improve the availability of electricity for agriculture and industry.

The development of the grid had enabled the power stations to supply electricity to over 10,000 tubewells and 5,000 villages – at Independence there was no electricity in the villages and the rate of electrification in 1976 was three villages a day – increasing. since 1947. the number of agricultural consumers from about 250 to 75,000; industrial consumers from 6,150 to 98,000 and domestic consumers from 160,000 to 2,000,000. The thrust of the effort towards agrarian development is discernible in these figures.

A detailed power market survey is carried out on a regular basis and necessary additions are planned accordingly. The maximum demand of power is expected to increase from the present level of 1,800,000 kilowatts to 3,460,000 kilowatts in 1980 and 9,000,000 kilowatts in 1990. To help meet this demand three new nuclear power units including one at Kundian near Chasma and one near Karachi are to be built. A major contribution will be from the water power potential of the Indus and other major rivers like the Jhelum, the Kunhar, the Swat and Chitral-Kabul.

H.J.

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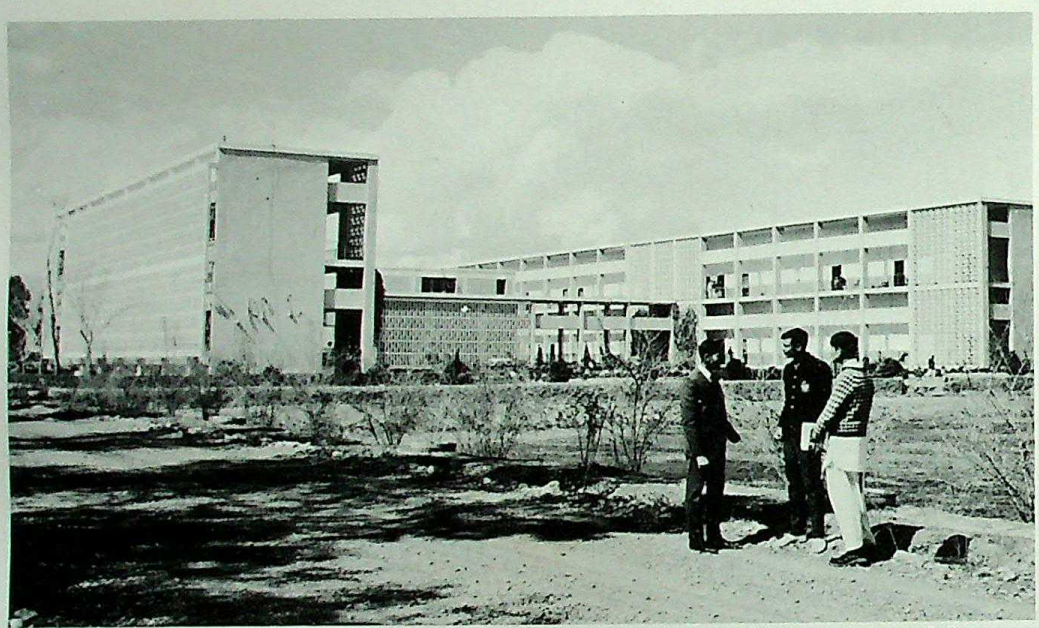
Agriculture

With its resources of water, space, fertility and climate, Pakistan is ideally placed to become the granary of South Asia and the Middle East. It can already produce wheat and rice to a higher quality and quantity per acre than any country between South East Asia and the Mediterranean.

Nearly three-quarters of the population of Pakistan is directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture. By the mid-1970s, Pakistan's home grown food products were generating 34 per cent of the total GNP and some 41 per cent of the country's foreign exchange earnings. The systematic development of agriculture on a national basis had begun with the First Five Year Plan (1955-60). The agricultural sector of the economy grew at an annual rate of about 1.5 per cent during the 1950s. The annual growth rate during the Second Plan (1960-65) reached 3.4 per cent, at last exceeding the population growth. During the Third Plan (1965-70), it reached 4.1 per cent, again surpassing the population growth. This momentum was inevitably checked during 1970-75, because of the politico-economic crisis at the beginning of the decade, a wavering international market, and natural calamities of flood and drought.



Left. *Expansion of the Agricultural College at Peshawar has spurred agronomic research into new seed varieties, livestock improvement and measures to control disease.*
Above. *Credit and co-operatives have been set up by the Agricultural Development Bank for farmers to buy machinery.*

Because not enough rain falls over large parts of the country, surface and underground waters have been harnessed to support agriculture. Pakistan has the largest irrigation canal system in the world – no less than 39,000 miles of canals and distributaries, fertilizing about 33 million acres. Deep tubewells – 143,000 of them – supplement the canals and provide irrigation water in other areas.

According to the 1972 Census of Agriculture, the total number of farms in Pakistan is 3.8 million. Of these, 1.6 million (42 per cent) are owner-occupied, 0.9 million (24 per cent) are owner-cum-tenant farms, and 1.3 million (34 per cent) are tenant farms. The average size of the operational holding is 12.4 acres for the owner-occupied farms, 16.9 acres for the owner-cum-tenant farms, and 11.2 acres for the tenanted farms. Climatic conditions aided by irrigation, permit farming throughout the year. The major crops are wheat, rice, maize, cotton, sugarcane, gram (a pulse) and oil seeds. Fruit include citrus, mangoes, apples, peaches, guava, banana, dates, apricots, and pears.

Pakistan achieved a major breakthrough in crop production during the mid-sixties. Wheat production increased from 4.5 million tons in 1964-65 to 6.3 million by 1967-68, and then to 7.55 million by 1974-75. The increase in rice production was more phenomenal. It rose from 1.3 million tons in 1964-65 to 2.4 million in 1969-70, an increase of about 85 per cent, and reached 2.3 million tons in 1974-75. Maize production followed a similar trend. Cotton output increased from 2.6 million bales in 1966-67 to an output of nearly 4 million bales by 1971-72, mainly through the use of improved seed and fertilizer.

What is popularly known as the "Green Revolution" was achieved by the introduction of high-yielding Mexican varieties of wheat, IRRI-varieties of rice and hybrid maize which are particularly responsive to chemical fertilizers. The availability of irrigation water at the farm gate increased by over twenty per cent in the ten years to 1975. The use of fertilizers rose even more sharply – from 87,000 nutrient tons in 1964-65 to 312,000 five years later. Simultaneously the Government provided new economic incentives. Subsidies were provided for fertilizers, the installation of tubewells, land development and plant protection; support and guaranteed prices were fixed for major crops.

The livestock industry depends upon the crop sector for feed supply, and, in turn, provides animal draught power for the harvesting, threshing and marketing. Home grown crops provide nearly all the cattle and buffalo feed and nearly half of the feed requirements of sheep and goats kept on range land. Cattle and buffaloes are concentrated in the irrigated areas of the Indus basin. Sheep and goats are distributed throughout the irrigated and range areas. According to the 1972 Livestock Census, there were 13 million cattle, 10 million

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buffaloes, 11 million sheep, 12 million goats and 24 million poultry birds in the country. To exploit the advantages of rising prices fetched by livestock and poultry products, the Government has entered into joint ventures with various countries (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bulgaria) for the increased production of milk, meat, wool, eggs and poultry. The World Bank, the FAO and some other agencies provide technical help.

Farmers get credit from various sources. Institutional bodies – the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan, the Co-operatives and commercial banks – will lend to farmers. So, of course, will friends, relatives, money holders, large land-owners, commission agents and shop-keepers. The volume of loans from the institutional sources remains small, partly because of the multiplicity and complexity of farm holdings. So non-institutional sources provide the bulk of the farm credit, often charging high interest rates and indulging in other questionable practices. With the introduction of new technology, including improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, farm machinery and tubewells, in the mid-Sixties, the demand for credit expanded rapidly. The Government moved in to increase the availability of loans and, in 1976, partly in an endeavour to cut out high interest rates and end perpetual indebtedness by small holders, nationalized all but the small cotton ginneries and flour mills.

Both the Government and private agencies are engaged in the marketing of agricultural products. The Government procures wheat, rice and cotton for local distribution and export. The private agencies, mostly located in small towns, purchase agricultural produce either from intermediaries or directly from the farmers. The Government collects and disseminates market information and enforces the grade standards established for various commodities.

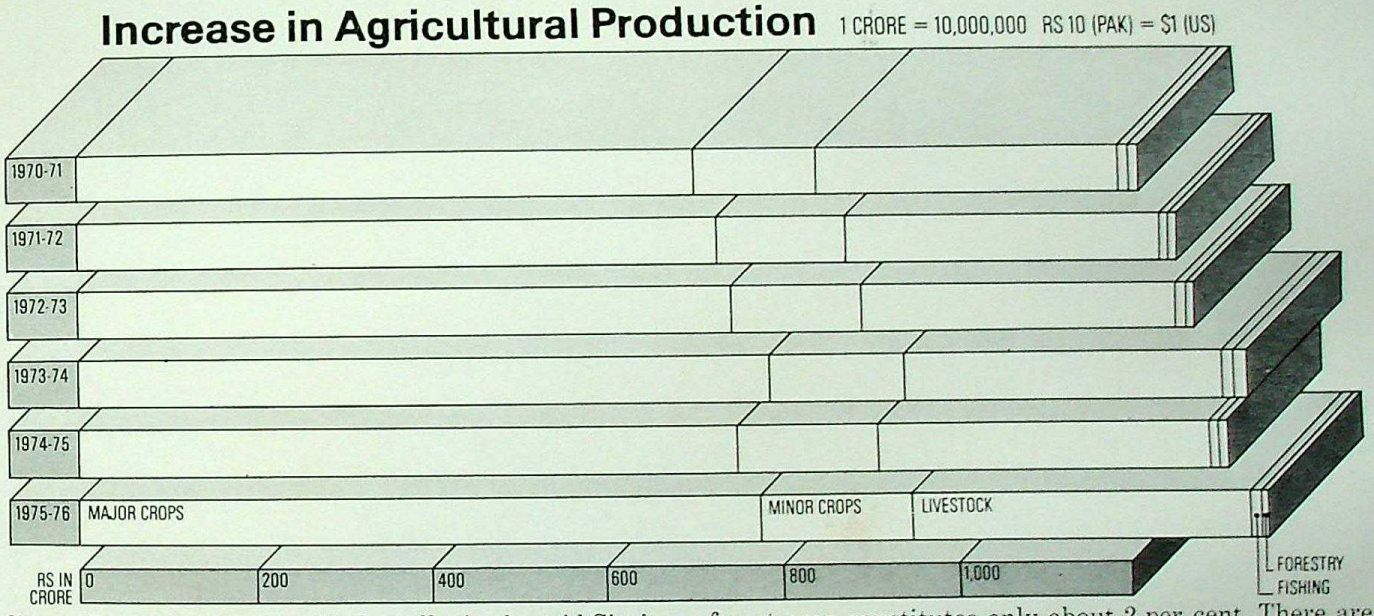
With the acceleration of agricultural development the need for technical skills swiftly grew. In recent years, the Government has considerably expanded the facilities for agricultural education. The Punjab Agricultural College and Research Institute, Lyallpur, was upgraded to the level of Agricultural University in 1961. The teaching capacity of the Agricultural Colleges located at Tandojam (Sind) and Peshawar was enlarged. The Provincial Governments have also set up in-service training institutes at Peshawar, Sargodha, Sakrand and Rahim Yar Khan.

Agricultural research is the responsibility of both the federal and provincial governments. The federal agencies include the Agricultural Research Council of Pakistan, the Pakistan Central Cotton Committee, the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and the Pakistan Forest Research Institute. The main research establishments of the provincial governments are the Agricultural Research Institutes at Quetta (Baluchistan), Tandojam (Sind), Lyallpur (Punjab) and Tarnab (N-WF). Under each research institute there are several research stations. In addition, there are such mono-crop institutes as the Rice Research Institute at Kala Shah Kaku (Punjab), and Dhokri (Sind); the Maize and Millet Research Institutes of Yousafwala (Punjab) and Pir Sabak (N-WF); and the Cotton Research Institutes at Multan (Punjab) and Nawabshah (Sind).

Only 3.6 per cent (about 7 million acres) of the total area is under forests, and the productive or commercial forest area constitutes only about 2 per cent. There are therefore not enough forests to meet the demand for timber and fire-wood. Against a timber consumption of 52 million cubic feet, the estimated production is about 44 million cubic feet. The gap has to be filled by imports. Most of the forest area is owned by the Government. Afforestation and reforestation programmes are being implemented in suitable areas. Irrigated plantations of over 228,000 acres are an important source of wood for such industries as sports goods and matches. There has also been linear planting along canals, roads and railroads. Grow-more-trees campaigns have been organized twice yearly.

Fish production both from sea and inland sources was estimated at 171 thousand metric tons during 1974. Fish is not only an important source of quality protein but also earns substantial foreign exchange. A fleet of 1,900 motorized craft operates near the coastal areas of Karachi or even farther in the Arabian Sea. A fish harbour has been established at Karachi and another was under construction at Gwadar (Baluchistan) in 1976. Over forty processing plants were engaged in canning, freezing, dehydration, liver extraction and fish meal production.

M.S.K.



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Industry

Pakistan inherited a predominantly agrarian economy, characterized by the contrast between its vast material resources and extreme industrial backwardness. For example, of the 590 million lbs of cotton produced, there were not enough textile mills to use more than 9 million lbs. Raw materials for sugar, vegetable oils, cement, fertilizers and paper were in abundance but their production was negligible.

On the directive of the Quaid-e-Azam, industrial policy objectives were formulated and announced on 2 April 1948. These were, "improvements in the standard of living of the people brought about by harnessing, to the maximum extent possible, the forces and treasures of nature in the service of the people by providing gainful and legitimate employment and by assuring freedom from want, equality of opportunity, dignity of labour and a more equitable distribution of wealth."

In the Fifties, liberal safeguards and concessions were offered to foreign investors. The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation was set up to concentrate on the industrial fields which had not attracted private investment. Steps were also taken to encourage development of small industries and dispersal of medium and large-scale ones to economically backward areas.

By the Sixties, industrial progress revealed a wholly unsuspected managerial and entrepreneurial ability, and production in large-scale manufacturing industries increased five-fold. New industries came up which included cotton spinning, woollen and worsted textiles, art-silk fabrics, vegetable oils, cigarettes, matches, leather and rubber. Self-sufficiency was reached in cotton manufactures and substantial foreign exchange earned from their export. Production of white sugar increased seven-fold, and of cement four-fold. Factories producing fertilizers, dyes, pesticides, penicillin, paper and cardboard came into operation. Steel re-rolling mills were established, and a number of firms started producing a variety of engineering and electrical goods. Industrial development was, however, dominated by consumer goods industries.

The pace of industrial development had, indeed, been rapid, but it was accompanied by a growing concentration of profits and wealth in the hands of a few families, creating problems of social injustice and economic inefficiency to the detriment of the ordinary consumer. Nothing tangible was done, however, to rectify this situation.

Industrialization between 1965 and 1971 showed a downward trend for several reasons, among them the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965, lack of cooperation from some of the erstwhile friendly countries, and unsettled political conditions during 1969-71. The secession of East Pakistan in 1971, resulting among other things in the loss of industrial undertakings there which had been producing for the West Pakistan market, necessitated the much-needed reforms, and a beginning was made with the Economic Reforms Order 1972 to ensure that the benefits of industrial development were not confined to the privileged few.

Under that Order, ten basic industries were taken over by the State – iron and steel, metal heavy engineering, heavy electrical, assembly and manufacture of motor vehicles, tractor assembly and manufacture, heavy and basic chemicals, petro-chemicals, cement and public utilities comprising thirty-two industrial units.

A Board of Industrial Management was set up to ensure that these industries were managed on sound business principles. Their performance has since been most encouraging. Production increased by 18 per cent, sales by 49 per cent and exports by 119 per cent during 1971-72.

In 1973-74, twelve units of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation and two of Associated Cement were transferred to sectoral holding corporations. A National Design and Industrial Services Corporation was set up to provide technical and management consultancy services to State enterprises.

Since the 1972 reforms were introduced, the industrial sector has began to regain its buoyancy. The index of manufacturing industries has risen from 100 in 1969-70 to 121.6 in 1975-76. The estimated production of cotton yarn is estimated at 790 million lbs, of cotton cloth at 660 million yards, of vegetable products (ghee) at 275,000 tons, of sugar at 620,000 tons, of cigarettes at 25,480 millions, of fertilizers at 333,000 N/tons, and of cement at 3,100,000 tons.

Forty-two new projects, including expansion of existing capacities, involving a total investment of Rs 9,637 million (with a foreign exchange component of Rs 5,736 million), are under implementation. Pakistan Steel Mills, Karachi, with a capital cost of Rs 14,000 million, is also being set up. Larkana Sugar Mills and People's Steel Mills, with a capital cost of Rs 489 million, were completed in 1974-75. Heavy Foundry and Forge, Taxila, and National Refinery, expanded since 1972 with capital expenditure of Rs 1,067 million, went into production during 1976.

The Government is committed to a mixed economy. Its industrial policy aims at making private and public sectors complementary. The policy is pragmatic and oriented towards meeting the country's existing and projected requirements of basic and essential wage goods within the shortest possible time and development of basic industries. The industrial strategy for the private sector is based on achieving a high rate of growth in the agro-based and agro-allied industries, to maintain a high rate of savings, prevent unplanned increases in consumption and augment export earnings from products of industry. The policy envisages increased public sector participation in the establishment of new industries. It also promotes the dispersal of ownership of industry through encouragement of small and medium-scale industries, placing particular emphasis in the private sector on the establishment of new industries in less developed areas of the country.

The vital role which foreign private investment can play in accelerating the pace of industrial development, particularly in the capital-intensive and technologically-sophisticated fields, has been duly recognized. The obligation to protect and promote foreign private investment, whether in collaboration with private industry or State enterprises, has been placed on the Statute Book.

In future planning of industrial development, an attempt is being made to achieve the primary objective of developing basic key industries designed to promote self-reliance.

The investment strategy is to concentrate on industries producing intermediate goods and to attain self-sufficiency in fertilizer, cement, basic chemicals and petro-chemicals, and to manufacture an exportable surplus in textiles. There is increasing emphasis on setting up

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heavy industries intended to produce capital goods in the country. Adequate new capacities in sugar, textile and consumer goods industries to meet the essential requirements of the people have been programmed.

With the implementation of these plans, Pakistan will have attained self-sufficiency in many basic industries and have a base for a capital goods industry. Installed capacity in textiles, sugar, leather, petro-chemicals and other agro-based and mineral-based industries will be adequate not only to meet domestic requirements but to have surpluses for export. This programme is fully supported by an institutional framework, backed up by a firm Government commitment. Individual projects have been identified and resource allocations made to ensure implementation of the programme.

N.A.K.

Oil and Gas Exploration

Pakistan is contiguous to major oil-producing countries and seems to have all the prerequisites for producing its own petroleum. Nearly two-thirds of its land area is covered by very large sedimentary basins, dotted with oil and gas seeps. International experts have assessed the recoverable potential as thirty-six billion barrels of oil, and 140 trillion cubic feet of gas.

The steps taken to attract foreign oil companies have brought encouraging results. Between 1968 and 1971 two concession agreements were signed. In December 1971, six more agreements were concluded. Negotiations with a number of other international oil companies are in progress. Out of the sedimentary area of 200,000 square miles, nearly one third has already been licensed out. In addition, licenses for 11,400 square miles of prospective offshore areas have been granted.

Until 1974, the Indus basin remained almost the only desirable area for exploration. The Baluchistan basin could not be similarly explored because the prospective areas were too inaccessible and dangerous. The Government policy of undertaking the necessary road building has been fruitful in stimulating petroleum exploration there. In the wake of the energy crisis, the Government decided that production from the Mayal and Tut oilfields in the Potwar basin should be maximised. An urgent programme for the development of Mayal is under way.

The discovery of natural gas at Sui in the Indus basin, in 1952, was an incentive for further exploration. A number of oilfields and gasfields have been discovered, though the oilfields are small in size.

Meanwhile, natural gas continues to be Pakistan's major natural asset. The total reserves in the gasfields discovered so far, of which Sui in Baluchistan and Mari in Sind are the biggest, have been estimated at 12.41 million million cubic feet. Projects are in hand to exploit this potential fully to meet the industrial need for gas, particularly in the production of fertilizers, as well as for domestic requirements.

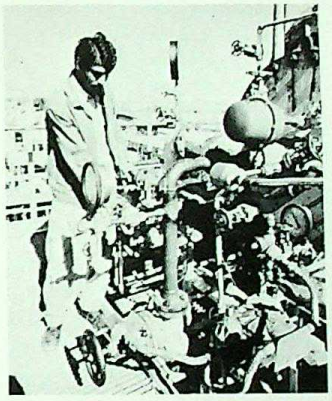
K.M.A.

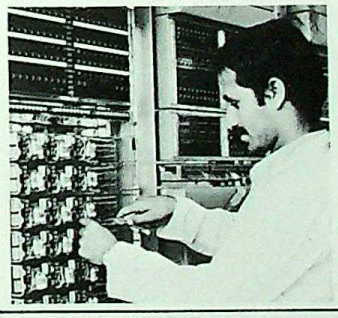
Minerals

A few years ago, only salt, coal, gypsum, chromite and limestone were being mined in appreciable quantities. Today there are known to be large reserves of at least sixteen minerals – chromite, coal, crude oil, fire clay, fullers earth, gypsum, anhydrite, limestone, marble, natural gas, ochre, rock salt, sea salt, silica sand, and aggregates.

Mining of baryte has already started near Khuzdan; some 5.75 million tons of high grade iron ore in Chagai have been proved, and the actual reserves are likely to be much higher. A pig-iron plant is being established. Iron ore deposits have also been located in the Dera Ghazi Khan area. In Hazara, near Kumhar, 1.5 million tons of magnesite have been proved and will be developed shortly. Deposits of manganese in Las Bela, graphite in Azad Kashmir, fluorite in Kalat, rock phosphate in Hazara, bauxite in Salt Range, talc in Swat, uranium in Dera Ghazi, china clay in Nagar Parkar, and gold in the Gilgit area have been located and efforts are being made to extract them. Some of the world's best emeralds are now being mined from Swat. Commercial deposits of rubies and aquamarines have been found in Gilgit Agency.

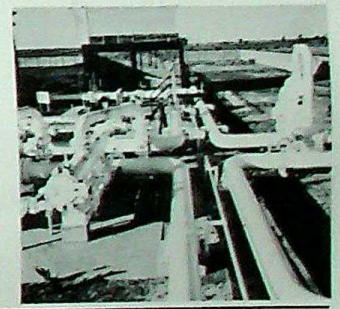
F.K.K.





Above. *Vast salt deposits are mined at Khewra. Oil exploration intensified following the sharp increase in the petroleum import bill. Installations at Dhulian, Joyamair, Balkassar, Tut and Mayal* (pictured above right) *yield oil.* Right. *Telephone Industries of Pakistan supplies all the equipment in the country and more for export.*

Right. *The carpet industry flourishes. Children are apprenticed before fingers grow too thick for knotting.* Below. *A variety of sports goods for export are made at Sialkot.* Below right. Gas *is a major fuel, first discovered at Sui in north-east Baluchistan.*



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Education

Ever since the dawn of Islam, education has occupied a pivotal position. All prophets were teachers. Moses came with the Ten Commandments, Buddha entered into dialogues, Christ gave a Sermon on the Mount and Muhammad tried to reach the minds and souls of people through the Holy Quran. All his *khutbas* (sermons), especially the last one, have the quality of being both synoptic and convincing. All prophets had their individual styles. Muhammad's style was simple and poetic, imaginative and sometimes symbolic. When he issued a command he did not demand blind obedience to it but suggested that compliance would help to promote a creative change of attitude and disposition. Knowledge spread with the rise of Islam through a twin process of the preservation of the sanctity of memory and the exercise of critical intelligence through inductive reasoning. Gradually, however, when Muslim culture declined, a rift appeared between memory and intelligence, and grew, so that while memory became more refined, intelligence suffered.

Educational Institutions

1948-49	1954-55	1964-65	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
PRIMARY SCHOOLS								
9,073	14,162	32,589	43,710	45,854	49,580	50,574	51,568	52,562
SECONDARY SCHOOLS								
2,585	2,264	4,323	5,865	6,357	6,904	7,328	7,652	7,976
VOCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS								
49	90	145	206	284	391	314	333	356
POLYTECHNICS & TECHNICAL COLLEGES								
0	1	13	24	28	23	23	27	32
ENGINEERING UNIVERSITIES & INSTITUTIONS								
2	2	5	6	6	6	6	6	7
COLLEGES								
42	77	225	314	338	334	350	400	446
UNIVERSITIES								
2	4	6	7	8	8	8	10	11
EXPENDITURE (CRORE RUPEES)								
3·82	9·45	45·09	78·99	79·08	100·07	126·93	174·45	248·42

1 CRORE = 10,000,000

In the subcontinent under Muslim rule, memory was allowed to retain its sanctity, but intelligence was exercised as an art of interpretation, not of explanation. Thus before colonial rule established itself in South Asia, Muslims did have an art of knowing, but it consisted of prolific and original interpretations of the Holy Quran and other great books.

The Muslims of the subcontinent, under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, came to realize that their survival as a nation depended very largely on developing scientific skills and adopting observation and experiment as methods of arriving at precise knowledge. *Madrassahs* and *maktabs,* however, continued to regard the methods of science as more or less profane. They were afraid that if Western science entered into their value system Western culture automatically and surreptitiously would also enter their social milieu and undermine their identity. They, therefore, did not take kindly to the art of explanation which in the nineteenth century had come from the West. But since the art of explanation had never come into serious conflict, either with the content of sacred memory or with the art of interpretation in the history of Islam, the Muslim middle class responded favourably to the call for acquiring scientific knowlege.

A young village girl studies the Holy Quran.

Even the far-flung villages have simple schools – as above, near Kohlu in Baluchistan.

But the intentions of the British rulers were different. They wanted to educate some people so that they could become clerks in their bureaucratic system. Lord Macaulay said, in one of his letters to his mother, that, by introducing the British system of education in India, he was hoping to convert its population to Christianity.

The Muslim middle class, however, was alive to the dangers inherent in the new educational system. They, therefore, incorporated what they thought was the best in the system without succumbing completely to the Western way of life. Sir Syed Ahmad's movement reached its climax in Iqbal, who presented a dynamic and life-affirming philosophy of education. It was both modern and forward-looking and consistent with the principles and values of Islam. Mohamed Ali Jinnah (who had not yet become Quaid-e-Azam) also emphasized the need for compulsory universal elementary education which should be progressive in outlook.

At Independence, Pakistan had only one university; 17 per cent of the primary school age and 13 per cent of the ten to thirteen-year-old age group children were attending school. Facilities for scientific, technical and vocational education were very limited; school education had a completely theoretical orientation; enrolments to higher education were concentrated in the liberal arts; curricula and text-bo ks were outdated; and the illiteracy rate was estin ted at over 80 per cent.

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, Jinnah convened an educational conference, in which he affirmed an objective of his government to be the introduction of compulsory elementary education up to Grade

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VIII throughout the country. Successive governments regarded education as something to be esteemed but not something deemed relevant to the socio-economic and cultural development of the country, and the plan never materialized. Sharif's Commission, set up in the Sixties, did some valuable work and produced a report, but it floundered in implementation because the teachers and students did not participate either in the formulation of the policy or at other stages. Later, there were more reports, for example, that of the Hamoodur Rehman Commission, which seemed to plead for more funds, and better facilities for teachers and students.

Considerable progress had been made by 1960: four universities, forty professional colleges and one hundred secondary vocational institutions had been established. The proportion of children at school had gone up substantially. However, qualitative improvement remained elusive and one Commission admitted to being "painfully aware of a precipitate deterioration in standards of teaching and examinations".

Left. *At the Islamabad College for boys, a pupil attends a craft class.* Above. *Two students Rawalpindi Polytechnic.* Right. *In Gilgit, boys start young as weavers.*

Although by 1970 a further increase in the number of school-going children, primary and secondary schools, professional colleges and universities had taken place, the problem of low standards was largely unsolved. The extremely low salary structure in both government and privately-owned institutions failed to attract the brightest graduates to the teaching profession. A vicious circle was in operation: poor salaries inducted only those who could not find jobs elsewhere; so discontented and underqualified teachers turned out ill-educated graduates who in turn became teachers.

Despite the realization that a breakthrough in education was crucial to progress, government investment in this area remained low, rising from one per cent of GNP in 1947 to only 1.4 per cent in 1969-70, as against a minimum level of four per cent recommended by UNESCO.

After the secession of the Eastern half of the country, it was in 1972 (for the first time in the brief history of Pakistan) that education was taken seriously and it was recognized that the institutional structures of the educational system were still colonial in character. Unless the structures were radically changed or demolished no real breakthrough in education could be made. It was also realized that private educational institutions mostly reflected the ideology of their proprietors, which meant that of the bourgeois vested interests. Nationalization of educational institutions was resisted by vested interests, largely because it not only hurt the proprietor financially, but also threatened his class identity.

The Government issued an "Education Policy 1972-80" in March 1972, which stated both general objectives and specific policy changes. Illiteracy was a major priority for action: universal elementary education, in addition to a massive adult education programme, was planned. Special importance was attached to the education of women and children in backward areas, and a People's Open University was to be set up for adults. A National Literacy Corps was to be established and a National Book Foundation, the latter to reprint foreign text-books and provide better and cheaper general books for all levels of readership. Radio and television were charged to produce education programmes and would eventually develop additional solely educational channels in both media, for viewing in schools throughout the country to augment and vary curricula.

Private schools and colleges would undergo phased nationalization, but, within national aims, institutions were to be given autonomy and independence in their choice of curricula. The revision of both text-books and curricula was to be implemented so that they were made more relevant to national demands for trained manpower. A shift of enrolment from arts subjects to science and agro-technical subjects was to be encouraged also, and more integrated courses made accessible. Polytechnics were to be converted into degree-colleges and existing degree-colleges supported.

In the first two years, free education up to Grade VIII was planned, to be extended in the following two years to Grade X (when pupils reach the age of fifteen). An increased proportion of women teachers was to be introduced in primary schools, so that both boys and girls could be educated together in the more relaxed and thus more successful atmosphere of continuous assessment. Free text-books were to be made available at this level.

Perhaps most importantly, since this was a prime reason for lack of interest and enthusiasm for support of education in the past, a sense of the responsibility of

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The thirst for education is everywhere: skills multiply on an unprecedented scale.

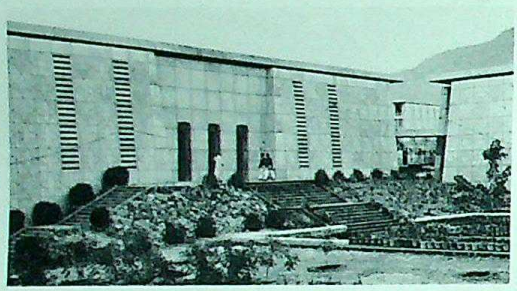
participation was to be encouraged in teachers, pupils, parents and local communities.

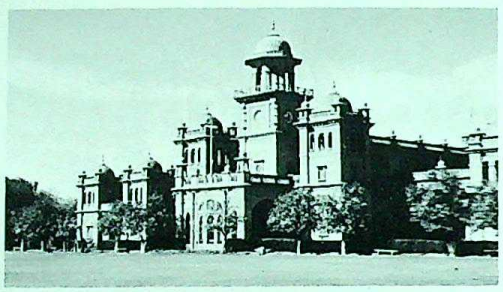
Some progress towards the achievement of these objectives has been made during the last few years, particularly in the nationalization of schools and colleges, the revision of elementary and secondary curricula, improvements in the salary scales and in the service conditions of teachers, and the establishment of proposed new institutions. However, nationalization has put heavy pressure on available resources, necessitating further investment for the improvement of the quality and quantity of education. Both the in-service training of teachers for the new curricula and the pre-service training of teachers, to meet the requirements of expansion, are to be stepped up. The proposed campaign for adult literacy and education has entered the stage of pilot projects. (The first pilot project utilizing television for teaching adult functional literacy was launched in Punjab on 12 October 1975, when about twenty thousand male and female students enrolled at some two hundred community viewing centres). Greater human and material resources are required to promote the requisite standards in higher education and to effect the proposed shift from arts to science. Problems are to be expected in attaining these objectives, even without the further difficulty caused by inflation.

Through a combination of greater efforts and the escalation of prices during 1970-75, development expenditure on education rose to Rs 1,260 million, and recurring expenditure to Rs 4,772 million. But there was no specific provision for adult education, and development expenditure on primary education amounted to only 15.5 per cent of this figure. In this connection, a Ministry of Education report pointed out that the annual cost per student amounted to forty-one times as much for university education as for primary education, and concluded that, "the universities are the most expensive, the least effective and yield the lowest benefit. Primary schools are the least costly, the most effective and yield the greatest benefit."

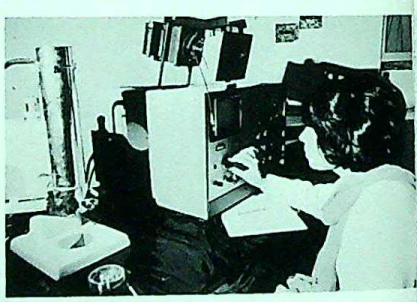
Recent national meetings and seminars have stressed the importance of achieving a viable mix of qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion at the elementary level. The highest priority must be given to adult literacy and education. This means making the greatest possible use of local human and physical resources, including part-time teaching and training capabilities, instead of yearning for laboratories and workshops which Pakistan cannot afford at present. Elementary schools should be used as community centres for adult literacy and school education be combined with apprenticeship. This educational opportunity would provide basic training to enable the development of vocational skills.

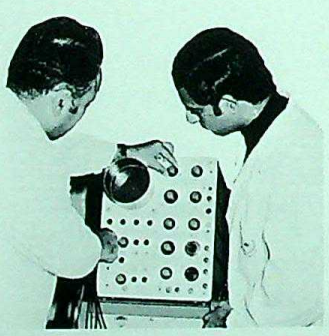
Although the Planning Commission aims at raising the proportion of primary school age children in school to 74 per cent by 1979-80, major difficulties remain in achieving this objective. Primary school enrolments

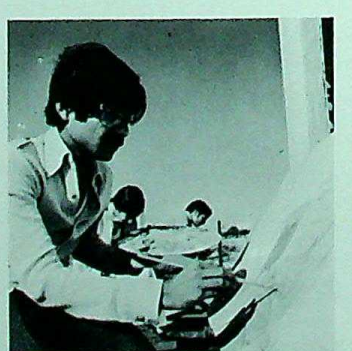




The dormitories of Islamabad University (far left) *were built in the 1960s. Peshawar University* (left) *incorporates Islamia College. Punjab University* (second row, far left and centre) *has 5,000 students.* Below. *At Islamabad, a physicist post-graduate.*







The Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH), (above and above left) *near Islamabad, was established to supply manpower trained in nuclear science, and for research into alternative sources of energy.* Left. *The Fine Arts department of Hyderabad University trains students in design.*

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include a substantial proportion of over-age children, so that current estimates of the percentage of relevant school-age children in schools would appear to be unrealistic. The Federal Ministry of Education points out that at the present rate of expansion of the primary school system, "it will take at least fifty years for Pakistan to cover the relevant age group for a five-year period of schooling, and seventy-five years to have universal elementary education of eight years' duration. It seems highly unlikely that substantially larger outlays of funds will be available for education in the foreseeable future. It is essential that some non-formal education programme be launched to include adults and out-of-school youths. In fact, such a programme may be a prerequisite for any significant economic development in the country."

While lamenting the paucity of funds available, the Federal Ministry of Education has made recommendations. Adult Literacy Advisory Councils should be established at the Federal and Provincial levels. All industrial and Government agencies employing over two hundred workers should be obliged to provide adult education for their workers. Physical facilities and teachers of the formal educational system must be utilized as part of the campaign for adult literacy. The eradication of illiteracy should be taken up as a national priority second only to defence. Educated citizens and Government servants should be encouraged to take part in the campaign to eradicate illiteracy. The People's Open University ought to be provided with adequate funds to enable it to use more progressive media, such as radio and television.

Despite the many obstacles in the path to universal literacy and education, efforts are being made to ensure that people have access to the means of transforming themselves into well-informed and innovative citizens. The media explosion has made most Pakistanis aware of their potentialities.

Md.A. and R.-uz-Z.

The Role of Women

The history of the subcontinent records a number of striking instances of Muslim women breaking the accepted restrictions of their gender. One such is Sultana Razia Begum whom her father, Sultan Shamsuddin Iltamash, in 1236 AD, chose, in preference to his sons, to rule over an empire which extended from Sind in the west to Bengal in the east. The men composing her council of ministers resented being ruled by a woman and she was killed, after being deserted and defeated in battle, in an attempt to quell a rebellion in 1240.

Certain royal or aristocratic women of the Mughal period took advantage of their access to higher education and the culture of their age. Gulbadan Begum (d. 1603), Emperor Humayun's sister, wrote his biography, *Humayun Nama*. Emperor Akbar's foster-mother, Mahim Anka, was joint "Prime Minister" of India from 1560 to 1562. Male historians, perhaps predictably, refer disparagingly to this period as "a time when Akbar was attempting to emancipate himself from harem influence." There were also women rulers of state who resisted Mughal hegemony over their domains. Habba Khatoon, an eloquent nationalist poet of Kashmir, defiantly opposed the expansionist policies of the time, while the Deccan's Chand Bibi led her army into battle to defend her Sultanate of Ahmednagar against invasion by Akbar's troops in 1595.

Then there was Noor Jehan, wife of the Mughal emperor Jehangir. She conducted the affairs of the state. Coins were struck in her name, and the royal seal on *farmans* (commands) bore her signature. Aurangzeb's talented daughter, Zeb-un-Nisa, was renowned for her poetic genius and literary accomplishments.

With the disintegration of the Mughal empire and the progressive colonization of the subcontinent by Europeans, the number of women who wielded power or held positions of authority declined rapidly. Begum Hazrat Mahal of Oudh was one of the last. She led her army against the British during the revolt of 1857. After defeat, her defiance of Queen Victoria's famous proclamation of 1 November 1858, took the form of a counter proclamation which questioned the sincerity of the British terms. She rebutted the text of Queen Victoria's proclamation paragraph by paragraph, to dispute British claims.

One of the consequences of the 1857 revolt was the resentment of the Muslims of the subcontinent against the Western system of education. Muslim fathers would not send their daughters to Christian missionary schools. Their education, when available, was restricted largely to basic literacy in Urdu, Arabic or Persian, and the reading and recitation of the Quran. Those few men who saw the advantage of giving Western education to their daughters and could afford it, employed English or Eurasian governesses. Thus a group of upper class, yet *purdah*-observing, women was created, who in due course opened schools where their daughters were taught.

With the passage of time, opposition to the education of women was questioned. Muslim women initiated their fight for participation in their society from within the restrictive impositions of the *purdah* system. Urdu publications began to appear at the turn of the twentieth century with articles aimed at educating and informing women of their rights, and discussions of such restricting practices as dowry, *purdah*, ostentatious marriages, and superstitious beliefs regarding health. These publications include *Tehzib-e-Nizwan*, edited by Muhammadi Begum (1896), *Ismat*, edited by Rashidul Khairi (1908), and *Khatoon*, edited by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (1900). Simultaneously, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, a highly influential educational trust, started a network of schools for Muslim girls.

In 1916, a Muslim Women's Conference was held in Lahore where the first resolution against polygamy was proposed. Subsequently, during the Twenties and Thirties a number of women boldly discarded *purdah* and became actively involved in the politics, even of the leftist variety, of the time. Among the outstanding women of that period was the mother of the Ali brothers – Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali – popularly called "Bi-Amma". During the *Khilafat* movement, she made a whirlwind tour of the subcontinent, addressing mammoth meetings and mobilizing public opinion. In the 1940s, Muslim

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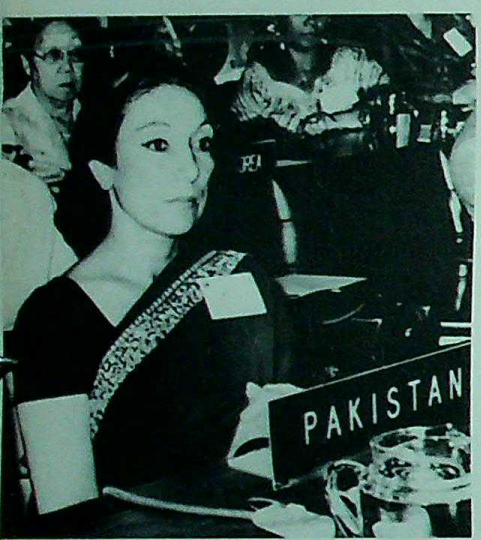
women could be seen on the streets of various cities joining in demands for the creation of Pakistan. Under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam, they were given specific political assignments. Addressing the Jinnah Islamic College for Girls at Lahore in 1942, he said, "No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women. If Muslim women support their men as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we will soon realize our goal." In the Pakistan movement, Muslim women braved police firing, encountered tear-gas and readily courted arrest.

The Independence of Pakistan was followed by the founding of the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), a largely voluntary, welfare-oriented organization, which attempted to provide humanitarian and social services necessary for the millions of displaced persons. APWA today has the largest network of branches in the country, is affiliated to the leading international women's bodies, and has a consultative status with the United Nations. Several other women's organizations or those concerned with women's welfare have since been established. Among them are the Girl Guides, the Pakistan Federation of University Women, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Family Planning Association, the Pakistan Child Welfare Council and the Pakistan Conference of Social Work.



Women play an increasingly significant role in the life of the country. Left. *The First Lady of Pakistan, Begum Nusrat Bhutto* (left), *was elected leader of the plenary session of the World Conference of International Women's Year at Mexico in June 1975.* Right. *Training for women guards includes the essentials of nursing and first aid, handling of small arms and anti-aircraft gunnery.*

The Constitution of 1956 did not incorporate any special clauses with reference to the status of women, but it did recognize the principle of female suffrage. Thus women were elected to "reserved" seats and their electorate was composed of regionally-determined women's constituencies. A year earlier, when the Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra, had taken a second wife, APWA led a campaign of social disapproval against polygamy, utilizing the media and publishing an open letter to the Prime Minister requesting appointment of a Commission on Marriage Reform Laws. This Commission submitted its report to the Government in 1956, but no action was taken until 1961, when the Family Laws Ordinance was passed.

The manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party, founded in 1967, promised women equal rights with men. On coming to power in 1971, it incorporated in the Constitution of 1973 the concept of equality for all citizens before the law, and included a clause which stated that there could be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. The foundations for new family laws were laid and a resolution for establishing a National Commission on the Status of Women was passed by Parliament. New legislation drastically restricted dowry. In 1976, the Pakistan Women's Rights Committee was set up to make recommendations for law reforms with a view to ensuring the proper implementation of the rights and guarantees to women provided in the Constitution. The Committee's report was published to elicit public support before it was finally presented to Parliament. One of the recommendations was that the status of the Commission on Women's Rights should be made permanent and statutory. When the Committee's recommendation received the approval of Parliament, women in the rural as well as the urban areas were by law assured full participation in all walks of national life on terms of equality with men.

Of the total population of Pakistan, 47 per cent are female, of whom 63 per cent live in the rural areas and the other 37 per cent in the urban areas. Only seven per cent of this total female population are literate. Of a total labour force population of 29.51 per cent, two per cent are women. The rural female labour force accounts for 85 per cent of this total figure of two per cent, primarily because women in the villages do not wear veils or observe *purdah* and work side by side with their menfolk on the farms and in the fields. The life expectancy of a woman at birth is 51.8 years compared with 52.9 years for a man. She marries on average between the ages of 13 to 19 years, and the maternal mortality rate is six to eight deaths per thousand live-births.

Women in Pakistan are to be found in increasing numbers in practically all professions, including law, medicine, teaching, engineering, architecture and civil service. Many are Members of Parliament or of the Provincial Legislatures. But they have tended generally to confine themselves to teaching and medical careers. The educational reforms introduced in 1972 have

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increased manifold the prospects for a large number qualifying for other professions. The base has been provided by ensuring that primary education become universal for girls by 1980.

The extended family system is on the decline in Pakistan, and so women are beginning to question the purpose of their education. It is at this point, more than any other, when they come up against the hierarchy of tradition and conservatism which does not accept the logical conclusion of the educational process, that is, that education is given for the purpose of being used in a profession or as a means to achieve economic independence, but works on the assumption that woman's main purpose in life is to be a wife, a mother, and a bearer of children. Any other interest or pursuit is seen as an aberration. Once equipped with the potential to work, however, the options open to Pakistani women will no longer be restricted merely to marriage or a secluded spinster-aunt existence within the family home.

Above. *Miss Shukriya Khanum became the first woman to fly a PIA aircraft. Pakistani women of distinction include novelists, educationalists, scholars, athletes and administrators. Several have been politicians.*

The pattern of transition is already observable in all levels of Pakistani society – the personalities and socio-economic background of the people concerned may make for deviations from the norm, but the basic structure remains. In the mid-Seventies there were barely literate women marrying educated men who intend to educate their daughters. There were others who looked upon a university degree as no more than a symbol, an asset in the marriage market. And then there were those wanting to work or already working and grappling with an entirely different range of problems to those faced by the previous generation.

There are other subsidiary levels of change. For example, entry into the labour force does not necessarily imply that women will have broken out of the *purdah* system. Working as a teacher in a woman's college or school or as a doctor in a women's hospital is feasible within the restrictions of *purdah* and the structure of a segregated society. The change over the previous generation is comparable in the case of a woman who may never have kept *purdah* but who (because social norms will never have permitted her to associate with men other than those of her family) works in the unsegregated atmosphere of an office.

The International Women's Year in 1975 and its attendant publicity provided a focus around which a consciousness grew. The seminars, meetings, articles in newspapers and the often intense debate they provoked, provided a forum for women to meet and articulate their frustrations, experiences and needs. Rapport was established between women of all ages who recognized the universality of women's problems, but also saw how solutions to these problems related to personal priorities and perceived needs. Begum Nusrat Bhutto, wife of the Prime Minister, who led the Pakistan delegation to the Conference held in Mexico in connection with the International Women's Year and was elected Vice-President of the Conference, is a zealous advocate of the rights of Pakistani women.

The framework of women's equal participation in society is already explicit in the laws of Pakistan. The challenge of the day is to develop and expand the infrastructure required to accommodate fully and encourage the process of transition well underway.

A.Ma.

Health

The trauma and physical suffering of Partition of 1947 were compounded by the ramshackle medical facilities available to the new state which were further depleted by the exodus of most non-Muslim doctors. There were only 1,360 doctors, 88 nurses, 13,769 hospital beds and one medical college to cater for a population of 32 million. There were hardly any medical technicians such as physiotherapists and pharmacists. Inadequate facilities and generally poor sanitary conditions combined to provide ideal conditions for frequent epidemics, the prevalence of infectious diseases and a high incidence of infant and maternity mortality. In this respect conditions in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, were markedly worse than in the West, the present State of Pakistan, to which this summary mainly refers.

To raise these unacceptably low medical standards, the Government gave high priority to special programmes aimed at eradicating wide-spread diseases such as tuberculosis, smallpox and malaria. New medical colleges were established. Cholera epidemics were curbed through special efforts to provide clean water. A beginning was made to provide medical cover to the rural population through health centres.

These efforts succeeded in reducing the frequency and virulence of epidemics, and the ravages of infectious diseases such as smallpox were sharply reduced. However, given the rapid growth and dispersal of the population, medical planners were frustrated in their attempts to provide more extensive facilities. Despite the fact that 74 per cent of the people lived in 45,000 villages, virtually all the nation's doctors practised in urban centres. With the population more than doubling from 32 million in 1947 to an estimated over 70 million in 1975, the strain imposed on the already limited medical facilities can easily be imagined.

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Despite these problems, the advances made under successive governments were substantial. By the end of 1971, the country had seven medical colleges and 14,862 practising doctors. The number of dentists, nurses and lady health visitors had also increased proportionately. This picture does not include those Pakistanis who had left to practise abroad.

Despite the shortage of funds, medical authorities have added separate specialized units to almost all general hospitals. Also, specialized hospitals such as the postgraduate institute of Karachi, the Institute of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine at Lahore, and the National Public Health Laboratories at Islamabad and eighty-two tuberculosis clinics are now in operation. Apart from these urban-based facilities, the number of rural health centres had increased to eighty-seven by 1971.

The present Government identified the major problems as the imbalance in medical facilities between urban and rural areas, high-priced drugs, and inadequate training facilities. The Population Planning Department and the Malaria Eradication Board were therefore reorganized and concentrated on providing safe drinking water and initiated arrangements for sanitary waste disposal. The administration has integrated its efforts through a comprehensive People's Health Scheme which has, since its inception in February 1972, undergone several changes. Although some parts of it have been implemented, the entire Scheme is awaiting consultations with the World Health Organization and the United Nations Development Programme to evolve a comprehensive picture of the country's health needs, resources and essential targets.

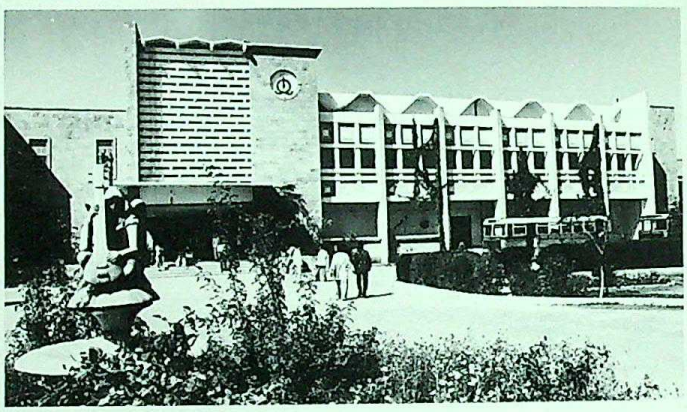
The People's Health Scheme has raised the training capacity of medical colleges from 900 places in 1971 to 3,000 in 1975. In the same period, the capacity for training nurses has been doubled, the number of hospitals has risen from 495 to 528, dispensaries from 1,961 to 3,430, rural health centres from 87 to 160, nurses from 5,000 to 6,000, and doctors from 14,800 to 18,000.

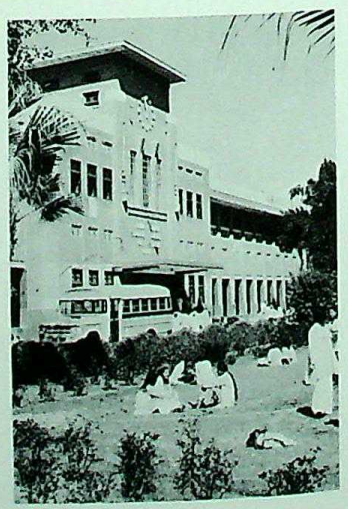
The Scheme also envisages an increase in the number of medical colleges to fourteen, in different parts of the country. Also, three postgraduate institutes have been established for public health and medicine. This emphasis on medical training is planned to culminate in the establishment of a medical university. Facilities already exist for advanced treatment and research at various major hospitals, medical colleges and specialized institutions.

Efforts to extend medical cover to a larger population have also introduced the Social Security Plan. Launched in 1973, the Plan covered half a million industrial workers by the end of 1975. From 1971 to 1975, the supply of drugs and medicines to government hospitals and dispensaries was tripled.

Apart from the role played by the State, there are 4,000 private practitioners, and this number is increasing by 10 per cent each year. Private clinics and hospitals provide 20 per cent of the hospital beds in the country.

Over 70 per cent of Pakistan's drug requirements are manufactured locally. In 1972, a law enacted under the People's Health Scheme banned, with a few exceptions, the sale of all drugs under any name other than their generic or scientific nomenclature. This law helped to





The picture (left) *shows an operation in progress in the theatre at Liaquat Medical College* (top) *at Jamshoro, near Hyderabad, which has modern pharmacology, hygiene and preventive medicine departments. From the Nishtar Medical College, Multan* (above), *between seven and eight hundred doctors graduate yearly. The Fatima Jinnah Medical College* (right) *is exclusively for women doctors.*

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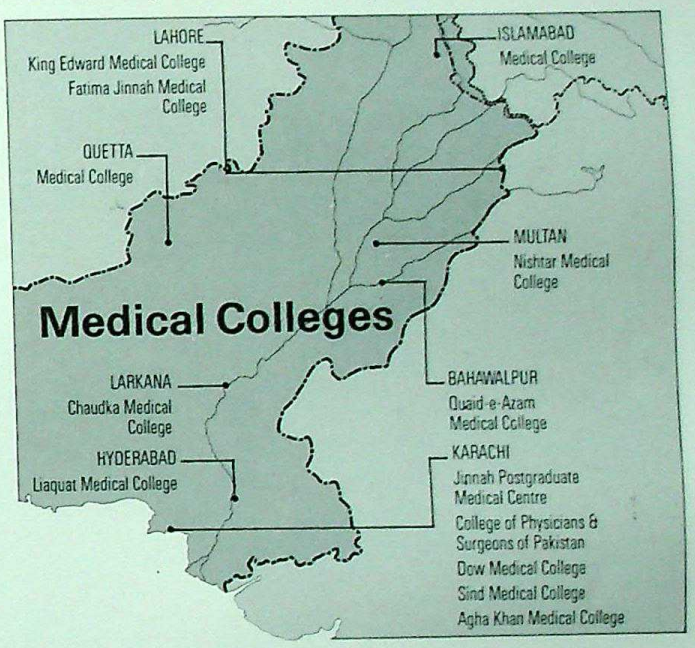
bring down the prices of most drugs. However, because of certain marketing and quality control problems, this law was amended in early 1976 to allow local manufacturers and importers to market all compound drugs under their brand names.

The Government's health policy aims to increase the health coverage from the current level of 10 per cent of the population to 50 per cent by 1981 and 100 per cent by 1986. Another goal is to reduce the current death rate of 15 per thousand to 11 per thousand, and the birth rate from 45 per thousand to 38 per thousand. Medical facilities in the rural areas are to be extended through teams of para-medical and auxiliary medical workers and specialized personnel posted at various levels of the proposed organization.

The allocation of funds for this vital sector reflects a determination to raise the standards of health prevailing in the country. In contrast to Rs 255 million earmarked for health in 1970-71, the current budget has a provision for Rs 1,009 million. Given this rapid increase of resources, the targets laid down in the People's Health Scheme should be attained within a decade.

Rural & Urban Health Facilities

	URBAN	RURAL	PAKISTAN
HOSPITALS	413	135	548
DISPENSARIES	989	2,097	3,086
MATERNITY & CHILD HEALTH CENTRES	399	316	715
RURAL HEALTH CENTRES	1	505	506
TUBERCULOSIS CLINICS	87	5	92
TOTAL INSTITUTIONS	1,889	3,058	4,947
TOTAL BEDS	30,553	7,480	38,033



The medical effort is concentrated in two fields – that of curing the sick and that of preventive medicine, not least in rural areas.

Population Planning

The population control programme in Pakistan has had a chequered history. Economic planners have always recognized its importance, and for some years the Population Planning Programme has been high in national priorities.

Until 1965, family planning work was done by voluntary agencies which provided services to the public through existing hospitals and medical units. There were no field organizations with special responsibility for providing family planning services. When, in 1965, the Government created an organization to deal with population control, it officially acknowledged the importance of family planning in order to strike a balance between available resources, limited economic progress and the extremely rapid population growth. It had become clear that unless the rate of growth was effectively controlled, economic gains that were achieved so painstakingly would be overtaken by the increase in population.

The plan adopted at that time to control population growth was based on providing information, attempting to persuade people to use contraceptives, encouraging regular practice of family planning procedures and free distribution of contraceptives. In the beginning, the family planning programme was centralized and there was no administrative infrastructure at the district level where the actual motivational work had to be done.

During this period there was no measurable decrease in the rate of population growth. An initial outlay of Rs 22 million had been allocated by the Government for 1965-1966, but only sixty per cent of the funds allocated were actually utilized. The original target of providing services to 1.2 million couples was also not achieved. These shortfalls were not surprising as the population planning programme was facing strong resistance from orthodox elements within the country. It was also difficult to explain the long range objectives of the programme to illiterate and semi-educated people who formed eighty per cent of the population.

Family planning is a sensitive issue that is seldom seriously discussed amongst intimates, let alone with strangers. Fertility control is considered an attempt to influence private family relationships and is viewed with intense distrust. The average Pakistani citizen does not really believe that rapid population increase will impede economic prosperity, or that his decision to have less children can affect progress in any way. On the contrary, he regards every son born in the family as a welcome accretion to its earning potential.

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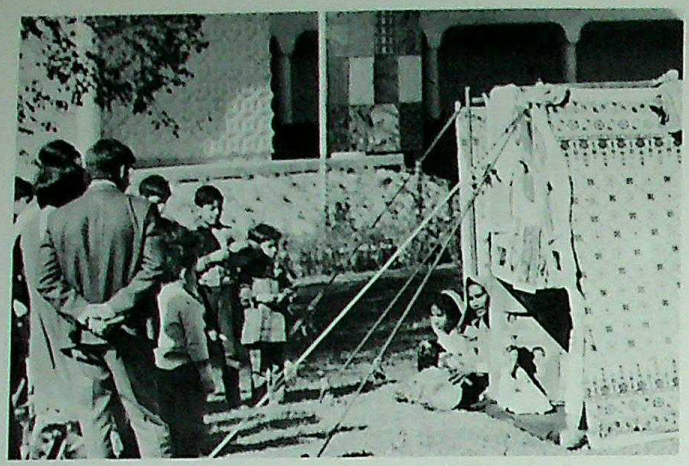
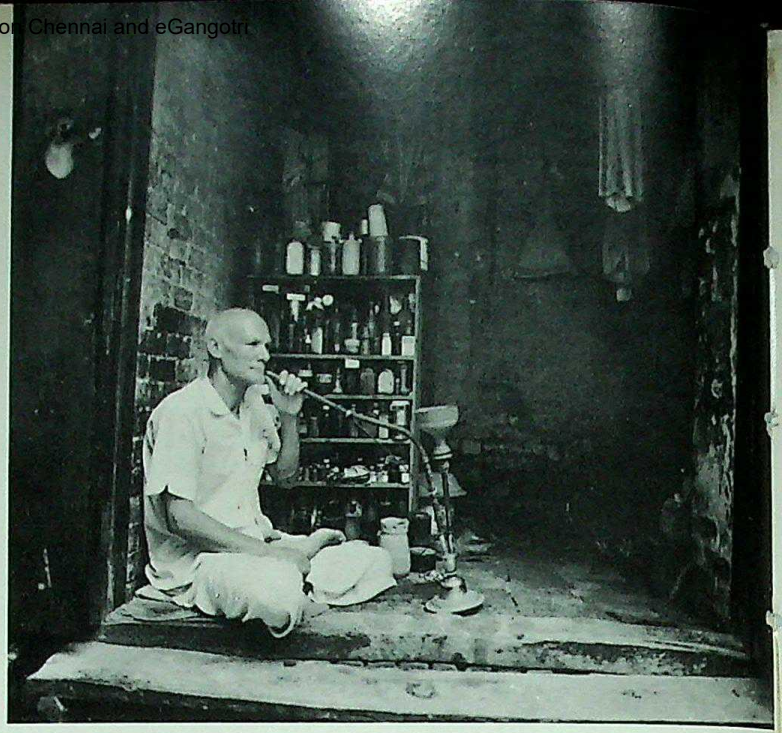


Puppet shows gather audiences to learn of the importance of contraception.



Right. *The herbal cures of the* hakims *play a significant role.*

During the Third Five Year Plan period, 1965-70, and to date, the population of Pakistan has continued to grow at the rate of 2.8 per cent to over 3 per cent (July 1975) per annum. In 1966-1968, the focus of the population planning programme was shifted from mere contraceptive distribution to regular personal contact with those who accepted family planning advice. Elaborate motivational plans were made and multi-dimensional family planning publicity became an important element of the programme. By 1973, the masses, in areas covered by the programme, had become aware that families could be planned, that fertility could be controlled by various means and that family planning assistance was available.

During this period, the emphasis on training of personnel was shifted to the district level and the population planning programme began operating on a tiered administrative system. Now twelve field motivators are supervised by a population planning officer and six such officers are supervised by an inspection officer and guided by a training officer. The general management of work in the district lies with the district population planning officer. The provincial population planning boards are guided by policies decided at the Federal level.

Modern contraceptives were made available to the lowest income groups at prices which they could easily afford and oral contraceptives were made freely available without medical prescriptions. The 1974-75 annual allocation has been raised by 42 per cent. Research is being conducted into the use of small family incentives to provide old age security and to attempt to persuade younger married couples to space their children over long intervals. Approximately ten million fertile couples are now using oral contraceptives and condoms.

The scope of services provided at family planning clinics has been extended to include simple medical assistance, which is desperately needed immediately, and these clinics have been renamed Family Welfare Clinics. The average citizen, however, does not recognize family planning as a priority in life.

S.J.

Indigenous Medicine

The Arabs improved upon the Greek system of medicine through research, investigation and discovery. The efficacious system they evolved and practised came to be described in the West as the "Arab medicinal system". Arab medicines are, in fact, derived from many *materia medica* – North African, Egyptian, Iranian, Greek, South Asian and Chinese. In the subcontinent, this system is popularly known as *yunani,* that is Graeco-Arab, and has been practised there for centuries.

The *yunani* system utilizes plants, minerals, metals and animal products in the composition of the medicines. Its poly-pharmaceutical preparations rely on the total effect, and in formulating a recipe the therapeutic action of one ingredient is supported, intensified or corrected by another; hence the medicines of this system are free from undesirable side-effects. The medicines are poly-pharmaceutic in the sense that they are based on what has now come to be known in modern scientific terminology as "combination therapy".

During the British rule, the *yunani* system was unable to muster adequate Government support, despite the efforts of Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan, who began to shape a new movement. The system, however, received encouragement from Jinnah, who, as far back as 1936, visited the Ayurvedic and Yunani Tibbia College, Delhi, and assured the students that adequate steps would be taken to encourage the growth and development of the system.

In Pakistan today, *yunani* is practised on an integrated professional basis.

There are at present over 6,000 medical practitioners who are fully qualified in the system, while 35,000 trained physicians practise in rural areas. The *yunani* system also enjoys the status of an important constituent of National Health schemes. Pakistan has abundant medicinal plants, and, where there is a surplus, exports them to other countries. The scope for research is enormous. Empiricism has given way to a scientific investigation and evaluation of drugs. The Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the House of Hamdard, as well as other institutions, are engaged in research into a number of them, simple and compound, claimed to be specifics in certain areas of treatment.

It may be that in the Eastern system of medicine lies one of the major contributions that Pakistan can make to the development of world health. It will be a great boon to underdeveloped countries if a pharmacopoeia of simple, safe and economic remedies can be provided. Research can produce results which can stem the tide of iatrogenic diseases from patent drugs.

H.M.S.

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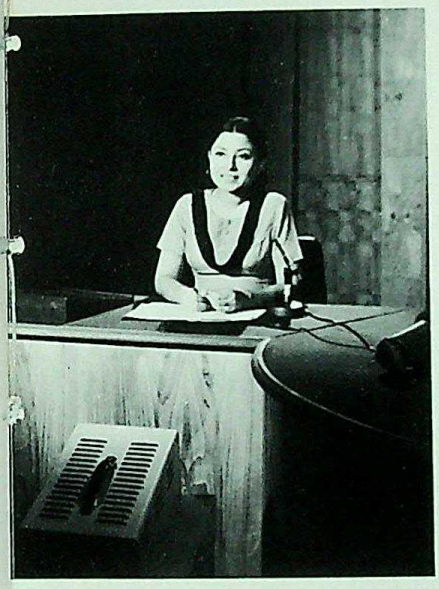
The Media

Broadcasting

Radio Pakistan has come a long way since its first broadcast at midnight between 14 and 15 August 1947. Inheriting a 5 kw transmitter at Lahore and a 10 kw transmitter at Peshawar, the Pakistan Broadcasting Service began with three transmissions a day, each station on the air for eighteen hours. In 1976, eight stations were broadcasting 160 hours daily in Home Service and thirty hours in External Services. These broadcasts include news bulletins daily in various languages. The whole country is now covered by shortwave transmitters of the combined strength of 1060 kw and 90 per cent of the population is served also by 1900 kw medium wave transmitters. The transistor boom of the 1960s has resulted in about seven million licensed radio receiver sets with an average audience of four or five people each.



Seven broadcasting stations cover the country. With the latest transmitters, radio will reach ninety per cent of the population.
Right. *A play in broadcast.*

In the Home Service there are special programmes for women, children, workers and students in the rural areas. The general programmes cover news and current affairs, light classical and devotional music, radio plays, broadcasts on religious subjects, recitations of poetry, adult literacy programmes, book reviews and commentaries on sports. Approximately 50 per cent of transmission is allocated for vocal and instrumental music and 50 per cent for news bulletins, newsreels and other programmes. Transmissions in the Home Service are in fourteen regional languages and dialects, while External Services broadcast in sixteen languages – Arabic, Bengali, Burmese, Dari (Afghan Persian), English, Persian, French, Gujrati, Hazarvi, Hindi, Indonesian, Swahili, Sylheti, Tamil, Turki and Turkish. A special daily service for overseas Pakistanis is broadcast in Urdu and English for more than ten hours.

Radio's contribution to the nation's cohesion and unity has never been more evident than in times of distress, such as the influx of millions of refugees in 1947, floods, earthquakes and wars, when its bulletins and reviews have given relief and guidance to the listener.

Radio Pakistan, a Government department till 1972, was converted in December that year into a corporation in order to give it greater administrative and fiscal freedom. Known now as the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), it is administered by a Board of eight directors, including the Director-General and the Chairman of the Corporation. Roughly 50 per cent of the Corporation's income comes from licensing fees on receiver sets (Rs 20 or about $2 per annum per set) and spot advertising; the other half is Federal Government subsidy.

Unlike Radio Pakistan, television started life as a limited company. The first experimental station began on 26 November, 1964 in Lahore. A month later the second pilot station went on the air in Dacca; the two were the forerunners of the Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV). For the first few years there was very little equipment. VTR machines and outdoor broadcast vans were introduced in 1968. Formerly all local programmes, constituting 66 per cent of air time, were live.

Today there are TV stations at Lahore, Karachi, Quetta, Peshawar and Rawalpindi-Islamabad. Every station has, or is in the process of acquiring, a full complement of studios and equipment, and undertakes the production of programmes of both national and regional interest. There are re-broadcast transmitters in every Province, most of them connected by microwave, and the rest being brought into the national network. The technical standard for transmission is CCIR-B monochrome; and from early 1977 will be colour, using the PAL system. The PTV network is connected with other national and international TV systems through a satellite earth station (at Deh Mandro, near Karachi) which is oriented to the geo-stationary COMSAT Satellite over the Indian Ocean.

PTV is on the air for six to eight hours every day,

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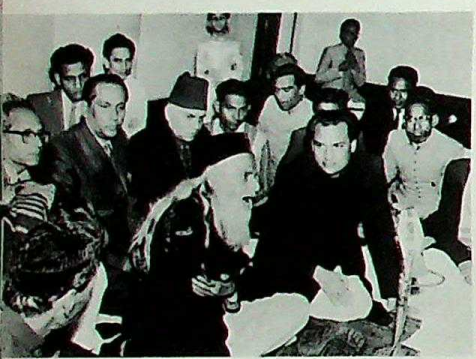
presenting a mixture of entertainment, information and education. Time is apportioned, not on the basis of any popularity ratings, but in accordance with what the programme planners consider to be the cultural needs of society. So PTV turned its attention to adult literacy programmes, set up community viewing centres, and started a series of tele-lessons in functional literacy.

Most of the estimated 400,000 licensed TV sets are in the cities, because television is still a largely urban phenomenon. Recently efforts have been made to enlarge the range of TV signals. In mountain regions and remote desert areas, people of tribal beliefs and values have only recently begun to see some of the artefacts of urban life, and TV reports have made visual, and done much to explain, changes in more developed parts of the country.

Television in Pakistan carries spot advertising and programmes sponsored by commercial enterprises. But even where there is not much advertising revenue, such as at Peshawar and Quetta, TV stations have been established in the interest of national integration.

Television was introduced in 1964. Programmes vary between the informational, instructive and purely entertaining. Future plans emphasise the use of the medium for mass education.



A poetical mushaira (above) *is monitored in a control room* (right). *Readers prefer their Urdu newspapers to be hand-written* (far right).

Television and radio alike are aiming to inform the largest number of people and to educate them too, so that all, not just a few, feel themselves to be in reach of enlightenment and are readier to fulfil their talents and more able to alter the circumstances in which they find themselves.

A.G. et al.

The Press

The fateful events of 1857 had their impact on the Muslim press in the subcontinent. The founder of *Urdu Akhbar* was shot dead when British troops re-entered Delhi, and his son, Muhammad Hussain Azad, who was the editor, was obliged to go underground. Of the thirty-five newspapers in circulation, twelve survived of which only one was edited by a Muslim. The cause of the Muslims was subsequently taken up by a number of newspapers, prominent among which were *Paisa Akhbar, Zamindar* and *Inqilab* of Lahore, *Al-Hilal, Al-Bilagh* of Delhi and the The *Comrade* of Lucknow. In the Forties *Dawn* appeared from Delhi. It was founded by Quaid-e-Azam: the *Pakistan Times,* Lahore, also founded by him, began publication on the eve of Independence.

Pakistan has a small but vocal multi-lingual press. There are now 100 dailies, 343 weeklies and 487 monthlies. Of these, 712 are in Urdu and 214 in English. Others are in Sindhi, Pushtu and Gujrati, and there are two each in Arabic and Persian.

Leading metropolitan newspapers are published from more than one centre. Among the Urdu newspapers *Jang,* for example, is printed in Karachi, Rawalpindi and Quetta, with an international edition from London. *Mashriq* comes out from all four provincial capitals, *Musawaat* is published from Karachi, Lahore and Lyallpur, *Imroze* from Lahore and Multan and *Nawa-i-Waqt* from Lahore and Rawalpindi. The *Pakistan Times* used to be the only English paper published in two places – Lahore and Rawalpindi – but the *Sun* of Karachi has now started an edition from Lahore. The two other English dailies, *Dawn* and *Morning News,* are published only in Karachi.

Because of the low percentage of literacy, circulation figures are not high. The metropolitan papers have sales ranging from 50,000 to 180,000: but one copy is read on average by five people. Well-to-do families subscribe to more than one newspaper, usually one English and one Urdu, some to newspapers of differing political flavour.

There are two national news agencies, Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) and Pakistan Press International (PPI). Both have exchange arrangements with international news agencies. They send out their service in English, leaving the task of translation to sub-editors. Urdu papers have a further handicap: no Urdu paper has ventured to introduce type-setting. The entire copy has to be hand-written by skilled calligraphists. In spite of these difficulties, the Urdu press is sometimes ahead of the English papers. The English press usually carries more foreign news, and, under arrangement with leading British and American papers, more feature articles and

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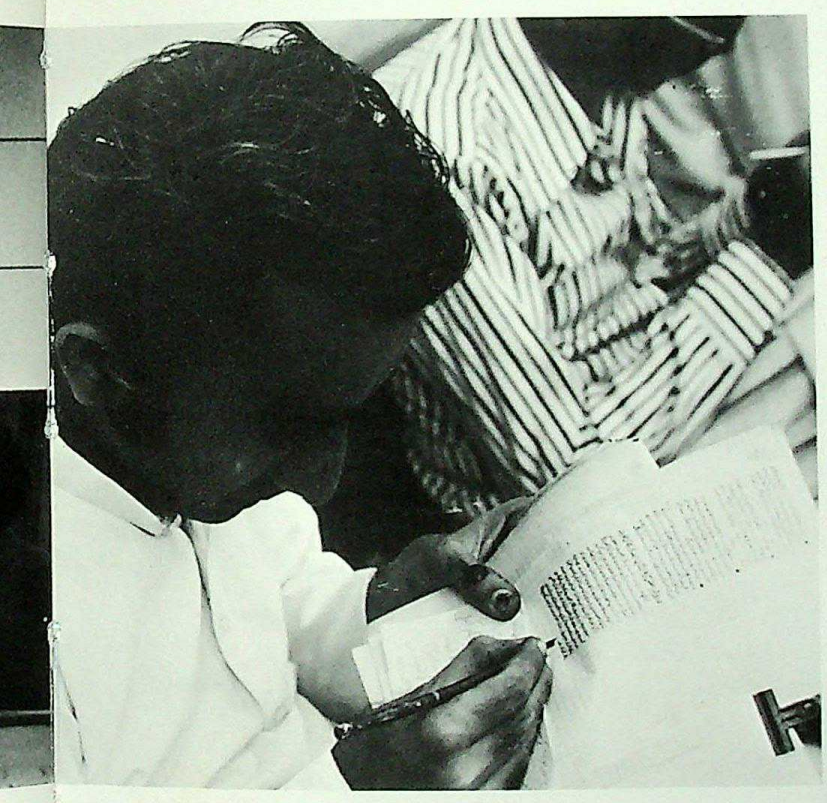
columns by well-known writers. The press of indigenous languages compensates by carrying more provincial news and features on domestic issues.

Peculiar to the Urdu press is the "editorial quartet". Taking the place of an editorial cartoon, it is a pithy four-line comment in verse, usually satirical in tone, on a current event or trend or whatever has caught the eye of the "staff poet".

Periodicals are emerging as a new force. From purely literary interests they are extending into the political field and becoming important vehicles of dissent and non-conformism, indulging sometimes in flagrant yellow journalism.

English will probably maintain its dominance for a long time, but if innovations, investigative effort and involvement in issues and causes are any indication, the Urdu press will not remain content with a secondary position.

K.M.As.



Publishing

The present government inherited a dearth of books, particularly textbooks, in sad contrast to the great libraries of the Mughal Empire, when Shah Jehan's alone contained over twenty-four thousand manuscripts. This book famine may be traced to the British occupation when many Muslims, regarding the British as enemies, kept their children from attending the British-run schools, but failed to provide a satisfactory alternative. An "appalling cloud of illiteracy" descended as a result, and even today Pakistan is counted amongst the countries with the lowest literacy rate. Serious and successful efforts are being made to solve this problem.

An important recent development in Pakistani publishing has been the setting-up, in August 1972, of the National Book Foundation (NBF). The NBF is run on commercial lines; it seeks to supplement, not supplant, the private publishers, and is ultimately expected to become fully self-reliant. It is concerned with using and improving the existing printing, binding and marketing facilities rather than setting up parallel organizations. Four schemes have been implemented: they are the importing or reprinting of foreign textbooks, production of children's books, and production of general books by Pakistani authors.

Books have been imported from Europe and the USA for sale to students at a subsidized rate. Foreign textbooks required in quantities of over five hundred are being reprinted in Pakistan, and over two hundred titles have been published. The reprints are sold at about twenty per cent of the original price. The major problem with the reprint scheme has been copyright; but, after lengthy negotiations, American publishers have accepted the urgency of the need and the unavailability of the books, and have now agreed to official contracts in return for royalties of two per cent on listed prices. A similar agreement is needed soon with British publishers.

The publishing of children's books has been both prolific, with fifty-two titles released in 1974-75, and revolutionary. A deliberate and careful attempt has been made to draw non-urban children into the habit of reading. "Tarzan" and "Noddy" have been supplanted by "Chingia", a recognizably Pakistani girl with whom every child may identify. Children learn, through the new books, of their great Muslim heritage, and of the contributions of Islam to world civilization. Many books have been illustrated by Mehr Nigar Masroor in her colourful and unmistakeably Muslim style. The heroes of foreign cultures and their lifestyles have been replaced by adventure stories with a Pakistani flavour, based on the causes common to all Muslims.

The *Look and Learn* and *Think and Play* series present stimulating introductions to science, geography, history, the records of Man's achievements, and the great classics of Arabic and Persian literature. Pride of place must go to *Harf-o-Mani,* the first Urdu children's encyclopaedia, containing 450 illustrations, 250 of which are in colour.

Many problems remain, but most are being gradually solved. There are over 300 privately-owned publishing houses in Pakistan. Several of them specialize in the printing and export of de-luxe editions of the Holy Quran. The rest of them publish textbooks, novels, periodicals and other books of general interest. The largest number of books printed are in Urdu, followed by English and Sindhi.

Libraries, a major market for books, are still not common enough, but 50,000 "people-oriented" libraries are planned. A national marketing and distribution agency is needed to convert the obvious need for books into a demand, and to supply the books from stock. The number of bookshops is steadily increasing, with over three thousand estimated in November 1975.

Many printing houses are converting to offset machines. The latest development is a joint venture with Libya—a press to be installed in Karachi—and called the Pak-Libya Publishing House. The press will have computer composing, electronic colour separation and automatic binding and printing to meet the specifications of foreign publishers. After this press is installed, it is intended to convert the publishing industry into a two-way trade, and to establish in Pakistan a publishing house of international standard with a sizeable export potential.

Y.M.S. et al.

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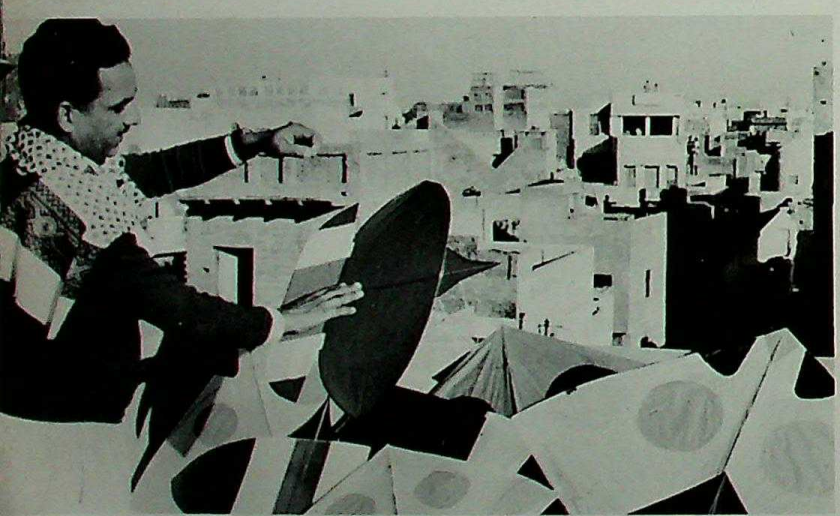
Sport

In Pakistan there was always a distinction between the kinds of sport which were pursued in the towns and in the countryside. For instance, the country people excelled in wrestling and horse racing which were organized regularly in each village and at gatherings between villages. Tent-pegging was also a feature at these occasions; attendance was large, the festive spirit prevailed and there was intense competition between the young men. They were colourful affairs and the teams participating were led by dancing and musical groups. Sporting events received patronage from the elders of the village, who acted as judges as well as chroniclers of the feats of champions in the past. Even today hardly any rural organization exists to regulate these sporting activities. They remain the natural recreation of a large majority of the people.

Right. *The highland climate matches that of Scotland, where golf – now popular in Pakistan – began.*

Yearly in Lahore the skills and fancy of the fliers of kites (below) *are tested at the* Basant *festival when the city's sky comes alive with fluttering and soaring spots of colour.*



On the other hand, urbanization led to increased interest in organized team and individual sports, such as hockey, cricket, football, tennis, squash and volley-ball. A large number of tournaments were organized at school, college, university and club levels. But there was not much organized training of natural skills. A few tournaments were held under the supervision of local associations, schools and colleges, some well-established institutions like the Government and Islamia Colleges at Lahore and Peshawar taking the lead. As a result, a healthy rivalry developed and this in turn raised the standard of sports.

Thus although in general there was no training, coaching, guidance or organized patronage, there was a sprinkling of enthusiasts who helped generate interest. There were incentives like scholarships or remission of tuition fees to sportsmen by leading colleges, and there were a few patrons who provided free equipment. This was the background against which Pakistan had to organize sport after it became independent, primarily as a healthy recreational activity and secondarily as an instrument for forging links internationally. When the first National Games were organized at Karachi, Mr. Jinnah specially flew from Peshawar against the advice of his doctors to attend these Games, which he watched for over three hours.

Pakistan's *début* in international cricket occurred in December 1951 when the least known and the least experienced team became the first side to beat an English team visiting the subcontinent. By defeating the MCC team in Karachi in December 1951, Pakistan did

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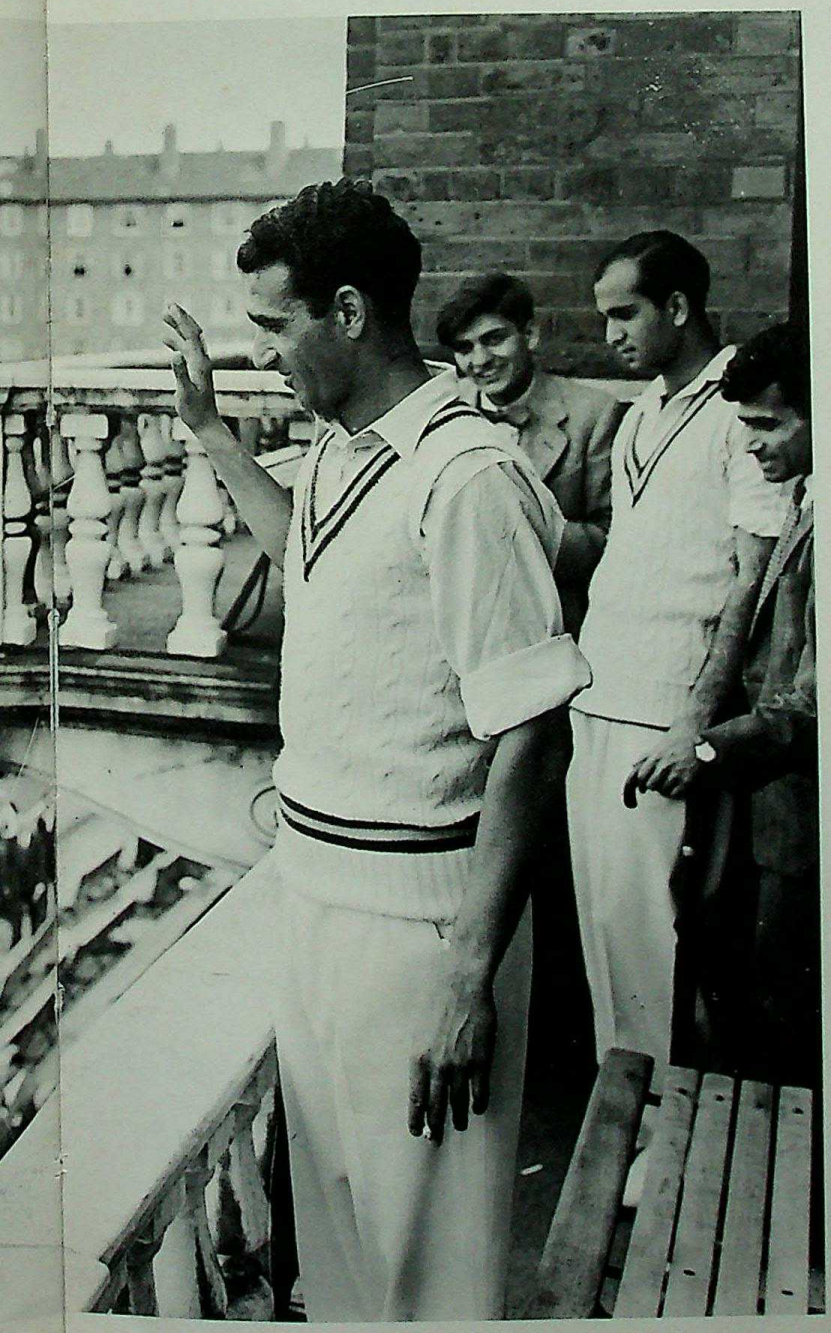
what combined India had not done in three decades of encounters with English touring teams. This victory brought Pakistan membership of the International Cricket Conference and these early hopes were further confirmed when the Pakistan team beat India at Lucknow by an innings and 43 runs in the second Test in October, 1952. It was a great fight back, because only a few days before, Pakistan had been beaten at New Delhi by India by an innings and 70 runs. This young team chalked up victories against all major cricket playing countries, such as Australia, England, West Indies and New Zealand. The most outstanding of these achievements came during the England tour in 1954, when for the first time a team on its first tour beat the formidable England XI at the Oval, thus levelling the Test series under totally alien playing conditions.

Pakistan was producing international squash players even before courts (like that below) *were built.*



The brilliant A. H. Kardar (left) *acknowledges applause after Pakistan's Test victory at the Oval in 1954. Like football, it is widely played – but not to the extinction of* chatti *races, like that* (right) *competed by girls at Government College, Lahore.*

Many honours have been won by Pakistan's cricket team, but the most outstanding are the achievements of the most famous Pakistan batsman, Hanif Mohammed. He has two world records to his credit. First, the highest individual score of 499 in first class cricket, beating Don Bradman's highest score of 452 not out, which had stood for nearly three decades. And, secondly, the longest Test innings of 16 hours and 39 minutes against the West Indies in which he scored 334 runs at Barbados in 1958. This innings extended over three days. Cricket standards in Pakistan today are as high as anywhere in the world. Players like Majid Khan, Mushtaq Mohammad, Sadiq Mohammad, Sarfraz Nawaz, Asif Iqbal, Zaheer Abbas and Intikhab Alam, are all well known, especially in England where they play professional cricket in English County

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championships.

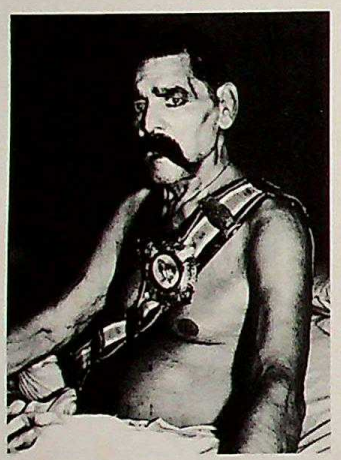
It was through the efforts of the cricket team and the squash racket players that Pakistan won a place in the world of international sport. Pakistan's phenomenal success in the world of squash becomes all the more surprising when one realises that there were only ten squash courts in the country and only about two hundred players who regularly played squash at the time of Independence. Pakistan's supremacy is largely due to the legendary Khan family, and especially to Hashim Khan.

From the age of eleven, Hashim was so devoted to squash that he did not consider it necessary to continue schooling. During his period of apprenticeship, Hashim made his living stringing rackets and hiring himself out as a playing partner, finally being employed as a professional coach at the age of twenty-eight. At the rather late age of thirty-five, Hashim began his astonishing record of victories which includes eight Scottish Open championships and seven British Opens. Succeeding members of the Khan family (more notably Azam, Roshan, Mohibullah, and lately, the younger generation of Qamar Zaman and Mohibullah Junior) have maintained the high standards set by Hashim Khan. Last year six out of the eight quarter-finalists in the British Open Squash championship were from Pakistan. In April 1976, the first ever World Cup was held at Karachi in the modern and well-equipped PIA squash complex. The foremost squash-playing nations competed for the trophy which was won by the Pakistani team.

One of the best organized games at the time of Independence was hockey. However, it was not until 1956, when Pakistan won a silver medal at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics that the Pakistan hockey team made its impact. Since then, Pakistan has done well at the Olympics, winning a gold medal at Rome (1960) and Mexico (1968), a silver medal at Munich (1972), and a bronze at Montreal (1976). Pakistan hockey reached its zenith in 1971 when it won the first World Cup hockey tournament and with it the grand slam, as they had earlier won the Olympics (1968) and the Asian (1970) titles.

The grace, brilliance and speed of players like Munir Dar, Atif, Saeed Anwar, Anwar Ahmad Khan, Habib Ali Kiddy, Khalid Mahmood, Hamidi, Nasir Bunda, Waheed, Motiullah and lately of Rashid Junior, Islah, Shahnaz and Sami have thrilled spectators all over the world.

Gama (right) *was the world champion wrestler in* kushti, *the oriental style. His nephews Bholo, Aslam and Akram are unbeaten champions in free style wrestling as well as* kushti. Far right. *The indigenous sport of* kabaddi is *essentially a trial of strength between the intruder and the defender of the territory.*



Tent-pegging, at which the boys of Aitchison College, Lahore, excel, where a wooden peg placed in the ground must be flicked out by a lance at full gallop.

Pakistan inherited a rich wrestling tradition as we have seen. The members of the world-famous Gama family were almost invincible in the traditional style of wrestling, in which the legendary Gama remained unbeaten for nearly three decades. Another branch of traditional wrestling is called *Malh,* in which the rules do not permit combatants to grasp each other's legs. Wrestling suffered a great deal from the loss of patronage formerly extended by maharajas and Princely States in pre-Partition days, but since Independence the Government has given compensatory support. As a result, Pakistan's wrestlers have performed fairly well at the Asian and the Commonwealth level, though Pakistan's only victory at the Olympic level took the form of a bronze medal won by Bashir in the 1960 Olympic Games held at Rome. Lahore,

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Gujranwala, Sargodha and Multan are famous nurseries of wrestlers.

Pakistan has not been able to produce an athlete of world class, though Khaliq (once the fastest man in Asia), Raziq (110 metre hurdles), Iqbal (hammer throw), and Mubarik Shah (long distance) were very near the world standard at their peak. Pakistan achieved its greatest success in athletics during the 1958 Asian Games at Tokyo, where its team won a total of thirteen medals (five gold, four silver and four bronze). Lately, Younis has been the only athlete performing at the Asian level.

Volleyball is one organized sport which is very popular even in villages and it was no surprise, therefore, when Pakistan volleyball teams in the early Fifties produced respectable results against foreign teams, including Japan, which tops the volleyball world league. Pakistan's only success at international level in volleyball was achieved during the 1962 Asian Games where it won a bronze medal.

Himalayan climbs attract mountaineers from far and wide. Top. *A group tackles Dobani in the Karakorams.*

Fine trout in Satpara lake, near Skardu, Baltitsan, draw the skilled fly fishermen on a northern holiday.

Boxing and body-building are fairly well-organized. Pakistani boxers and musclemen have been producing results consistently at the Asian level.

Haroon Rashid has made a name for himself in international tennis circles, although the standard of the game in Pakistan is not high. Efforts are being made by the Pakistan Lawn Tennis Association to coach talented players and organize competitions both locally and internationally.

Golf is another recreational activity which is gaining growing numbers of adherents. Several good golf courses have been established, and competitions are held regularly.

Polo is mostly played by the rich, their employees, and personnel of the armed forces who can afford to keep a large number of ponies. It is also played under local rules in Gilgit. Although it has never really become a spectator sport and there are few who can afford the expense involved, annual polo matches are held which draw sizeable support, especially from visiting tourists and foreign residents in Pakistan.

Mention of sports in Pakistan would be incomplete without reference to *kabaddi*, an indigenous sport requiring agility and strength. This is one of the regional combative sports which is played in nearly every village in Pakistan; it is particularly popular in Punjab. Like other organized sports it is an eleven-a-side contest between two teams. Under the rules, a player has to touch

Polo is played with devoted energy. In the northern grounds the ball bounces off the sides of the sunken ground.

his opponent and then run back to his "territory" (about fifteen to twenty-five yards) before he is caught. If he is caught, he must break free from his opponent by wrestling, or his team loses a point. The "touch time" is twenty seconds, during which the advancing player must touch an opponent and begin his swift return to "home". The "struggle time" which starts after the "touch time" is twenty-five seconds. This is an extremely popular game in villages, and farmers may be seen playing *kabaddi* in an uncultivated field after a day's work.

Pakistan's reputation in the world of sports is due to the richness of talent in the country. The lack of facilities which was initially one of the major drawbacks is being rectified, and recently the National Sports Trust has been set up to provide more gymnasia and stadia in the country, and to organize systematic programmes of further facility development. Arrangements are under way to establish a Sports University at Islamabad.

Sport is receiving generous patronage from the Government and, for the first time in the history of the country, a comprehensive programme of training under the supervision of twenty foreign coaches has been launched. Under this programme, coaches will be trained for Pakistan's future needs in addition to preparing her sportsmen for wider international competition.

A.H.K.

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Tourism

Pakistan is situated in the north-west of the South-Asian subcontinent and comprises an area greater than that of France and West Germany together. It is the home of many races and cultures, with a long and fascinating history.

Guest houses and guides are available to tourists sampling travel and sport in the spectacular North.

The road through the Khyber Pass in the North-West Frontier Province is now paved. One can drive along the meandering twists and turns of a route travelled by conquerors and traders – Aryans, Scythians, Persians, Greeks, Bactrians, Kushans, Huns, Turks, Mongols, and Mughals.

Alexander of Macedon crossed the Indus a little downstream of the present Attock Bridge. Further along the road, some twenty miles or so before the modern capital, Islamabad, stand the ruins of Taxila. This ancient Buddhist site, which during the time of Asoka was a province ruled by his son Mahendra, still bears witness to a cultural flowering. The museum at Taxila and the excavation sites of Jaulian, Sirkhap and Sirsuk demonstrate the waxing and waning of civilizations as, one after another, they prospered and decayed.

Peshawar, the capital of the North-West Frontier, has a magnificent fortress called Balahisar. Then there is the Qissakhwani Bazaar, story teller's market, as ancient and exotic as the Arabian Nights. Here, tall, turbaned Pathans in baggy *shalwars* and long, loose shirts, stride along in quiet dignity, bullet-studded bandoliers across their chests and pistols at their sides. The air is filled with the appetizing smell of spicy *chapli kebabs* and one can buy embroidered waistcoats and sandals or local brass and copperware, both antique and contemporary.

In the northern regions of Gilgit and Hunza, Swat and the Kaghan Valley, there is breath-takingly beautiful scenery, which is ideal country for trekking, hiking and trout-fishing. Rest-houses and small hotels exist in many places.

The Karakorams stand sentinel. Within a radius of a few miles there are mountain peaks so high that only those above twenty thousand feet have names. K-2 (28,251 feet), the second highest peak in the world, offers a challenge to mountain climbers. In the slopes of mountains dwell some rare animals – markhor and urial.

In the ancient land of Chitral there are three valleys – Bamboret, Rambur and Birir – inhabited by the Kafirs of Kalash. Some scholars identify the Kalash as early Aryans, some say they are Indo-Scythians, while others maintain that they are descended from Alexander's army. They are animists steeped in the love of their ritual traditions.

Hunza is as fascinating as the people who inhabit it. The Hunzakuts are noted for their longevity. There are similarities between their language and Basque, and there are certain other traits common to both. Some claim that they may be a branch of the Biblical lost tribe. Hunza people, like some of the Kalash, have amongst them many who are blue-eyed and fair-skinned. The Karakoram Highway to the Chinese border at about fourteen thousand feet is one of the highest metalled roads in the world. Hunza will shortly be reopened to tourists, and hotel facilities provided.

Lahore was once the capital of the Mughal Empire. Climb the steps to the Badshahi Mosque, saunter along the Shalimar Gardens and reflect upon the romantic Emperor Shah Jehan whose creation it is. The Badshahi Mosque, the largest in the world, the tomb of the poet-philosopher Iqbal who first dreamed of Pakistan, and Lahore fort are conveniently close to each other. The Lahore fort was massively conceived and exquisitely detailed by three generations of Mughal Emperors – Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan. There is a *son-et-lumiere* on some evenings at Jehangir's quadrangle in the fort. Across the river Ravi, some two miles away, is the tomb of the Emperor Jehangir not far from that of Noor Jehan.

Also in Lahore are dancing girls, mistresses of an exquisite art, each dancer having successively passed on her inherited and practised grace to her daughter. In front of the Lahore museum is the cannon *Zamzama*, "Kim's Gun", immortalized by Kipling.

In the south, the countryside changes, and so do the sights and sounds and smells. Camels stride sedately along the beach at Karachi as the sun dips into the Arabian sea, two-wheeled horse carriages jog along, oxen with tinkling bells draw carts laden with hay, there are whirring three-wheeled scooter rickshaws, and the heady scent of incense and camphor in shrines.

In the province of Sind lies Mohenjodaro, "Mound of the Dead". The excavations give us a glimpse into a culture five thousand years old; of a flourishing civilization, with its Priest King and its Great Bath, its well laid streets and drains. Recently at Kot Diji and Umer Kot, archaeologists have discovered remains of yet another civilization, even older than Mohenjodaro. There are also the intriguing necropolis of Thatta and the ancient remains at Bhambore, both of which can be easily visited from Karachi.

T.R. et al.

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6 Culture

The yeast of the arts is among the ordinary people, along the length and breadth of the land. They grow up to recite their poets and compose anew, to sing and play musical instruments, to dance, to act, to pot, to weave, to paint, to work metals, to carve, to decorate, to build small things and great. Past treasures only are glass-cased—the manifold culture itself is alive in every community.

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The Foundations of Culture

TRADITIONALLY, within the Indo-Muslim community, the two poles, the fountainhead as well as the focus, of culture, have been the king's court and the saints' *khanqah* (sanctuary), the one urban and aristocratic, the other rural and popular; the one exoteric, the other esoteric. Both antithetical and complementary to each other, they sustained the cultural universe of the community.

This culture began to take shape very early after the advent of the Muslims. Amir Khusrau, at once a saint and a courtier, may be said to be its first progenitor. It reached its culmination in the days of the Mughals and, after the weakening of the centre, became dispersed in the different regions and successor states of the Mughal empire.

From the earliest days, the Muslims built cities and citadels, forts and palaces, mosques and *madrassahs,* tombs and mausoleums, and introduced the laying out of gardens in this South Asian land. The plans of both secular and sacred buildings were those that had been standardized in the tradition of Islamic architecture. For instance, the architecture of the mosques is grand and simple, at once attractive and awe-inspiring, ordered and restrained, marked by symmetry and proportion, with open spaces and abundance of light in accord with the Islamic conception of man's relationship to God as opposed to the Hindu tradition of sacred architecture which is florid in character, profusely decorative, with closed and dark cells and niches and mysterious labyrinthine passages.

But the implementation of the plan was, to a large extent, determined by the available material and the skill and method of the local craftsman. Thus, out of the spirit of Islamic architecture and the structural features of the Hindu tradition, there evolved the Indo-Muslim style of architecture with the happy blending of power and beauty, which is best exemplified in the Taj of Agra.

The gardens laid out by the Muslims, with their flowers and fruits and running streamlets in beauty and tranquillity, were a projection of their idea of Paradise. Yet again the local climate and flora could not but condition their design.

Many minor handicrafts like tapestry-making, carpets, embroidery, gold-smithing, wood-carving and pottery, inspired by mural designs, floral and geometrical, flourished in the workshops patronized by kings and nobles and spread to distant villages.

Private libraries were the proud possession of every distinguished family. A gentleman was one who was the master of the sword and the pen. Paper was introduced in South Asia by the Muslims; the art of illuminating manuscripts was highly valued and patronized; and learning the art of calligraphy was a part of the curriculum for the high and the low.

From the very early days, the Muslims showed a wonderful appreciation of Indian music. However, since it had become stereotyped and tradition-bound, they synthesized it with their own tradition, enlivened it with dynamic impulse and became the chief contributors to, and sharers in, what came to be known as Indian classical music. In the Sufi congregations, the *qawwali* was introduced to serve as the food of divine love. Many new musical instruments were introduced by the Muslim artists through modifications suggested by the comparable Indian and foreign musical instruments.

Under the Mughal patronage of the art of miniature painting, the Mughal school of painting grew up with its emphasis on the portrayal of real scenes from life and marked by a naturalistic tendency and a judicious use of colours.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the political and social institutions of the Indo-Muslim community weakened, the rage for poetry became so common and widespread that one who could not embellish his speech or writing with apt quotations from the Urdu and Persian poets had no right to be regarded as a cultured person. This accomplishment was a part of the gentle art of social living. The peculiar institution of *mushaira,* a public gathering at which the poets would recite their *ghazals,* all in the same rhythm and with the same rhyme structure, and receive open applause and acclaim, spread in all cities and towns. Court manners were scrupulously observed in the *mushaira* which was very much like a poetic *Darbar-i-Aam* where, instead of one monarch, several rival monarchs of poetry presided. A peculiar tradition of master and disciple, midway between the mystic order of *Murshid* and *Murid,* and the guild practice of master craftsman and apprentice, grew up for the cultivation of the art and craft of poetry. Poetry was so intimate a part of social experience that the need for formulating a systematic theory of criticism was never felt. The last Emperor of Delhi was himself a poet of no mean merit. It might be said that the Muslims gave away an empire for a song.

Qawwalis, rendered musically along with the ecstatic dance in spiritual congregations presided over by a saint, stylish recital of *marthias,* elegies of high poetic excellence in commemoration of the martyrdom of the grandson of the Holy Prophet, devotion to the memory of the saints and martyrs of Islam, pilgrimages and anniversary festivals at the shrines, the symbolic rites and rituals and ceremonies practised on such occasions, became the peculiar forms of the popular Islam of the Indo-Muslim community.

With the political decline, the sprightly grace of Muslim architecture was smothered in over-ornamentation; painting declined; but music continued to be practised as a family tradition and flourished in the courts of rulers and the salons of courtesans, and poetry found a new medium which had a liberating effect on poetic genius. The tradition of court patronage was carried on in the successor states of the empire. This dispersal of authority brought about almost a renaissance in regional languages and literature and the local arts.

Alongside all these developments, as time passed and the Indo-Muslim community became less and less culturally tied up with the Muslim countries of West Asia, and more and more acclimatized in South Asia, it evolved a language of its own, Urdu, with an indigenous textural base and an Arab-Iranian-Islamic superstructure, harmonized and blended to serve as a vehicle for Indo-Muslim culture. The symbolic significance of this phenomenon was that the Indo-Muslim community had become differentiated from other Muslim peoples and well-integrated within itself. Conscious of its distinct identity, it forged on both linguistic and literary levels a medium of communication with the Hindus. Subsequently, the

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impact of the West opened up new lines of thought and brought about almost a revolution in literature by weaning it from the old metaphysical moorings and making it more conscious of social problems. The rise of modern Urdu prose may be said to be entirely due to this impact.

Urdu has played an important role in the articulation of the Indo-Muslim community. It has been a symbol, an issue and a weapon in their struggle for independence. By its very nature and status it has been a language of urban sophistication, classical tradition and scholarship, and a link of intercourse between the diverse linguistic groups throughout South Asia. This account helps in understanding the fact that Pakistani society has three cultural levels, represented by Urdu, the regional languages and the local folklore.

Each of the regional languages of Pakistan boasts a treasure and a tradition of high literature with mystical, romantic and heroic trends, woven of the very stuff of which regional life is made, investing the old tales, mythical and historical, with the universal significance of human situation and destiny.

Folklore and folktales are the anonymous, natural growth of the soil, projecting the infrastructure of subconscious group life, though threatened with extinction by the modern trends of urbanization and industrialization.

There has been considerable activity in the process of resuscitation, re-interpretation and revitalization of all the three spheres. The realization has grown that if the treasure of folklore and folksongs is lost and their spirit is not integrated in the collective consciousness, something of basic value will be missing from the cultural life that time is shaping. The regional literatures, whose place in the affections of the masses has never weakened, are being cultivated with a new zeal and their tradition is being expanded to convey and contain modern sensibility. Still, it seems to be the destiny of Urdu, which, after religion, is the most important bond of unity among the different regions of Pakistan, to strike deep roots in the soil, and, by taking a new colour and a new direction from the Pakistani environment, develop like American-English into what might come to be called Pakistani Urdu as distinguished from Indian Urdu, both claiming the same classical heritage, but differentiated in their modern tone, spirit and idiom. A similar tendency is noticeable in folk arts and folksongs, and in the popular as well as the high tradition of fine arts.

Though sometimes passions, born of pride and prejudice, seem to thwart the historical process towards integration, the influences from national culture, in transition from Indo-Muslim to Pakistani culture, on the developing regional sub-cultures, and the influences from the different sub-cultures on the shaping of the national culture, will act and react like the fusion of the patriarchal principle with the matriarchal principle and lend a breadth and scope to the sub-cultures and give depth to the national culture. The unity will be enriched by diversity, and diversity culminate in a larger unity. This is inevitable because the metaphysical background of all these species and sub-species of culture, as well as their destiny, is the same.

Cultural activity lies midway between purely spiritual and purely material pursuits. It draws its inspiration from religion but it is based on and conditioned by the political-economic structure of society. It is an activity *sui generis*. However, all the forms of culture are informed by that core of values which they seek to express and the ultimate significance of a culture lies not in itself but in the contribution, in terms of truth and beauty, that it makes to humanity's Art of Living.

This awareness is a pervasive influence on the mind of Pakistan which can never be completely eclipsed. The contemporary experience has, however, raised question marks.

The creation of Pakistan was accompanied by violent upheavals and the uprootings of society. The fulfilment of the dream of Pakistan brought in its wake a plethora of problems of an ideological nature and sectional interests and ambitions, without the wisdom and experience needed for building assimilative structures and accommodating democratic urges to arrest the tendency towards chaos and disintegration.

The country had no workable political constitution, and the economic progress that followed Independence gave birth to many classes with conflicting interests, rising expectations and mounting demands, and, on the whole, resulted in an unethical race for grab and graft, the disruption of villages and the appearance of marble palaces side by side with shanty slums in the cities.

Pakistan now has a constitution, democratic, federal and Islamic, which emphasizes the importance of federalism as the overall integrative principle and ensures autonomy to the regions for their full and free development. The Government is pragmatically developing a mixed economy, seeking avenues of cooperation with the Middle East countries in production and striving with the Third World for a more equitable economic order. Through labour laws, land reforms, cooperative farming, abolition of the *sardari* system and nationalization of basic industries and agricultural processing, it is securing the participation of the workers and the peasants in the recompenses and the products of economic activity.

This politico-economic shift means that favourable conditions have been created to facilitate the evolution of national culture side by side with regional cultures and to make it possible for a larger and larger section of the people to participate in the composite culture at all levels. Thus culture, both in its horizontal dimension (the national-regional and the urban-rural contradiction) and in its vertical dimension (the mass-and-class contradiction), will hopefully be benefited by this strong trend towards democracy and socialism.

The involvement of the Pakistani people in experiments with Islam, both at the governmental and the popular levels, is meant to impart a new vigour and provide a new direction to their thinking and their arts and regenerate their traditional values. In the process, however, diverse mental attitudes become evident.

There is the obscurantist, dogmatic, inquisitorial attitude; the politicizing Islam attitude; the anti-traditional, secularizing, modernizing attitude, besides other non-creative and anti-cultural attitudes which are rampant and which, in their different ways, only endorse the relevance of this issue to modern Pakistani thinking.

As against the prevalence of these schisms, there is

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some serious intellectual activity, at once critical and creative, to seek in Islam the meaning and purpose of life and the light with which to see the contemporary problems in their true perspective. Research is being carried on by learned bodies with a view to awakening in the younger generation an enlightened awareness of the glorious traditions of Muslim science and philosophy which they had all but forgotten. Similar research is in progress on how best to bring the laws of the land in consonance with the teachings of Islam.

In the past, as we have noted earlier, the court and the *khanqah* were the two poles sustaining the cultural universe of the older Indo-Muslim community. Today, in the same way, preoccupation with Islam and a trend towards socialism are crystallizing as the two poles deeply affecting the emerging cultural life of modern Pakistan. This is reflected in the slogan of the Pakistan People's Party: Islam (religion): Democracy (politics): Socialism (economy). Faith in the revolutionary potentialities of Islam supports the hope that modernization, in the sense of a scientific outlook, use of technology and mass participation in politico-economic life, can be assimilated within the orbit of Islamic society. In fact, this faith and this hope are the *raison d'être* of the creation of Pakistan.

Islam encourages free inquiry into the truth and affirms the validity of scientific truth, though it may not be the only kind of truth or the whole truth which man needs to live by. It gives due weight to mundane life, based on just foundations so that out of it may evolve a higher moral and spiritual life. It does not forbid the use of technology for it looks upon material wealth as a blessing if used as a means of promoting human welfare. While it denounces the lust and greed for material acquisition, it looks with favour on men organizing, cooperating and participating in a fuller worldly life; in the Quranic idiom, seeking the bounty of God. It regards the conquest of nature as the destiny of man, not as a proud triumph over a fallen foe, but as a grateful confrontation of love and understanding; for is not all nature the sign of God's providence and power and mercy, beckoning man to transcend beyond this sacramental barrier?

Islam stresses the primacy of spiritual communion between man and man. It emphasizes the necessary relation between spiritually and morally-disciplined individuals and a strong, just and fraternal society. It sanctions the grouping of men on ethnic or territorial bases for purposes of identification, but does not approve of the narrow prejudices and passionate hatreds of nationalism. It seeks to bring about a supra-national synthesis of all humanity into one brotherhood, united in all its diversities on a spiritual basis and under one God.

This is the vision, the idea of Pakistan. To what extent it is unfolded in time is a different matter. It is this which is sought to be made the soul and pivot of Pakistani culture in all its manifestations. After all, culture is not merely a fact, but also a process. When one is dealing with contemporary culture, one can at best decipher certain leading trends and peep beyond them into the aims and purposes of the people creating that culture, and speculate about the future with some faith-inspired discernment maybe, and not wholly wishful thinking.

K.H.

The Nation's Psyche

The concept of a national psychology raises a number of questions. These arise from the fact that a nation's unity is a synthesis. Unlike the unity of a family or a tribe, it is not based on a primitive sense of identity, nor does it derive from similar unconscious processes or a uniform participation mystique. A nation appears unstructured. This is as true of most other modern nations as of Pakistan. Yet the perception would be faulty which concentrated on the diverse elements in Pakistan's composition and lost sight of the peculiar constellation of archetypal forces that led to the historic movements behind the establishment of Pakistan.

In Pakistan as elsewhere, the ego-consciousness of the modern man is in a dialectical relation with a constellation of archetypes. There is a tension of opposites between democracy and patriarchal modes of thinking, feeling and acting. This is intensified as consciousness tends to become more democratic and the vested interests, seeking to protect a socio-economic system, exploit the primordial power of the Unconscious. These interests have the alert cunning of a serpent and can strike in devious and surreptitious ways. The exact form that the conflict takes in a particular milieu is determined by historical factors.

Muslims of South Asia had a pronounced sense of their distinctness and individuality when they were the rulers of the subcontinent. The feelings of pride and achievement which supported this sense were, however, eroded by the intrusion of British imperialism. Having had no experience of subjection to a foreign power, they regressed at first into a cagey isolationism. This resulted in a fragmentation of the community. But the group identity was too powerful to let this initial response persist and, beginning with the explosion of 1857, a series of movements took hold among South Asian Muslims. The aim of the more progressive among these was to displace the type of consciousness that is nurtured by colonialism. It is a consciousness that is still contained in the mother and makes men behave as son-lovers.

Son-lovers are people who talk about change and social revolution without doing anything about it. They are incapable of entering into any significant engagement with a purpose outside themselves. They fear the risk of verifying their assumptions lest they be falsified. When the imperialist devalued the natives, the latter, instead of countering this assault on their self-regard, directed their aggression against themselves. In this unconscious process of self-abasement, the face and figure of the original aggressor was repressed. The result was a spawning of prejudices, mythological slogans, emotionally laden words and a ferocity in defence of cliches. The colonized people were not only self-alienated but also alienated from the rest of the world. With its grand rituals and spectacular paraphernalia, the colonial power hypnotized them into living in make-believe. Hypnosis of any kind creates and then reinforces a

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sense of dependence. When independence came, consciousness moved ahead, but the opposite pole, the unconscious, became more primitive, more archaic because it had borne regression for ages. In such a situation, thinking operates in dichotomies. This is reflected in a social polarization between those who are wedded to Western stereotypes and those who have self-protectively ensconced themselves in an idealized past. Both sections tend to thin connotations. Denotations frighten them.

Self-devaluation means a devaluation of time, continuity and movement, and therefore of history. The process of restoring a people's self-respect involves a recovery of a sense of history. This begins with apologetics, exaggerations and romanticization. But soon an encounter with the reality of change engenders the critical spirit. Under colonialism, the ego-ideals of the South Asian Muslim community became narcissistic for the simple reason that its ego-identity was diffused. However, in its struggle against imperialism, it drew its weapons from the neglected armoury of its intellectual history. The result was a rehabilitation of self-regard.

This movement was led by Muhammad Iqbal. Recognizing the equal validity of the human psyche, nature and history as sources of knowledge, Iqbal constructed a value-system according to which "the fruits of European humanism in the shape of modern science and philosophy" were "in many ways only a further development of Muslim culture." As he scanned the history of ideas in Islam, he felt that the central feature of Islam was the acceptance of reality in order to transform it. This acceptance has three important facets. One is the proposition that the world revealed through sensations is not illusory – "matter is nothing but spirit in space and time" – and the corollary that the laws governing spatio-temporal events can be known by observation and experiment and formulated through inductive reasoning. The second is that it is a Muslim's duty to discover these laws and fulfil himself. The third is that the development of knowledge of other human beings must be motivated by empathy, by a humanistic attitude to them. The consequence of this construction was the removal of any ground of conflict between empiricism and religious authority. What the senses unfolded was found compatible with God's word. Indeed, Nature itself was God's word. There were no Brunos, no Galileos, in the history of Islam.

But while conflict at the level of scientific knowledge and religious belief was thus intellectually resolved, another continued at a deeper level. This was between those who followed the *Shariat* (the law) and those who followed *Tariqat* (Gnosis). The cases of Mansur Hallaj and Sarmad Shahi – mystics who were executed – have remained embedded in the Muslim consciousness.

This historical background serves to explain the various models vaguely governed by different value-systems that exist in Pakistan today.

A very well-organized model is that which believes that man's salvation in the hereafter can be won only by a strict and unbending piety and complete observance of ritual. When aggregated in a group, this attitude (a) aims at absolute political power, (b) coerces historical perception in pre-determined directions, (c) precludes the pursuit of scientific knowledge as a distant value and (d) refuses to recognize Muslim achievements in science, art and history as relevant expressions of the Islamic spirit. The first aim springs from the fact that a firm conformity to ritual needs to sustain itself by moral inquisition and an apparatus of control. The second tendency drives the proponents of this school to fashion idols, heroes and great men of war after their image of perfection. There is a compulsion to create a history and a tradition without passing through the perilous processes of verification. The hypothesis, based on repressed aggression, is not offered for critical assessment; indeed such assessment is furiously resisted. The third attitude suffers from an internal contradiction. While the adherents of this moralism reject the scientific process, they avidly accept the products of science. The same people who profoundly distrust scientific inquiry and inventiveness show a lively appetite for cars and air-conditioners. The fourth strain in this mixture isolates religion from culture, and, in so doing, creates hostile divisions in the nation's endeavours towards self-expression.

In Pakistan, as in all formerly colonial countries, this kind of moralism has the devastating effect of promoting a society's self-devaluation. By intensifying the sense of guilt, it breeds an indifference to constructive work. Since it does not encourage the canalization of human aggressiveness through democratic institutions, it promotes the tendency to agitate, threaten and blackmail. An atrophy of the sense of reality means an indulgence in fantasy; this is socially reflected in the tendency to wallow in rumours, scandals and intrigue. The symptoms can play havoc with the human personality. They cause a profound contempt for democratic dialogue because such dialogue runs counter to the authoritarian trends which are latent in moralism. This explains the political situation in Pakistan and the inability of the opposition to the government to submit itself to the corporate disciplines of democracy. A stark egoistic individualism, which is related to self-devaluation, results in intolerance.

Tolerance of ambiguity is one of the marks of maturity. whose who can tolerate ambiguity are also able to tolerate frustration and defeat. But the political stagnation of the early years of Pakistan and the subsequent years of prolonged military rule led people to develop delusions of grandeur. People under repressive regimes felt a constriction of spontaneity. Restoration of democracy in 1972 unleashed the repressed desires of the people. When repressed desires are given sudden freedom of expression, they present themselves as endless and nagging demands. Demands have a coercive quality; they admit no options. Directing one's attention to one's own person, they become absolutist – matters of life and death. Whole-time demanders become "grievance collectors". The process implies assigning responsibility to others – God, government and what have you – for their dire fate and thus justifying a passivity, a refusal to take initiatives towards a creative goal, an inability to regard failure as part of the learning process and, therefore, not a disaster. In short, it means finding scapegoats for one's own follies.

If one analyses "the games that people play" in Pakistan, one finds that they are played with gusto by the conservatives. Powerful destructive tendencies are noticeable in the rumours they spread and the gossip they

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disseminate. A rumour spread some years ago in Lahore that the Government planned to sterilize all school-going children in the interest of family-planning. Rumours being imaginary wish-fulfilments, this particular one expressed the disguised wish to kill the spontaneity and the creative potential which is symbolized by a child.

The second model is provided by those who have unconsciously identified themselves with the West. These people spout Western ideas without any commitments. They regard the world as bewildering and confusing because confusion provides them an escape from social action. They dread the arduous process of attaining clarity because clarity would imply a wholehearted adherence to collective goals.

The third model is shaped by those who write apologetics. They claim, for example, that all the discoveries of modern science are implicitly and sometimes even explicitly contained in the Holy Scripture. Such apologetics have the purpose of simulating science to compensate for its lack. Apart from the inconsistencies which it unleashes, such a blanket theory blocks the impulse of exploration and confuses the hypotheses of science – which, by definition, are falsifiable – with the eternal verities of religion. Apologists seek emotional security in quotations; they invoke the authority of others to escape the need for independent research.

There is also the Sufi model. The Sufi is one who regards the knowledge attained through the inward gaze or "intro-determination" as supreme and integrative of the knowledge gained from nature or history. He, therefore, does not impose any taboos on experimental knowledge. Nor is he a moralist. He points the way to divine ecstasy and heals the separation between man and nature; his posture is one of acceptance. He does not deny the value of science and technology; what he rejects is that obsessional planning in human relations which makes knowledge cold and inhuman. His aim is to transcend the dichotomy of "I" and "It"; to transform the latter into "Thou" and to fuse the "I" and the "Thou" into one experience.

Although the differences between them are numerous and some are basic, the Sufi model is close to the liberal-progressive model. The liberal-progressive, himself religious in the ultimate sense, is in sympathy with the Sufi model because it is open and expansive and invites a communion with Godhead and nature which is not based merely on a verbal loyalty to the dogma. While the liberal-progressive model is at present borrowed from the West, Iqbal held that it could be appropriated by Muslims as their own. If this is true, the liberal humanism of the West can easily be absorbed in our *weltanschauung*. In the process, however, the Pakistani society will need to preserve values like gratitude, generosity, friendliness and hospitality and integrate them into a blend of modernism and traditionalism. Thus the identity of the nation will not be enclosed in a shell but enjoy its extensions, its outgoing relations, its embrace of the other. A nation can preserve its identity and yet be cosmopolitan.

All these models, at least ostensibly, share one value: the value of the human individual. To be human is to be intrinsically valuable. In the Muslim frame of reference, especially the Sufi approach, this assumption is stated another way: participation in the Divine remains nascent in most, but becomes pronounced and conscious in some. The presupposition is acceptable to all Muslims. Yet traditionalists bely their acceptance of it when they insist on the segregation of women. About half of the population is thus sought to be excluded from the community's activities and knowledge-seeking and consigned to an inferior status. This conservative urge is only one expression of the patriarchal attempt to suppress matriarchal values. In demanding the liberation of women, the liberal-progressive is far more faithful to the Islamic concept of the intrinsic value of the human person.

The liberal-progressive model has, to a large extent, been responsible for the beginnings of scientific progress discernible in Pakistan. It is a model which causes discomfort to the vested interests and to those who fear change. But it is through this model alone that Pakistan, indeed the Third World, can achieve a just, economic order which is a prerequisite of the growth of knowledge among other things.

It is not unduly optimistic to expect that, despite large areas of darkness in Pakistan today, the liberal, progressive, humanistic values will prevail and grow by legitimizing scientific knowledge. The realization of these values will, by the very nature of things, demand a just, economic order not only within the country but throughout the world. That alone will be the supreme sanction of knowledge-seeking activities.

The conservative model works through myth and rumour and a morbid use of imagery. But this psychic energy can be canalized into the building up of constructive plans by being offered realistic challenges. The response to the challenge of development has to consist of (a) people's participation in the decision-making process in order to make use of available means for the establishment of a better society and (b) a reliance on innovation and creativity and a refusal to succumb to alien models of industrialization which would damage the indigenous culture. Both these attitudes imply conscious identifications. It is only through identifications that a firm identity develops. But if they are unconscious, they corrode a group's integrity. A nation that unconsciously identifies itself with its past aggressors or conquerors stunts its growth. However, when the identification is resolved through conscious understanding and a choice of goals, it develops a self-confidence and vitality.

The first identification is with the soil and its ethos, which need not be smothered by any overwhelming ideology. It is a sense of belongingness, a responding to the call of the earth, a reciprocal ownership between man and land which is the emotional basis of patriotism and from which stems the resolve to convert the desert into a garden. The second identification is with the sky over the earth. The sky means a firmament of ideas. This implies a cultivation of an ideology which regulates man's relation to man and man's relation to God. The two identifications, when fused together, create in the human person, not bitterness for what he falsely desires but does not possess, but gratitude for what he genuinely aspires to and can have.

The force of prejudice is activated when there is an imbalance in the distribution of amenities and facilities for growth. That is why the heyday of imperialism is the heyday of prejudice. But prejudice, provincial or regional, can be eradicated with an ideology based on justice. The identification means not mere assertion but concrete action in redressing economic imbalance and educating people in the art of living and working together and deriving spiritual warmth from common goals.

M'd.A.

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The Sufic Tradition

The many Pakistani shrines of Sufis include that of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh, author of Kashf-ul-Mahjub, *the treatise on Islamic mysticism.*

The first account of Sufi activities in the subcontinent is the visit which Mansur Hallaj paid to Gujrat, Sind and Multan in 905. The famous "martyr of mystical love", whose utterance *An-al-haqq*, "I am the creative Truth", was repeated by thousands of mystical poets, visited this area to call people to God and his name is still alive even in remote villages of Sind. More than one and a half centuries later, a disciple of the mystical masters of Eastern Iran came to settle in Lahore. He was Syed Ali Hujweri called Data Ganj Bakhsh (d. 1071), whose tomb is as much venerated by the pious as his book *Kashf-ul-mahjub*, "The Unveiling of the Hidden", is admired by scholars as the first comprehensive survey of mystical doctrine in the Persian language.

The peak of mysticism in the subcontinent, however, was the thirteenth century, the age of the greatest masters of Sufism from Spain to Bengal. Mueenuddin Chishti (d. 1236) came from his native Sistan to Ajmer, which had become part of Bengal and ruled by Delhi, where his friend Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235) lived. Mueenuddin's preaching of the love of God for man attracted the masses, and soon the Chishti order spread over the whole of India. Other outstanding representatives of this movement were the ascetic Fariduddin Shakar Ganj of Pakpattan, and Nizamuddin Awliyya of Delhi. The Chishtiya avoided contact with the ruling classes, but their influence permeated the lives of Indian Muslims. Their love of poetry and music (given lasting expression by Amir Khusrau and Hasan Dehlavi) added a new dimension to Muslim culture in the subcontinent. The sayings of the early Chishti saints *(malfuzat)* yield an insight into the social and cultural life of mediaeval India. An outstanding member of the early Chishtiya is Muhammad Gaisudaraz (d. 1422 in Gulbarga in the Deccan), famous as a prolific writer in Arabic, in Persian for his intense devotional poems and letters, and one of the first authors of a mystical work in Dakhni Urdu, *maarif al-ashiqui*. He wrote an appreciation of the teachings of the "greatest master" Ibn Arabi, who later deeply influenced Indian Sufism and led it towards existentialism. The Chishtiya became connected with the Mughal court – when Akbar's son Salim was born the birth was ascribed to the prayer of a Chishti saint, in whose honour Fatehpur Sikri was erected.

Other saints reached the subcontinent at the same time. The fame of Bahauddin Suhrawardi (d. 1262) was such that Multan became a centre of spiritual life, and the Persian poet Iraqi spent twenty-five years there. From Multan and Uch the Suhrawardiya, more closely in touch with the aristocracy than the Chishtiya, spread soon to Bengal where its cultural influence has never ceased. A unique figure in thirteenth century Sufism was Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, whose tomb in Sehwan is still a much frequented shrine.

In 1371 Syed Ali Hamadhani introduced the Kubrawiya in Kashmir. This order with its fine psychological insights seems to have influenced northern India more than can be proved at present. The Qadiriya, probably the most influential order in the Islamic world, reached India in the fifteenth century. Its most prominent representative was Mian Mir of Lahore (d. 1635), who inspired Prince Dara Shikoh in his vision of uniting "the two oceans" of Islam and Hinduism, and whose lovely tomb is in Lahore. The influence of the Qadiriya can be measured best by the innumerable songs in regional languages that are dedicated to Abdul Qadir Jilani. An order whose influence extended over the borders of India is the Shattariya. Its best known master was Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari (d. 1562), the author of a complex mystical work, *Al-Jawahir al-Khamsa*, "The Five Jewels". His tomb in Gwalior, built by Akbar, is a superb example of Indo-Muslim architecture.

The Naqshbandiya order, originating from Bukhara and later politically influential at the Timurid court of Herat and in Turkestan, was introduced to India in about 1600. Its foremost representative, Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624) relentlessly fought against the strong tendency towards existentialism, mainly expressed in mystical poetry, which blurred the differences between Islam and Hinduism. The claim of Ahmad Sirhindi to be the *qayyum*, the spiritual ruler of this world, and the title given him by his followers *Mujaddi-i-alf-i-Sani*, the leader of revival of Islam in the second millennium, is interesting for psychological and political reasons. The Naqshbandiya were largely responsible for the restoration of truly spiritual life in eighteenth century Delhi; Shah Wali-ullah (d. 1762), Mazhar Janjanan (d. 1781) and Khwaja Mir Dard, the "sincere Muhammadan" *(muhammadi-ya khalis)* (d. 1785) represent the attempt of Naqshbandi-oriented mystics to respond to the challenge posed by the decay of Muslim power in the subcontinent. The fervour of their commitment was an example to the freedom fighters of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, to the Deoband school, and to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh. The Naqshbandis in Sind were the first to introduce religious educational literature in the Sindhi language.

The mystical orders, using the regional languages and infusing them with the literary idiom, have done much to acquaint the masses with a love of God and of the Prophet. They travelled widely and thus spread the message of Islam as far east as the Malayan Archipelago. The veneration shown to living and dead saints by the masses tended to dilute the purity of Islam. Likewise, the activities of the mystical leaders, the *pirs*, were not always restricted to the spiritual sphere and their power over their followers grew disproportionately. This caused the reformers' aversion to "pirism", which is a recurrent theme in Iqbal's philosophy. Iqbal himself went back to the classical, pure Sufism, drawing largely on the dynamic concept of love as preached in the Middle Ages by Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273), whose Persian poetry was widely read and commented upon in all Muslim languages of the subcontinent. Iqbal also resuscitated the essence of Sufism exemplified in the mystical doctrine and vision of *Al-Hallaj*. A.S.

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The Urdu Language

Few languages have had so strange a birth or so chequered an existence as Urdu. It derives its name from the Turkish *orda,* camp, which has also given English its word "horde". It began as a lingua franca between the Turkish or Persian-speaking ruling *élite* and the people of northern India during the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Its basic syntax and verbal forms are indigenous to the northern area of the subcontinent while its more learned diction is drawn from a heavily Arabicized Persian, with a few Turkish contributions. Some Persian constructions are still in use, but only in poetry. Like English, it possesses a wider range of expression than most languages, and it is harmonious and musical without being monotonous. The more peculiar sounds of Arabic have been softened, and one result is that the alphabet has five letters for five different tones of the sound of "z".

Camp-followers and merchants, native soldiers serving with the invaders, all helped to shape the original lingua franca; Sufis, the mystic preachers of Islam, did so too, and converts to Islam acquired foreign terms along with their new faith. Intermarriage hastened the process of linguistic fusion. Urdu owes its syntax to the subcontinent as English does to Anglo-Saxondom, which indicates the native ancestry of the great majority of Muslims now in Pakistan. But the ruling class was always largely composed of new arrivals from Central Asia, and took its tone from them. Persian was its written language, while Urdu remained for a long time merely spoken.

It was first put to literary use in poetry, not in its own homeland, but far south in the Deccan, at the courts of those Muslim princes who broke away from the sovereignty of Delhi. Such poetry acquired a less exotic character by being transplanted to Delhi in the early eighteenth century, when the Mughal dynasty was waning. The arrival of the British disrupted cultural contacts with Persia. First Delhi and then Lucknow became main centres where Urdu supplanted Persian. Mir Taqi Mir, the eighteenth century poet, pointed to its popular base when he said that Urdu was the language that was spoken on the steps of the gateway of the great mosque in Delhi. Nevertheless, the feudal patronage of the language was reflected in an ornate foreign embroidery and an artificial style in prose. The infusion of Western influence through the medium of English, and the social change in the nineteenth century, however, stimulated the growth of new forms of expression and an enormous increase in its vocabulary.

Hyderabad, India's biggest Princely State, had a Muslim ruling class which fostered Urdu culture, though this had no meaning for the mass of its people. A strikingly different outpost was industrial Bombay. Like all Indo-Muslim civilization, Urdu grew in the cities, and was most at home in the towns of the United Provinces, or upper Gangetic valley, and later of Punjab. From the late nineteenth century, political tensions between Muslims and Hindus caused a controversy over the rival claims of Urdu and its sister-language Hindi, which in common speech are (like Serb and Croat) identical: they differ in their learned vocabularies and in their scripts (Arabic for Urdu and Sanskrit for Hindi).

Since the emergence of India and Pakistan two independent States, Urdu has been proclaimed as the national language of Pakistan, the state language of Jammu and Kashmir and one of India's recognized languages. One field in which it has held its own throughout the subcontinent is the cinema; its sweetness, force, and poetic endowment are decided assets. Urdu newspapers are to be found everywhere, and have even spread to Kashmir. It has been successful as a general medium of communication and has become the lingua franca once more.

In Pakistan, Urdu was in the somewhat odd position of not being the spoken mother-tongue of any of the country's ethnic groups, with the exception of the Indian Muslims who immigrated in 1947, many of them into Sind. Some injudicious attempts were made to promote it by government pressure (as happened in India with Hindi) in East Pakistan as a means of uniting the east and west wings of the new nation. The result was of course the opposite. Latterly, recognition has been growing that rather than inhibit regional languages, Urdu should progressively assimilate them. This inaugurates a new phase in its career.

However, Urdu still has progress to make before it can fully meet the national requirements of Pakistan, and take the place so long held by English. Prose has continued to lag behind verse, a fact which reflects the evolution of Muslim society in the subcontinent; and much further modernization and adaptation is required to enable it to cope with the life of today. Systematic efforts towards this end must be a national priority.

V.G.K.

Scripts

The story of scripts in what is now Pakistan goes back to the third millennium BC when the widely used logographic Indus script, which has yet to be deciphered, marked a distinctive achievement of the Indus civilization. Tablets and seals showing this pre-historic script have been found mainly at Mohenjodaro and Nuhto in Sind, Harappa in Punjab, Lothal (Gujrat) and Rupar (Punjab) in India, and in Mesopotamia as well as in Bahrain.

After another two thousand years scripts evolved which have survived substantially from the fifth century BC to this day. A number of scripts derived from different sources were in use for the first thirteen centuries (fifth century BC–eighth century AD), and an equally large number derived from Arabic for the last twelve centuries.

From the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD, the Aramaic Greek, and Kharoshthi scripts were widely employed. There is evidence of the use of Pehlavi and Brahmi scripts from the third to the sixth century AD, of Greek writing from the third century BC to the

The hieroglyphic symbols on these seals from Mohenjodaro remain undeciphered.

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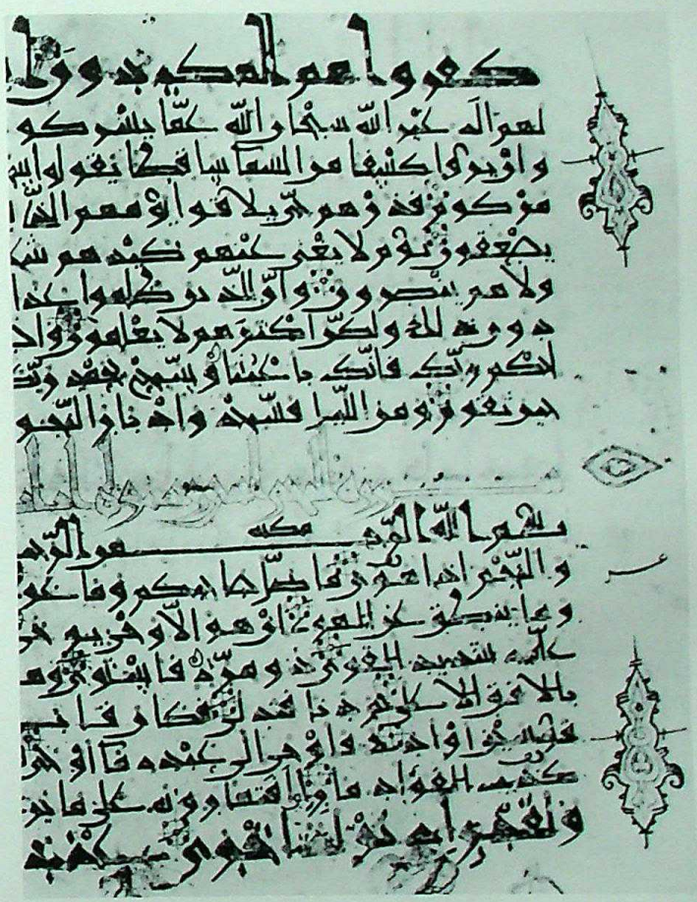
eighth century AD, of Shardha script (in which Sanskrit was written) from the seventh century to the fifteenth century AD and in the northern areas still later, of two Proto-Nagari scripts, Ardha-Nagari and Malagsuri, which were current in Sind until the eleventh century AD, and of Lhainda, a script derived from Shardha, in the western Multan region from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century.

With the arrival of Arab Muslims in Sind in 711, Arabic was studied and Arabic script predominated in the Al-Sind province (of the Umayyid and the Abbasid Caliphates) which included present Sind, Baluchistan and Multan. Saindhav or Arabic-Sindhi script was in use as we learn from al-Biruni's *Kitab ul-Hind,* in the al-Mansurah province of Sind in the early eleventh century. Al-Biruni himself improvised an Arabic-based alphabet, by dotting the Arabic letters, to enable him to write the indigenous words of the local northern vernaculars found in his book.

At the same time, Persian script derived from Arabic became popular in the newly-acquired Indian domain of the Ghaznavid Empire, which included the present North-West Frontier and Punjab province, with its capital at Lahore. During the Ghaznavid and the Ghuri periods, a peaceful coexistence of Arabic, Shardha and Greek scripts is illustrated by two stone inscriptions of the eighth century AD now preserved in Peshawar Musum. Thereafter developed the different scripts for the Hindvi-Urdu lingua franca and each of the other local vernaculars of Pakistan, namely, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pushtu, Kashmiri, Siraiki, etc., each one, like Sindhi, which had developed earlier, having been derived from an Arabic-Persian alphabet by the addition of dots or other distinctive signs to Arabic letters.

Some twenty- four languages and dialects are spoken in Pakistan. They are closely related, having a common origin and saturated with similar cultural influences. Besides their basic vocabularies, they have certain grammatical affinities, but the strongest common link is a common script.

N.A.B. and Z.A.T.



Some of the earliest Arabic script known in the sub-continent has been discovered at Bhambore in Sind (above).
Right. Ayat *from the Quran provides fine examples of the Kufic script of the early ninth century*

Calligraphy

The Islamic injunction against representation of animate objects forced Muslim aesthetic spirits into new channels of expression, and led to the development, firstly, of those graceful abstract geometric motifs known as "arabesques", and also of calligraphy. Calligraphy became a major form of art, and proficiency in it was the hallmark of a gentleman, even ruling monarchs and their consorts laboured to excel in it.

Initially, calligraphy centred round the holy Quran. It was for the correct reading of the Quran that points *(nugat)* and diacritic signs *(erab)* were introduced into Arabic writing in the ninth century. The style of writing employed was known as *kufi* after the town of Kufa in Iraq – one of the first cultural centres of Islam. The earliest characters of the vertical, angular *kufi* were stiff and ponderous, but later, writing became more elaborate, evolving ultimately into a highly ornamented style with letters assuming curious forms intertwined with scrollery and arabesques. This *kufi fleuri* looked well enough on monuments and prestigious buildings, but it conveyed nothing to anyone but professional calligraphists. Something more legible and simpler was needed and was found in the development of *naskh* style in the twelfth century. This relatively round and more cursive style had already been in common use for some time, but it now began to be put to formal calligraphic use. The most prominent agent of this change was Ibn-i-Muqla, a renowned calligraphic artist in the reign of al-Qahir Billah, the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. Ibn-i-Muqla is said to have invented six styles of writing – *riqa, muhaqqaq, tauqi, sula, raihan* and *naskh.* Devoting

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special attention to *naskh*, he succeeded in raising it to a level acceptable as the script of the State. Many others followed his example, among whom Ibn-i-Bawwab and Yaqut Mustasami are well-known.

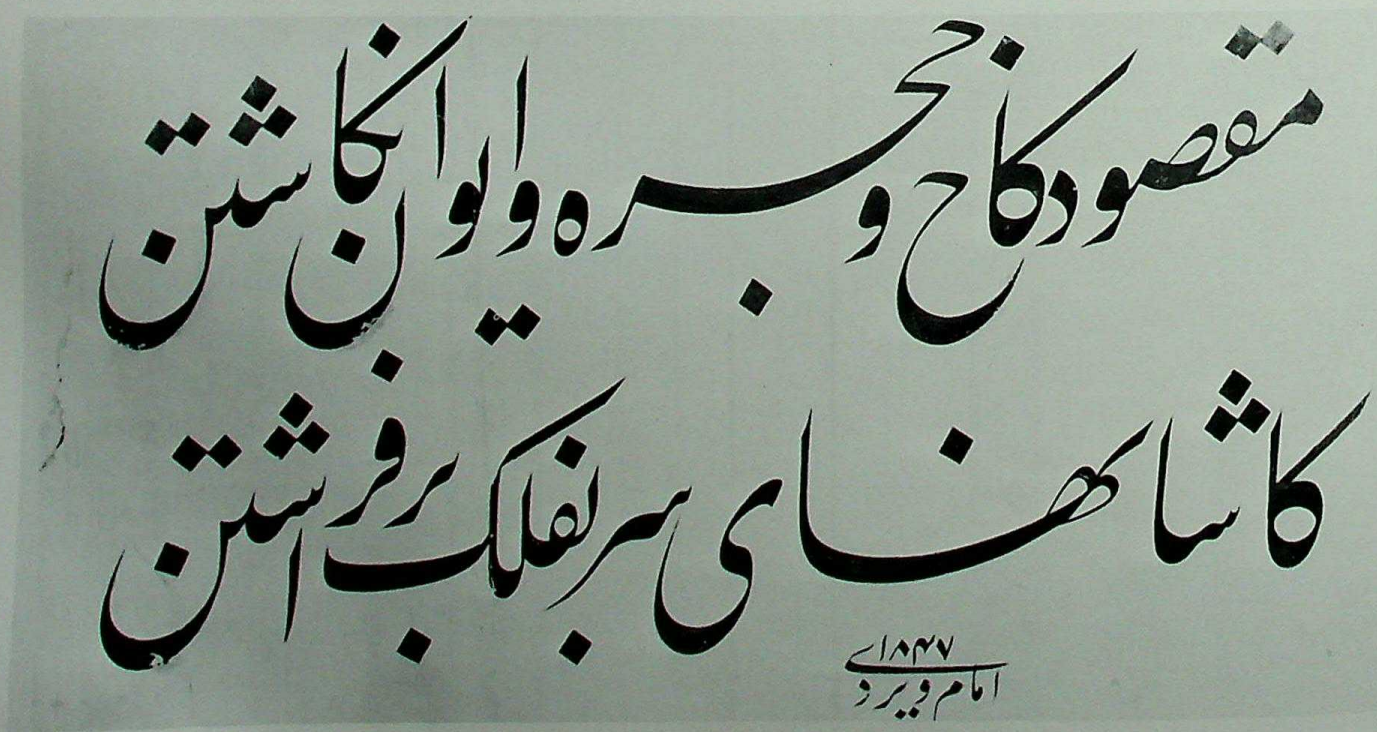
Naskh was subjected to more modifications, particularly in Iran where a new form called *taliq* was already in use. Khwaja Mir Ali Tabrezi, a master calligraphist, combined *naskh* and *taliq* and invented a new script which he called *nastaliq*. This graceful, round style gained immediate popularity and received patronage first from the Timurid and then the Safavid kings of Iran, soon spreading to the neighbouring countries of Central Asia and Turkey. Other famous exponents of the style were Mir Imad-ul-Hussaini, Sultan Ali Mashhadi, Rashid Delami, Amir Ali Harvi and Gauhar Shad Begum. In the period that followed refinements were made and new forms developed. The free hand *shikasta*, or broken style, was adopted for official and daily use in Iran and later in India, where it produced masters like Kifayat Khan, Dirayat Khan and Munshi Chandar Bhan. *Tughra*, originally used as decorated signature or monogram, evolved into complicated pictorial motifs and gained widespread currency in Turkey and later in India.

With the Mughals the art of calligraphy became widespread in the subcontinent. Babur was himself proficient in it, and when his son Humayun returned to India after a long sojourn in the Court of Shah Tehmasap of Iran, he brought with him reputed calligraphic artists: Khwaja Abdus Samad (Shirin Qalam), Mir Sayyid Ali and Mullah Fakhar. In the time of Akbar, other luminaries like Abdur Rahim (Ambar Qalam) and Mulla Muhammad Hussain Kashmiri appeared on the scene. Famous calligraphists of this period include Abdul Haque Shirazee (Amanat Khan) whose work can still be seen on the Taj Mahal. Aurangzeb was himself an accomplished calligraphist and sent to Mecca copies of the Quran written by himself. During his reign, Muhammad Arif Yaqut Raqam was a reputed *naskh* writer, who followed the style of Yaqut Mustasami.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was a

Below. *The Pakistani artist, Sadequain, has evolved a new style of Quranic calligraphy and uses canvas, wood and goatskin as material in the ancient tradition.*

Naskh *script*, (right), *evolved in the middle of the tenth century*. Nastaliq, (below), *was a later amalgam of* naskh *and* taliq.



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renaissance of calligraphy as a result of an upsurge in the publication of journals. In Lahore, Agha Mirza Imam Verdy brought new life to *nastaliq* and was followed by the equally renowned Sufi Abdul Majid (Parveen Raqam), who died in 1946. The latter changed the round form of letters to elegant ovals. The published works of Allama Iqbal are in his hand, and so are some of the verses inscribed on the Shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh in Lahore. Tajuddin Zarrin, writing in gold, had his own inimitable style, and his published album, *Muraqqa-i-Zarrin*, constitutes a landmark. There were many other *nastaliq* writers during this period, like Munshi Jamil Ahmad, Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Adili, and Munshi Muhammad Siddique Almas Raqam. Haji Din Muhammad excelled in *tughra* and Munshi Muhammad Qasim (Sultan-ul-Qalam) began a beautiful Quran (later finished by his son Munshi Muhammad Shafi) for Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore. The Taj Company of Lahore has produced very attractive copies of the Quran by Abdul Hamid and Hafiz Muhammad Azam.

Today the *naskh* tradition is carried on by calligraphists like Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf Sadidi, Sufi Khurshid Alam, Syed Anwar Hussain (Nafis Raqam), Hafiz Muhammad Azam, Munshi Khushi Muhammad (Khush Raqam) and others. Well-known *tughra* writers besides Hafiz Yusuf Sadidi, include Abdul Wahid (Nadirul Qalam), Muhammad Osman and Anwar Hussain (Nafis Raqam). The published *muraqqa, Nafaisul Qalam*, of the latter has some very original *tughras*. M. M. Sharif of Peshawar is another exponent of the art and his published album called *Yad-e-Baiza* contains many ingenious forms of *bismillah*.

Calligraphy is very much a living art in Pakistan, the printing industry notwithstanding, and there has been a revival of interest in *kufi* and *naskh* cultural heritage and art forms.

B.A.K.

The Literary Heritage

The cultural heritage of Pakistan in its non-literary manifestations can be traced back to the great Indus civilization of the fifth millennium BC. But its literary traditions originate from the Muslim period commencing with the advent of the Arabs in this region early in the eighth century AD. The Arabs ruled over Sind and a part of lower Punjab with two separate seats of government; one in Mansura in Sind and the other in Multan in Punjab. During this period, Arabic was the language of government, learning and culture in the areas under Arab dominance. The spoken language of the native population in Sind was termed Sindhi by the Arabs. Lower Punjab spoke a compound of Punjabi and Hindvi. During the early decades of the eleventh century, Northern Punjab and some adjoining areas were overrun by the Turko-Afghan armies of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and a new Muslim kingdom was established with its capital at Lahore. Sultan Mahmud had gathered in his court some of the greatest Persian poets of his age. Thus Persian was introduced to this land and it held sway over a major part of the subcontinent for many succeeding centuries. The admixture of Persian and local dialects of the northern areas of the subcontinent gave birth to the national language of Pakistan, namely, Urdu.

The literary heritage of Pakistan, therefore, has been trebly enriched by three classical languages: Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Parallel with these three literatures, there is the wealth of folk classics in various regional languages, Sindhi, Punjabi, Pushtu, Baluchi, Brahui, Kashmiri and the more localized dialects.

The educational system during the Arab period, and later almost down to the British days, centred primarily round religious studies called *Manqulat*. Some secular subjects were added to the curriculum during the reigns of the Delhi Sultan Sikander Lodhi (1489-1516) and the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605). Even to this day in all the religious seminaries in Pakistan, Arabic writings of earlier epochs are still being studied and, therefore, continue to be part of a living tradition.

Understandably the bulk of this literature in Arabic is mainly religious and theological, i.e. commentaries, expositions and exegeses of sacred texts or jurisprudence, and dialectics and discursive or exhortative pamphlets based on religious themes. Nevertheless, a number of important works were also produced on historical, biographical, geographical, philosophical or sociological subjects. Mention might be made, for instance, of Najih-bin-Abdur Rehman al-Sindi (d. 787) whose *Kitab al-Maghazi* was used as a source book by the well-known Arab historians Waqidi and Ibn Saad, and the great Abu Raihan al-Biruni (d. 1048), historian, mathematician and jurist. His *Kitab ul-Hind* is still regarded as the most authentic source book on the history, religion, philosophy, geography, social life and anthropology of mediaeval India. Then there were lexicographers like Sanaani (d. 1252) and jurists like Badr bin Taj of Lahore, who are famous in the world of Muslim scholarship. In religious literature, the works of exegeses by scholars like Ali bin Ahmad Mahaini (d. 1341), particularly his *Tayassar al-Mannan fi Tafsir al-Quran* and writings on the life and sayings of the Holy Prophet by Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis of Delhi, like his *Madari-al-Nabuvvat* or historical treatises like *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, were also compulsory reading in Muslim religious schools for centuries.

Shah Waliullah of Delhi (d. 1752) is perhaps the greatest name in this line. As a political thinker, social reformer and religious ideologue, his writings, particularly his definitive work, *Hujjatullah al-Balighab*, influenced both popular and scholarly thinking in many Muslim lands. His eldest son, Shah Abdul Aziz, was an equally gifted scholar. His expositions of the traditions of the Prophet of Islam and his compendium of Muslim case law are also internationally known. This tradition of religious scholarship has continued unbroken to the present day. Notable among contemporary writers is Maulvi Abdul Haye of Lucknow (d. 1923) whose monumental work *Nuzhat-ul-Khawatir* is a many-volumed biography of famous Arabic scholars and Muslim divines of the subcontinent. Later scholars wrote mostly in Persian or Urdu.

Unlike Arabic literature of various periods which is mainly religious or theological, the literary legacy in the Persian language is far richer and more varied. It encompasses most forms of literary and scholastic expression: poetry, history, biography and autobiography,

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epistles, fiction, reminiscences, dictionaries, commentaries on juristic and religious classics, and *belle-lettres*. Perhaps the only exception is drama of which there was no tradition in Arabic or Persian literature.

The pride of place in this vast store-house belongs to poetry which has been the daily food of innumerable generations over the centuries. After the consolidation of the Delhi Sultanate in the thirteenth century, all through the Muslim period of Indo-Pakistan history, this literature was being constantly enriched both by the many gifted writers indigenously born and bred and by a stream of talent from Iran and other Persian-speaking lands. This resulted in the evolution of a new and distinctive school of Persian poetry, which the Iranians called *Sabke Hindi* (the Indian School). Very different from the products of classical Persian, it introduced to Persian poetry new nuances of feeling and expression, deeper and more delicate explorations of subjective experience and subtler modes of social and political comment.

The main forms of poetry in Persian are *qasaid* (panegyrics with a semi-philosophical exordium or historical narrative) *mathnavis* (narrative poems on romantic, historical, mystical, philosophical or metaphysical themes) *rubaiyat* (epigrammatic quatrains) and *ghazals* (short lyrical poems of a limited number of couplets, each more or less self-sufficient in meaning). It is this last highly complex and symbolical form which was later adapted and perfected by Urdu poets and attained the greatest popularity.

The earliest poets in Persian, i.e. Abul Faraj Rumi (d. 1114) and Masud Saad Salman of Lahore (d. 1121) may not be much read today, but the *ghazals* of their illustrious successor, Ibnul Hasan Amir Khusrau (d. 1325) historian, thinker, musicologist, linguist, and political theoretician, are still popular and are permanently included in the musical repertoire of *qawwali* singers (chorus singers of mystical or devotional songs).

There are other celebrated names in this great tradition. Outstanding among these are Urfi (d. 1591), Faizi (d. 1595), Naziri (d. 1614), Ghani Kashmiri (d. 1668), Abdul Qadir Bedil (d. 1720), Asadullah Khan Ghalib (d. 1869), and the poet Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938) of contemporary times. Of these Urfi with his poignant lyrics and almost modernistic diction, Faizi with his versatile mastery of narrative and descriptive verse, Naziri's delicate handling of social and philosophical problems and Bedil's deeply intellectual approach to metaphysical themes, have all left their stamp on the heritage bequeathed by them to their successors.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the rise of Urdu and its growing popularity displaced Persian as the favourite language of princely courts and their retinue of talented poets. Although Persian retained its place as the official language and the vehicle of scholarly discourse or correspondence, a succession of Urdu classics opened a more accessible avenue of poetic expression. The glory of Persian was revived once again, however, by two great masters, Ghalib and Iqbal, who wrote with equal facility in both Urdu and Persian. Ghalib articulated with great insight and passion the intellectual ferment, soul-searching and heart-break of the generations which witnessed the final decline and fall of the Mughal empire and the vanishing of their glory. Iqbal did the same for the bewildered Muslim intelligentsia which grew up during the turbulence of the three or four decades of the present century. Their fame has travelled far beyond the borders of the subcontinent.

In Persian prose, generally cadenced and highly ornate as a rule, there is a voluminous literature, particularly in historiography and related fields. Gifted chroniclers were commanded by almost every ruling dynasty to record contemporary life. *Tarikh-e-Firoze Shahi* and *Fatawa-e-Jahandari* of Zia-ud-Din Barni (d. 1357), *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-e-Akbari* of Abul Fazal (d. 1602) *Muntakhebut-Tawarikh* of Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni (d. 1615), *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh-e-Farishta* of Muhammad Qasim Farishta (d. 1623), *Badshah Nama* of Abdul Hameed Lahori (d. 1647), *Maasr-e-Alamgiri* of Nemat Khan Aali (d. 1710) and *Siyar-al-Mutakhirin* of Ghulam Hassan Tabatebai (d. 1781) are some of the most valuable works. Each contains a first-hand account of historical events, doings at court, racial and cultural affairs and sometimes a perceptive analysis of state-craft and court politics.

In the field of biography and autobiography perhaps the most interesting documents are the writings of kings and princes themselves; for instance, *Babur Nama,* the autobiography of the founder of the Mughal Empire, Zaheeruddin Babur (d. 1530) *Humayun Nama,* an account of the life of the second Emperor (d. 1556) by his sister, Gulbadan Begum, and *Tuzk-e-Jahangiri* – an autobiography of the fourth Mughal Emperor, Jehangir (d. 1627). There is also a whole body of literature on the lives of saints, scholars, poets and notables.

Asadullah Khan Ghalib (d. 1869), the great nineteenth century Urdu poet, wrote of the ferment of the Muslims during Mughal decline.

There are a number of important religious studies. Works on mysticism and related subjects have influenced not only the religious, but also the social and political thought of many generations. Outstanding among these are *Kashf-ul-Mahjub,* of Syed Ali Hujweri, known as Data Ganj Bakhsh of Lahore, perhaps the first extant work of Sufi doctrines, discipline and practice in the Persian language, the *Fazail-ul-Fawayid* – a collection of the teachings of Nizamuddin Aulia of Delhi compiled by his poet-disciple Hassan Sijzi, and *Maktubat-e-Mujjadid Alf-i-Sani* – the credo of the militant religious divine and reformer, Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1625). Both in the original Persian and in Urdu translations these are still standard reading.

The origins of the Urdu language can be traced to the

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eleventh-twelfth century when the first Muslim kingdom was established in Lahore and Persian-speaking settlers learnt to communicate in the local language which they named Hindvi. Masud Saad Salman (d. 1121) one of the Ghaznavid court poets composed a *divan* (collection of poems) in this language. The songs, riddles, doggerels and musical compositions of the great thirteenth century poet, Amir Khusrau, first brought respectability to the Hindvi and Punjabi languages.

Strangely enough it was not in the north of the subcontinent, where it was born, but in the south that the new language, which later came to be known as *rekhta* or Urdu, matured and developed. This is because, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, the principalities of upper Deccan broke away, not only from the imperial court in Delhi, but also from its court language, Persian. The rulers of these small kingdoms of Golkunda (1518) and Bijapur (1489) actively patronized literary endeavour in the spoken language. Poets and writers of eminence emerged in the Deccani or Urdu language – an admixture of Persian, Turkish, Deccani, Hindvi and Punjabi dialects. The first long narrative poem in Deccani-Urdu, *Saiful Muluk-wa-Badi-ul-Jamal,* was composed by Gavasi (1618) and the first major book of prose *Sab Ras* by Mulla Vajhi (1637).

It was, however, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when both the Mughal court and the court language, Persian, were already on the decline, that Urdu came into its own in its own homeland – the northern areas of the subcontinent.

In the early eighteenth century, a gifted poet from Upper Deccan, Wali Deccani, migrated to Delhi and his Urdu *ghazals* and lyrical poems found immediate and widespread response in the literary circles of Delhi. He may, therefore, be truly regarded as the Chaucer of Urdu poetry. He was followed almost immediately by a whole line of distinguished poets, Mir Taqi Mir (d. 1810), Muhammad Rafi Sauda (d. 1782), Mir Dard (d. 1784), Mir Hassan (d. 1786), Nazir Akbarabadi (d. 1830), Hakim Momin (d. 1851) and Mir Anis (d. 1874).

Mir is known for his tender and nostalgic lyrics in the *ghazal* form which continue to be sung and recited. Sauda introduced incisive social and political satire into Urdu poetry. Mir Dard was almost the only mystical poet of the classical period, while Mir Hassan composed the most celebrated fairy tales in the form of *mathnavi.* Nazir Akbarabadi stands in a class by himself because he sang not for court circles but for the common man in the common idiom and not on romantic themes. Hakim Momin's distinction lies in his qualities of condensation, allusiveness and wit, strikingly resembling those of the metaphysical school of English poetry. Mir Anis popularized a completely new school, that of the *marsiya.* The *marsiyas* are a cycle of poems devoted to the martyrdom of Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet of Islam.

The most eminent name in this hierarchy of poets is Asadullah Khan Ghalib. His slender volume of Urdu *ghazals* has had a profound influence on the entire stream of Urdu poetry. He liberated this poetry from *clichés*, fostered by conventional imagery, diction and symbolism. The tragic experience of his age is distilled in his poetry, as he witnessed the collapse of the old order and the subsequent ascendancy of alien influences. He articulates the philosophical questionings that this experience impelled in the sensitive minds of his times and the new rational modes of thought and expression introduced by Western rule.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the birth of what may be called the modern movement in Urdu poetry actively directed and sponsored by the British *élite.* It was based on the critical dicta of Matthew Arnold and other Victorians. The main exponents of this school were Muhammad Hussain Azad (d. 1910) and Altaf Husain Hali (d. 1914), whose contributions to Urdu prose in the form of literary criticism, history and biography are of equal importance. With the passage of time and the closer acquaintance of Urdu writers with modern Western literature, this movement proliferated into a number of different schools. The towering figure among the moderns was Muhammad Iqbal, who is the subject of a separate study in this volume.

Before 1790, Urdu prose generally followed the ornate and florid style of Persian writings. Two gifted religious scholars, Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Qadir (sons of Shah Waliullah), brought out their translations of the Quran in simple Urdu.

With the consolidation of British power, some British scholars gathered round themselves talented Urdu writers to translate well-known Arabic and Persian classics into Urdu and to produce educational, instructive and scientific literature on Western lines. The first such centre of learning was set up by Dr John Gilchrist in Fort William College, Calcutta, to be followed by establishments in Delhi and Lahore. The Calcutta School developed a simple prose style which served as a model for the writers of Delhi and Lahore. Of these, Sher Ali Afsos and his translation of *Gulistan-e-Saadi* called *Bagh-e-Urdu,* Hafizuddin Ahmad and his excellent rendering of Abdul Fazal's *Bahar Danish,* renamed *Khirad Afroz,* Mazhar Ali Khan Vila and his translation of *Baital Pachisi* from Sanskrit were outstanding. In the evolution of this new prose style, a special place belongs to the collection of letters of the poet Ghalib, intimate and colloquial in tone, sparkling and witty in content.

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the school of Syed Ahmad Khan (d. 1898), scholar, educationalist, historian and social reformer, wrote prolifically on social, political, scientific and educational themes. A parallel school of religious learning was led by Shibli Nomani (d.1 917). His monumental work on Muhammad, *Seerat un-Nabi,* and his history of Persian literature, *Sher-ul-Ajam,* are regarded as standard works.

In fiction, a *dastan* (a long fantasy of love and adventure) was penned by the Emperor Shah Alam under the name of *Ajaib-ul-Qasais.* This tale served as a forerunner of a string of other tales produced by the Gilchrist School. Most famous is the *Dastan-e-Amir Hamza.*

This rambling and somewhat escapist literature later gave way to the Urdu novel proper. The first of these is a gigantic picaresque romance written by Rattan Nath Sarshar (d. 1803) entitled *Fasana-e-Azad.* The idea of this book was probably suggested by *Don Quixote.* Abdul Halim Sharar (d. 1926) wrote historical romances of Muslim heroes and realistic novels of contemporary social life. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad (d. 1912) wrote a number of domestic tales of ordinary men and women with a strong moral message. Both are current reading.

In the present century when a number of literary magazines came into vogue, the popularity of the novel was eclipsed by the short story. The influence of Maupassant, O. Henry, Maugham, Chekov, Gorky and others was noticeable. A number of plays were also written, for the short-lived professional theatre, by playwrights led by Agha Hashr Kashmiri who gained fame for his eloquent adaptations of Shakespeare.

F.A.F., F.M. and M.Y.B.

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Regional Literatures

Pakistan can boast a rich literary heritage in at least eight languages. From the beginning of Muslim rule over Sind (711) and Multan, Arabic was used as the normal theological idiom. After 1,000, Persian became the literary and official language and the medium of education in noble families. Turkish was spoken and understood at least during the sixteenth century at the courts of the Arghuns and Tarkhans in Sind, and eventually Urdu became the general medium for literary expression in most parts of the subcontinent. There are also literatures in regional languages: Pushtu, Baluchi, Punjabi, and Sindhi.

The two languages of Iranian origin spoken in Pakistan are Pushtu and Baluchi; and there are a number of nearly extinct Dardic idioms in the mountainous regions of north-western Pakistan in the Pushtu-speaking areas and also a pocket of the Dravidian Brahui in Baluchistan in Kalat. In all cases, only small fragments of popular poetry and narrative survive. In Baluchi there are a number of popular ballads that deal with the heroic deeds of the members of tribes. Other ballads tell of the adventures of Islamic heroes, and popular songs display a remarkable tenderness of feeling, and an acute observation of nature. Baluchi became a written language only recently, so that the treasures of its folk tradition (first collected by Darmesteter) have become better known and appreciated; a modern literature is emerging.

Pushtu has a longer history as a literary language; the first poem is believed to have been written by Amir Karore (d. 756). It is impossible to discover the beginnings of Pushtu oral literature. It is known from Amir Khusrau that it was spoken in the second half of the thirteenth century, and isolated sentences in the chronicles of the Pathan rulers in northern India trace its developments. Still extant are the first prose work, *Tazkiratul-Awliyya* by Suleiman Maka (d. 1215), the first historical narrative *Tarikh-e-Suri* by Muhammad Ali Abasti (c. 1349) and the first long poem in *mathnavi* form by Akbar Zamindari (d. 1369). The first well known author in this language is Bayazid Ansari Pir-i-Raushan (d. 1585), whose mystical sect was soon condemned as heretic by orthodox Muslims. His work *Khair ul-Bayan* in rhymed prose, combines Arabic, Persian and Hindi. The mystics used the spoken idiom to preach their doctrines to the masses who did not understand Arabic or Persian. Pir-i Raushan's work was refuted, in Pushtu, by Akhund Darwaza (d. 1638). From that time onward, the language grew steadily as a literary medium, for, when its greatest master, the "father of Pushtu", Khushhal Khan Khatak (d. 1689), appeared on the scene, he found an expressive idiom for his purposes.

The zenith of Pushtu poetry occurred at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This period, which marks the decay of the powerful Mughal Empire, and the beginnings of Urdu in the Delhi and north-western regions, was also the time when other regional languages flourished. The greatest masterpieces in Punjabi and Sindhi were produced at this time, and both languages, connected by Siraiki, share many tales and legends. Their imagery is largely rural, and the poems of the mystics overflow with love and a feeling of all-embracing unity; a feeling only rarely found in Pushtu poetry. Both languages praise Mansur Hallaj's ecstatic confession, *An-al-haqq*, "I am the Truth"

Punjabi has had a spoken tradition since the Middle Ages; its first written traces are found in some hagiographic works of the thirteenth century, and some *dohas*, or epigrammatic verses of Baba Farid Shakar Ganj (d. 1265) which survive to this day. By the sixteenth century notable classics were being written by poets like Peeloo, author of the metrical romance *Mirza Sahiban*. The first known literary figure is Madhu Lal Hussain of Lahore (d. 1593), mentioned by Dara Shikoh as an admirer of beauty, who sang of his love for it, using the symbolism of native folk tales, as did most later poets. His contemporary, Damodar, was the first major poet to versify the celebrated tragedy of *Heer Ranjha*.

One century later, Sultan Bahuu (d. 1691), wrote *Siharfi* or the "Golden Alphabet", one of the masterpieces of mystical folk poetry. The genre of *siharfi* was common to the languages of Pakistan, as was the *baramasah*, poems about the twelve months of the year, as seen through the eyes of a loving woman, a form derived from Sanskrit. Sultan Bahuu gave this form an imagery typical of the fertile soil of Punjab. His younger contemporary, the Qadiri mystic, Bullhe Shah (d. 1758), is considered to be the greatest Punjabi poet; his verses show the same enthusiastic rapture as that of the great Sufis of Turkey and Iran. He, like his predecessors, used the tale of *Heer Ranjha*, as a symbol of man's love of God and the difficulties of His Way; but the classical form of *Heer Ranjha* – a tale which was the subject of more than a hundred *mathnavis* in various languages – was developed by Waris Shah Maqbil and Ahmad Yar towards the end of the eighteenth century; ever since, it has remained the favourite of the Punjabi-speaking population.

In spite of various other mystical folk poets (Ali Haidar of Multan, or Ghulam Farid who wrote in Siraiki), Punjabi never became a literary language in the strict sense for the Muslim population; rather it was the sacred language for the Sikhs – Guru Nanak's poetry set the norm for them – and they write it in Gurmukhi characters. The medium of higher literature among the Punjabi Muslims was Persian, and later Urdu. There exist a considerable number of printed books, many of them on mystical themes, verse translations of Persian Sufi works, *marthias*, translations from English. However Punjabi did not become part of the mainstream of contemporary literature unlike Urdu and Sindhi.

Contrary to Punjabi, Sindhi became a literary language in the nineteenth century and developed remarkably swiftly. The rudimentary beginnings of Sindhi literature are documented in the fourteenth century, and ballads from that period, verses of divines like Pir Nuruddin, Pir Shamsuddin and Pir Sadaruddin (circa 1358) are still extant. Some mystical verses from the sixteenth century are the first written evidence. Here, as in Punjab, the mystics used the folk tales of *Sassi Punnu, Yusuf Zulaikha, Sohni Mahinwal, Saiful Muluk* and *Omar Marui* as a starting point for their mystical songs, as much as they relied upon the indigenous imagery of gardens, fields and desert-life. The soul is represented in all these poems as a loving woman, true to the Indian tradition, and her trials and tribulations on her way towards God, her lost beloved, are dramatically described. The poetry of Qadi Qadan of Sehwan (d. 1556) and of Shah Inat, as much as that of Shah Abdul Karim of Bullri, show the same richness of language (which boasts an extremely refined

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grammar) as is characteristic of the poetry of the greatest Sindhi mystical poet, and contemporary of Bullhe Shah, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. *Shah jo Risalo* has been almost a sacred book for both Muslims and Hindus. Old Sindhi tales blend in the *Risalo* with Shah Abdul Latif's experiences on his wanderings with the Yogis; unsurpassed descriptions of long expected rain lead to praise of the Prophet, and images taken from daily life are fresh and poignant, as are his allusions to the works of early Muslim mystics, particularly Jalaluddin Rumi. More outspoken than Shah Abdul Latif, was Sachal Sarmast (d. 1826), whose lyrics in Sindhi and Siraiki belong to the most ecstatic verses ever written in any Islamic country. Sachal is one in a long line of poets – many of them from the Baluchi clan of the Leghari – who used Siraiki besides Sindhi, and whose poems even today repeat the traditional adoration of beauty as well as the acceptance of suffering typical of Sufism.

However, it would be wrong to dwell only upon the hymnodists of Divine Love. Shortly before Shah Abdul Latif sang his verse, the Naqshbandi theologians of Thatta had begun to offer religious instruction in their native language; Makhdum Muhammad Hashim (d. 1761) heads the list of these writers and commentators. This trend continued, although it did not create a true prose literature; that came into existence only after 1852, when the modified Arabic alphabet was introduced by Sir Bartle Frere as a medium of communication, and printing presses were set up. From that time onward, Hindus and Muslims competed in enriching their mother tongue – partly with translations of European and Indian prose and partly with their own writings. The leading figure among those writers who contributed to the development of Sindhi into a modern language, was Mirza Qalich Beg (d. 1929) of Hyderabad, whose profession as a British civil servant left him enough time to translate and compose more than three hundred works, among them a wide range of adaptations, from Shakespeare to Sherlock Holmes. He is the author of the first Sindhi novel on female education, *Zinat* (1890), which is remarkably enlightened. Mirza Qalich Beg also composed a book containing models of Sindhi poetry in all the Persian metres, for, from the early nineteenth century onward, some poets, particularly those living in the cities, had given up traditional folk poetry in favour of Persianizing *ghazals*. Abdul Husa Sangi (d. 1924), the descendant of the Talpur rulers, was one of the main representatives of this style.

After World War I, the Sindhi press grew more active, and a fine journalistic style developed. Scholarly works in all branches of knowledge were published and a pliable prose emerged. Since Independence, there have been publications containing classical poetry and prose and large collections of folklore material. Modern poetry often experiments with lyrical forms, from the traditional *kafi*, to *ghazal* and *haiku;* among contemporary poets, Sheikh Ayaz is the most powerful figure, skilfully adapting old forms of language to modern themes. Short story writing has also become popular, and is now an established and successful literary form.

The efforts being made by a number of talented writers and scholars to bring these regional languages into line with the more developed classical and modern ones by creative writing, critical studies and historical research have a definite contribution to make to Pakistan's literary future. Their work does not weaken the national language, but rather enlarges those local and varied reservoirs of sensibility and expression from which Urdu has drawn its replenishment and vitality throughout its development.

A.S.

Poet and statesman, Muhammad Iqbal (1875-1938) supplied the intellectual basis for the idea of Pakistan.

Muhammad Iqbal

"No man was ever yet a great poet", wrote that very discerning critic Coleridge, "without being at the same time a great philosopher." A succession of great names bears it testimony – Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–1273), Muslehuddin Saadi (d. 1313), Shamsuddin Hafiz (d. 1389), Ibnul Hassan Amir Khusrau (1253–1325), Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797–1869). It is to the same distinguished line that the poet, Sir Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), or "Allama" (Great Scholar) as he is reverentially called, unquestionably belongs. With this difference, that, unlike some of his mediaeval predecessors, he was not only equipped with education in various philosophical schools, both ancient and contemporary, but also commanded sufficient prose in more than one language to articulate his own answers to the problems of reality with logic and precision.

"Like all great "poets of affirmation", Dante, Milton and Goethe, Iqbal was no abstract thinker," stated V. G. Kiernan in his *Introduction to Poems by Iqbal*. Like them he was closely involved with the affairs of the

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world around him and, for the Muslims of the subcontinent, he has been not the unacknowledged, but the acknowledged law-giver of their social, religious and political thinking.

For the Muslim community of undivided India, the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, were a period of acute mental confusion and emotional distress. The downfall of the Muslim Mughal Empire, the bloody reprisals that followed the uprisings against British authority in 1857, the extinction of the privileges, values and usages of the old feudal order, the ascendancy of their non-Muslim compatriots to most available positions of power and wealth sorely lacerated the collective mind. Adversity had also made them kin to other Muslim peoples beyond their borders who were similarly afflicted, the Ottoman Turks, Arabs of the Middle East, Libyans, Moroccans and Tunisians. They awaited a consoling and uplifting voice to lead them out of their wilderness of despond. Leading voices of an earlier era, the timid voice of liberal reformists urging them to come to terms with the alien ways of their British rulers and the strident voice of religious divines exorting them to reject the blandishments of the infidel and return to the fold of ancestral tradition, no longer appealed to the new intelligentsia. Iqbal, the poet, was best attuned to the sources of their discontent and Iqbal, the thinker, best aware of the nature of their intellectual and spiritual malaise – of the giants of modernism and tradition pulling at their wrists. He loved them both wisely and too well. Over the years, he chiselled out his answers to contemporary problems of Indian Muslims, the Muslim peoples in general, and of the abstract trinity of God, Man and Nature.

While Iqbal sympathized with and assimilated many elements from Western philosophic and scientific thought, for example Hegel's concept of man and history being "Man's own work", Kant's critique of pure reason, Marx's denunciation of capitalism and class exploitation, Nietzsche's rejection of liberal bourgeois morality and glorification of the will to power, Bergson's defence of the validity of intuitive knowledge, Einstein's four-dimensional time-space continuum, and others, he considered that both idealist and materialist philosophies of the West were largely irrelevant to the social and ideological predicaments of his own people. He devoutly believed that it was only the authority of their own religion – Islam – and the sanction of their own sanctified traditions – the life and sayings of the Prophet of Islam – that could truly validate the message he carried.

On these he focused the search-light of his vision. Concurrently the Muslim mind had to be liberated from the sterility of nearly five hundred years of social and intellectual torpor and the tyranny of backward-looking, anti-intellectual orthodoxy. As a first step, therefore, like the prophets of old, he sought to cleanse the House of God of all false idols, of scribes and Pharisees, the obscurantist *mulla,* the withdrawn mystic, the charlatan and the demagogue.

> "Why these curtains draped between the Creator and his creatures?
> Drive out of my Church, these elders of the Church.
> I am weary and displeased with these slabs of precious marble
> Build me another sanctuary of humble mud."
>
> (God addressing the angels in *Bal-e-Jibreel* – The Wing of Gabriel)

Only thus could this House be made deserving of the "vice-regent of God" on earth, Man.

Iqbal is a humanist not only in the formal but in the literal sense of the word: for him "no form of reality is so powerful, so inspiring and so beautiful as the spirit of man." The fall of Adam was not a falling from grace but the opposite – his elevation to the position of a "Co-worker with God" (*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* by Iqbal), in the process of creation – a process which is still continuing. For "our universe is not a complete factor. It is still in the course of formation and man has to take his share in it as much as he helps to bring order into a portion of this chaos." The terrestrial world is as much man-made as God-made, with the difference that while the creation of God-Nature or Matter is relatively static and immobile, the creative energies of man are geared to the dynamics of an evolutionary process which is both timeless and measureless.

> "There are other worlds beyond the stars
> Other testing grounds for the passion of love
> Don't stay enmeshed in your (earthly) nights and days
> There are other measures of time for you in other spaces (yonder)"
>
> *(Bal-e-Jibreel)*

> "You created the night and I the lamp
> You created clay, I fashioned from it the wine-cup
> You created deserts, mountains, wastelands
> I made them into orchards, gardens, flower-beds"
>
> (Dialogue between "Man and God" in *Pyam-e-Mashriq* – Message of the East)

As a corollary to this, Iqbal applies the Muslim concept of *tauheed* – the unity or oneness of God to the unity of the terrestrial and the celestial worlds, thus replacing the concept of transcendence of God by His Immanence (*Modern Islam in India and Pakistan,* by W. Cantwell-Smith), and obliterating the quality of sacred and secular, spiritual and material. "The spirit finds its opportunities in the natural, the material, the secular. All that is secular, therefore, is sacred in the roots of its being."

Further, since the process of human evolution through a progressive mastery over material forces is continuous and unending, it follows that the only abiding element in the cosmic scheme is transition and change.

> "In this world, only change has permanence."
>
> (Call of the Caravan Bell – *Bang-e-Dara*)

And this applies as much to subjective and ideological as to social and material factors – even to the edicts of religion. "Eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which according to the Quran is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature" *(Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam).* Having already parted company with the traditional mystic who dismisses the physical world as an illusion and human physical endeavour as mere vanity, Iqbal discards equally emphatically the dogmatic theologian and his static orthodoxy.

Finally, the principal agent in this creative process is the human Ego, or Personality or Self – *khudi,* as Iqbal calls it. To meet the challenge of creation, the human self has to be fortified both by perceptual knowledge of the physical world and intuitive passion (or love, *ishq,* in Iqbal's terminology) for the realization of higher values and ideals. It logically follows that "the idea of personality gives us a standard of value – that which fortifies personality is good; that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality" (from the introduction of *Secrets of the Self* by Iqbal, translated by Professor

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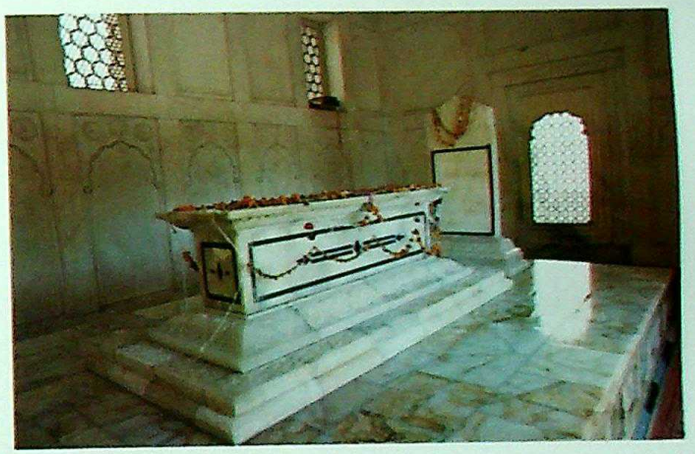
Nicholson.) But this personality or self cannot develop or fortify itself in isolation. It can do so only in the context of the totality of social relationships. And here Iqbal's Perfect Man, *Mard-e-Kamil,* disengages himself from Nietzsche's superman, for Iqbal's categorical imperatives rule out all forms of nationalist chauvinism, imperialist domination, racial discrimination, social exploitation and personal aggrandisement, since all of them make for the debasement and perversion of human personality.

Understandably, the bulk of critical literature on Iqbal is devoted to the study and analysis of his message and thought content rather than to an appreciation and evaluation of his poetry. And yet it is his vibrant and impassioned verse, and the persuasive appeal it carries, which accounts for much of his influence. In his poetic works, form and content, theme and style move along well-defined lines and their evolution over a long span of continuous creation makes an interesting study. In the first phase, lasting up to 1905, most of the poems relate to the wonder and questionings inspired by isolated phenomena of nature; mornings and sunsets, mountains and rivers, the moon, the stars and the causeless nostalgia of youth. This lyrical period of short pieces is followed by a series of long poems, passionate and rhetorical, mostly devoted to political themes – nationalist or pan-Islamic. All this work is in Urdu. In 1915, Iqbal brought out his first long philosophical poem in Persian – *Asrar-e-Khudi,* "Secrets of the Self", which initiated the next phase of philosophic speculations mostly in Persian. And lastly, the early Thirties saw the final perfection of his teaching and poetic art, in the form of three volumes in Urdu, *Bal-e-Jibreel* (The Wing of Gabriel), *Zarb-e-Kaleem* (The Rod of Moses), and the posthumous *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* (The Gift of Hijaz). By this time his restless quest had moved from bits and pieces of subjective experience, the wonders of nature, the travail of Indian Muslims and the Muslim world, to a calm contemplation of the ultimates of reality – God, Nature and Man.

With this progressive expansion in the field of his poetic vision, there is a corresponding reduction in his poetic themes, from profusion to orderliness, from dispersal to integration, terminating in the monolithic thought of his last years. There is a similar transformation in style from prolixity to precision, from ornate and involved phraseology to lucid direct statement, from flamboyant rhetoric to unadorned poetry. The long poem, philosophical or political, in the *mathavi* (rhymed couplets), or *musadas* (six-line stanza) form, gives way to epigrammatic verse in the form of *ghazal, qita* or *rubaiy*. The emotional climate also undergoes a change from sentiment, *muhabbat,* to passion (*ishq*) or love. In this mature body of verse, Iqbal, after discarding the normal conventional embellishments of oriental poetry, employed a number of devices of his own to relieve the austerity of his verse and to maintain its heightened tenor. The first among these is the musicality of sound patterns and a number of prosodic innovations which are utterly lost in translation. Secondly, the introduction of highly evocative proper names, hardly known to Urdu poetry before him – the sands around Kazima, the snows of Mount Damavand, the deserts of Iraq and Hijaz, the blood of Hussain, the majesty of Rome, the beauty of Cordova, the glories of Isphahan and Samarkand. Thirdly, he gave currency to unfamiliar words which are antique without being archaic, unused without being obscure. And he counter-matched them with rhythms and metres which had rarely been used in Urdu poetry.

At this stage, after much piecemeal thinking and intense subjective exploration, he at last arrived at a theme big enough to fill the whole of his vision, the twin theme of Man's grandeur and his loneliness. The theme of human loneliness, centred round the immensity of the odds arrayed against Man, oppression, exploitation and various meannesses within and hostile and heartless Nature without. The grandeur of Man – the tragic hero – lies in his acceptance of this challenge – his destiny of unending struggle, of perpetual frustration and fulfilment, to attain the wholeness of God. He sang of this glory and this pain, the hopes and the anxieties of the world of Man, with great tenderness and compassion, at times with great wrath and indignation. And he did so with a conviction and a sincerity, with a sweep and amplitude of expression unequalled in his age.

Iqbal was born on 9 November, 1877, to Shaikh Noor Muhammad, a small trader of little learning and modest means, in the ancient Punjab town of Sialkot. The



Iqbal's tomb of white marble stands outside the main gates of the Badshahi mosque in Lahore.

humble house in the lane of *Koocha Churigaran,* "the bangle-makers", where he was born, has since been rebuilt. He was sent to the local mosque, as popular custom ordained, to learn his alphabet from a great scholar of his times, Maulvi Syed Mir Hassan, who also taught him Arabic during his later schooling. He attended the local school and college run by Scottish missionaries, the Scotch Mission High School, and Scotch Mission College (the latter is now known as Murray College).

In 1895, having finished his higher secondary education, he moved to Lahore and obtained his Master's Degree in Philosophy from Government College, Lahore, in 1899. His academic career was studded with a number of distinctions in his favourite studies, which were Philosophy and Arabic. Fame came to him early when in 1899 he recited his first long poem *Nala-e-Yatim* (The Cry of the Orphan), at the annual meeting of the local Muslim educational and charitable organization Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam; his place in the front rank of younger poets of his generation was assured. Between 1899 and 1903, when he went abroad for higher studies, he taught Arabic, Philosophy and English literature in two premier institutions in Lahore, Government College and Oriental College, contributed to the best known literary magazines, and was accepted as a leading figure among the social and literary *élite* of the town. In 1903 he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, and ob-

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tained a degree. The subject of his dissertation was the Development of Metaphysics in Persia. Two years later he obtained a Doctorate in Philosophy on the same thesis from the University of Munich. In 1907, he returned to London, lectured in Arabic at London University, and was also called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1908. Towards the end of the same year, he returned home to Lahore and enrolled at the High Court as a barrister. He also served briefly as a Professor of Philosophy at Government College.

From then onwards, until the end of his days, apart from a short interlude when he was actively associated with public affairs, between 1926 and 1933, he wrote a series of outstanding poetic works which first appeared in the form of small pamphlets or even leaflets. Later, after 1915, when his first long philosophical poem *Asrar-e-Khudi* was published, they took shape as an impressive cavalcade of works of great power and intensity. In 1918, came another long poem, *Ramuz-e-Bekhudi* (Aspects of Selflessness), *Pyam-e-Mashriq* (Message of the East), a collection of miscellaneous poems in Persian appeared in 1923, *Bang-e-Dara* (Call of the Caravan Bell), his first collection of Urdu verse; also in 1923, *Zaboor-e-Ajam* (Persian Psalms), another collection of Persian lyrics in 1927; *Javed Nama* (Testament of Eternity), a long philosophical poem in Persian in 1932; *Bal-e-Jibreel* (The Wing of Gabriel), a collection of short Urdu poems in 1935; *Musafir* (The Wanderer), and *Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq* (So What is to be done, O People of the East), two long Persian meditative poems in 1936; *Zarb-e-Kaleem* (The Rod of Moses), mostly epigrammatic poems in Urdu, also in the same year, and, finally, *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* (The Gift of Hijaz), a collection of short Urdu and Persian pieces, was published posthumously in 1938.

He also wrote some text-books for schools on History, Economics and Literature which are now collectors' items. In 1930, he published in book form the lectures he had delivered in 1928 in Madras, Aligarh and Hyderabad (Deccan), under the title *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* a closely reasoned and scholarly exposition of his own views on religion and philosophy, and a forceful criticism of prevalent Muslim ideological schools. He was also accepted as the leading thinker and ideologue of his community, and was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1926, and later became President of the All-India Muslim League session at Allahabad in 1930, at which he said in his famous address, "I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam," marshalling arguments which were the origin of the whole movement for the creation of Pakistan. He was nominated by the British Government in 1931 (he had already been knighted in 1922), as one of the representatives of Indian Muslims at the Round Table talks in London on constitutional reforms for India, and again in 1932. This gave him an opportunity to travel abroad once again and visit some of the places he loved – Spain, Paris, Rome and Palestine. His later visit to Afghanistan, like the travels to Cordova and Palestine, is commemorated in a long poem.

On April 21, 1938, after a prolonged illness, his long life ended. Followed by a vast concourse of mourners, he was laid to rest at the foot of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, built by Emperor Aurangzeb. His mausoleum of sandstone and lapis lazuli is now a place of pilgrimage in the city.

F.A.F.

Modern Poetry

Poetry in Pakistan today is in the main a continuation of the process which began about 300 years ago, when the tradition of Persian *ghazal* was first adopted in Urdu. While its prosody is derived from Persian, the influence of modern English, French and German poetry is evident from the adoption of free verse and an extension of vocabulary. The ancient languages, diverse regional cultures with their distinct folk-mystical flavour and myriad indigenous systems of music of the subcontinent, have all shaped its structure.

The Pakistani poet of today, whether he belongs to the mainstream of Urdu, the national language, or to one of the regional languages, is therefore, at the same time responding to the aura and ethos of his own environment and to the distant echo of alien poetic and prosodic compositions. He is both traditionalist and innovator, and his talent expresses itself sometimes in the classical diction of the Persian *ghazal,* sometimes in the lilt of the Hindi *geet,* and sometimes in the style of the European free verse, cantos and prose-poems.

The reformist movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98), aimed at the rehabilitation of the Muslims of the subcontinent consequent upon the disintegration of the Mughal empire, found its echo in Altaf Husain Hali's crusade to modernize Urdu. In order to reinforce Sir Syed's plea to the Muslims to acquire knowledge of Western arts and sciences, Hali (1837-1914) called for a complete reappraisal of literary and aesthetic values. In his long poem, *Musaddas-madd-o-jazr-i-Islam,* (The Ebb and Flow of Islam), he attempted to illustrate his theory that poetry should not merely please, but perform an important social and cultural function. Hali's theory could well be described as the birth of a new concept of poetry distinct from the *ghazal* and *qasida* which lay in the romantic and lyrical tradition.

The need for change, identified by Hali through his well-known critique of Urdu poetry, *Muqaddima-shairo-shairi* (published in 1893), was placed in perspective by Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938). Iqbal used poetry as the vehicle for communicating thought and philosophy, and, in that sense, was the precursor of the modern progressive movement. The theme of nationalism in the poetry of Muhammad Husain Azad (1827-1910), Abdul Halim Sharar (1860-1926) and Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) also fortified the climate of change. It ultimately crystallized in a movement initiated by a group of young Western-educated writers, poets and critics in Lahore – the epicentre of many new movements in art and literature in the early Twenties. The main thrust of this group was against formalized poetry, especially as represented by the *ghazal,* and they began experimenting with the new systems of poetical structure, borrowing freely from their contemporaries in Europe.

To this generation of Lahore-based intellectuals belonged Tassadduq Husain Khalid and Muhammad Din Taseer (both educated in England) who were among the first to transfer the notable features of modern English and French poetry to Urdu. They also adopted the free and blank verse forms. The example set by Khalid and Tasir was later to be followed by a whole generation of young poets, prominent among them Faiz Ahmad Faiz

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(b. 1911), N. M. Rashed (1910-75) and Meeraji (1913-50), who became the chief exponents of modern Urdu poetry. They conducted bold and excitingly new experiments in metre, rhyme and prosody. The lack of structural discipline which they discovered through Freudian psychology and Joycean use of language and stream of consciousness, acted as the spur to their creative self-expression. They adopted Rimbaud, Eliot, Rilke, Auden, and Ezra Pound as their models, and founded the school of New Poetry.

Meanwhile, the progressive writers' movement was also beginning to take shape, again influenced by developments in Europe. A group of Urdu writers living in England formed the Progressive Writers' Association in the early 1930s, deriving their inspiration from the leftist and Marxist ideas which were then providing the bulwark of resistance against Nazism and Fascism and serving as a catalyst in the peoples' struggle against colonial rule in Asia and Africa. The Association (which was formally launched in the subcontinent in 1936) played a key role in the evolution of modern Urdu literature in the Thirties and the Forties. By its radical approach to content and technique and stress on social and economic problems, in contrast to abstract romanticism, it won over a large number of adherents. It held almost complete sway until the mid-Forties when it began to encounter resistance to its political orientation from the non-committed writers and intellectuals. Initially, progressive poetry and new poetry developed intermittently along paths which frequently overlapped, but later polarised into two schools. The schism has persisted to this day, frequently manifesting itself in polemical altercations between the two groups.

Faiz Ahmad Faiz presents the best Urdu poetry of the progressive movement and Rashed and Meeraji of the other school. However, all three of them have made a lasting impact on the Urdu poetry of their age. Faiz's first collection of verse, *Naqsh-i-Faryadi,* appeared in the early Forties at the same time as Rashed's maiden collection, *Mavara*. Since then, Faiz has published four more collections, *Zindan Nama*, *Dast-i-Saba, Dast-i-tah-i-sang* and *Sar-i-Wadi-i-Sina,* and a volume of Punjabi verse. Rashed published two collections, *Iran Men Ajnabi* and *La Insan*. Meeraji in his life-time published his verse, *Meeraji-Ki Nazmen* in 1945, and his songs, *Geet Hi Geet,* a year later, but a great deal of his poetry was published posthumously. Of the three, Faiz is the only one who has maintained a continuity with the past. Despite his strong links with the progressive movement, he did not totally sever his affiliation with the traditional forms like the *ghazal*. A sense of the classic has given Faiz's poetry a well-rooted quality. It has recharged the idiom of the *ghazal* with new meaning, more humanistic than romantic.

Rashed and Meeraji have exerted influence upon the evolution of poetry in Pakistan. Meeraji was an innovator of form and style *par excellence*. His poetry represents a perfect blend of what he imbibed from English and French poetry with all that was available to him indigenously, particularly through the ancient and rich heritage of Hindi and Bahasha poetry and classical music. Rashed, too, is admired for his imagist and impressionistic poetry. His introspective attitude and lack of concern for establishing a rapport with the external world (a trait which is also strong in today's poetry) became more acute in his later life, as is evident from his *La Insan* and his prose poems of the seventies. He is fascinated by the form and sound of Persian words and phrases, which he knits into the fabric of his poetry. Among the somewhat younger contemporaries of Faiz, Rashed and Meeraji, specific mention may be made of several poets – Ahmed Nadim Qasmi, Yusuf Zafar, Qaiyum Nazar, Majeed Amjad, Mukhtar Siddiqui, Nasir Kazmi, Zia Jullunduri, Munir Niazi and Muhammad Safdar. Between them they represent a generation which has enriched Urdu with a profusion of ideas, images, forms, symbols and allusions.

In the flush of newly-gained freedom, there was a conscious effort to rediscover the past, and to identify denominators of commonly shared historical and cultural experience. This resulted in a return to the classical tradition and Lahore was once again the centre of this literary trend, mainly because of the mass migration of Muslim population from across the border which brought with it cultural traits originating in diverse parts of the subcontinent. Consequently, after nearly two decades of neglect, the classical *ghazal* was resurrected. In many cases, its contents and diction were overhauled to adjust to modern aesthetic sensibility. While in some cases the results were hardly remarkable, poets of the stature of Nasir Kazmi and Mukhtar Siddiqi created a new mode of *ghazal,* combining in it a nostalgia of the past with a zest for the present. Faiz also emerged as a major *ghazal* writer; and, of the younger poets, Ahmed Faraz today owes his popularity largely to his subtle and original use of this medium.

In the late Fifties, disenchantment with the classical tradition once again set in, because of the younger poets' urge to break out of the confines of its formal structure. Several among the post-Independence generation of poets raised the banner of revolt against the *ghazal* and other manifestations of formalized poetry. Iftikhar Jalib and Qamar Jamil, supported by a section of senior critics, were prominent among the leaders of this revolt. Like Meeraji, whom they idolized, they turned to modern English and French poets for inspiration. The group that identified itself with the new trend included poets like Jilani Kamran, Anis Nagi, Abbas Athar, Obaidulla Alim, Saqi Faruqi, Aziz Hamid Madani, Fehmida Riaz, Ejaz Faruqi, Saadat Said, Ahmad Hamesh, Amjad Islam Amjad, Salim-ur-Rehman, Salahuddin Mahmud and Sabir Zafar. As a group they militantly defended the cult of newness and disparaged any suggestion of a formal discipline or constraints of communication. They quoted Paul Valéry, Susanne K. Langer, St John Perse and the Wittgenstenian concept of the relativity of truth, in support of their concept. In the words of Anis Nagi, the new poet insisted that "the traditional mode of thought and literary resources available had lost their meaning, and it was necessary to create or compile a new idiom for the vital expression of the experiences derived from the new situation."

This attitude found its extreme expression in the genre of prose-poems which, predictably, evoked scepticism among conservatives, who look upon it as non-poetry and condemn its nature, form and content. It has also drawn criticism from some Western oriented writers who regard it as secondhand or imitative. Ahmad Ali, author of the English novel *Twilight in Delhi,* and *The Golden Tradition,* the history of the *ghazal,* bewailed, at a symposium held in 1975, the impact of Western thought and culture on the East: "We are lost in a limbo of obfuscating symbols and imagery which neither belong to the East nor even to the West." This may be an extreme view; but many critics believe that a true synthesis between Western thought and expression and

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those of the Pakistani poets will come about when the latter overcomes his sense of alienation from society around him and looks inward, like Meeraji, to more native sources of inspiration from the classics and the ancient folk-mystical heritage of the land to which he belongs.

No account of Urdu poetry in Pakistan today can be considered complete without recognition of the works of the poets who, in their own time (1920-1940), facilitated the transition of Urdu poetry from the classical to the modern, even though they are no longer regarded as standard-bearers of change today. Among them are the veterans like Josh Malihabadi, who wrote poems like *East India Company Ke Farzandon Ke Nam* and *Husain Aur Inqalab* which spoke of revolution and iconoclasm, Hafiz Jullunduri, author of the epic *Shah Nama-i-Islam,* Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, who writes with equal facility in Persian, Urdu and Punjabi and is the author of several popular national songs and *geets*, Ihsan Danish, one-time manual worker, who overnight became a foremost romantic poet, and scores of others. These poets are still active and, in their own way, continue to dominate the literary scene. Similarly, a large number of accomplished poets, primarily writers of the *ghazal* and the formal *nazm,* are popular and sought after for *mushairas,* poetic soirées, which are an unique feature of the cultural landscape in Pakistan.

M.H.A., A.Q. et al.

Theatre

There have been elements of the dramatic in folk-forms in the performance of bards and jesters which are still popular in the rural areas, but they can lay little claim to the development of the theatre in its strict sense. The theatre properly so called originated at the beginning of the nineteenth century, growing out of the song-dance extravaganzas staged by Wajid Ali Shah, the last Muslim king of Oudh. By the end of the century, this semi-operatic drama, with its profusion of dancing and singing, its hyperbolic style of dialogue and its rhetorical technique of acting, had become the major form of entertainment in the urban centres throughout the sub-continent.

Commercialized to a degree, this form of drama depended for its appeal more on spectacle and fantasy than on a serious or realistic interpretation of human life. The plots were derived first from local legend and fable, and, later, from European models of the theatre. The tragedy from Shakespeare, and comedy from Molière, in a drama which was an odd mixture of the two. The greatest exponent, and the last, of this form of theatre was Agha Hashr Kashmiri, whose adaptations from Hamlet, King Lear and Richard III continued to be box-office successes until the middle Thirties of the twentieth century, when it was suddenly and swiftly overthrown, replaced and absorbed by the new medium of the "talkies".

Play-houses were converted into cinemas, and the actors, playwrights, directors of the theatre – including the redoubtable Agha Hashr – abandoned the stage for the film studio, giving the feature film the semi-operatic conventions and modes of the theatre. Some remnants of the old commercial theatre have continued to hold their own in small towns and remote places, where shreds and tatters of antique, half-forgotten plays are still performed on festive occasions by itinerant groups of players in impromptu canvas tents.

During the hey-day of the commercial theatre, the need for writing serious and realistic drama was felt by the new urban middle class intelligentsia. A large number of plays in various languages were written on legendary, historical and even political themes. Mirza Qalich Beg in Sindhi and Abdul Halim Sharar in Urdu – the latter occasionally using blank verse – are notable examples. The Urdu poet and journalist, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, wrote a play on the Russo-Japanese war of 1905. Many modern and classical plays from European languages were also translated into Urdu and other languages. All this writing activity proved theatrically barren, as the plays were not performed, except occasionally by students in college dramatic societies.

The intelligentsia got a real opening into the world of drama, through, paradoxically, the non-theatrical medium of sound broadcasting. In the late Thirties and early Forties, radio provided, for the playwright and the sophisticated play-audience alike, the major vehicle to satisfy the demand for dramatic entertainment. The other, and more legitimately theatrical, medium was the amateur dramatic society, especially in the rapidly expanding educational institutions. The radio as well as the amateur dramatic societies depended largely on adaptation of European plays. Two of the most prominent of the radio playwrights were Imtiaz Ali Taj and Rafi Peerzada. Both were fine actors and producers – Rafi Peerzada having got his training in professional theatre in England and Germany – and the enthusiastic response of the audience to their productions, even in the disembodied form of the radio-play, revealed a tremendous potential for the organization of a sophisticated theatre. But the absence of staging facilities and the lack of financial support inhibited the aspiration to organize a regular theatre. Among others who wrote radio plays in Urdu was Saadat Hasan Manto, whose main work was put on the air from Delhi and Bombay – where he also wrote screenplays – before he came to Lahore after independence and wrote also for the stage.

With the coming of independence, the need for the theatre was felt all the more by a nation seeking to reflect its new identity in a dynamic art form. In the initial stages, however, the orthodox religious elements tended to look upon the theatre with aversion. But by the middle of the Fifties, a number of theatre enthusiasts in various cities, mostly among college dramatic societies and amateur theatre groups, succeeded in focusing public attention on the need for a new kind of theatre. They had sufficient know-how and expertise in stage technique, having been associated with active theatre work in the past, not to be side-tracked into attempts at the revival of the old commercial theatre, and started on the basis of the understanding of the theatre as "a passion and a platform". They imparted this understanding to the eager young amateurs they trained.

By the end of the Fifties, young students, amateurs and theatre workers had succeeded in forming small theatre groups and were trying to devise ways and means of providing continuous production work. The Arts Councils, semi-official bodies working on meagre sums from the public exchequer, became the centres of activity for staging plays.

While most of the theatre activity in the Fifties was dependent on scripts adapted from European plays, there were some notable exceptions, like Khwaja Mueenuddin and Mehr Nigar who wrote original plays of merit for their own productions. The most significant contribution

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Left. *Shakespeare remains popular. This* Tempest *was performed by the girls of Kinnaird College, Lahore.*

Right. *A film was made of Agha Hashr's* Mehbooba, *a melodrama in the tradition of the Bombay theatre early in this century.*

to the theatre movement in Pakistan in its early stages was made by Khwaja Mueenuddin (d. 1971). As a young school-teacher, he wrote and produced a number of highly successful political satires, mainly with a view to collecting funds for the educational society which he had founded at Karachi. The special feature of his plays was the mordantly witty dialogue with which he would expose social and political foibles to ridicule. His most famous plays were *Lal Qile Se Lalu Khet Tak, Mirza Ghalib Bandar Road Par,* and *Talim-i-Balighan.*

By the end of the Fifties, apart from the theatre groups formed by the talented young men trained earlier, two new individuals provided an impetus to the theatre movement. They were Zia Mohyeddin and Ali Ahmad. Trained at RADA, Zia Mohyeddin returned to Pakistan with fresh ideas of staging and acting techniques and produced a number of plays at Karachi and Lahore, of which the most notable was an early production of Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night.*

Ali Ahmad created a semi-professional group in Lahore, which staged excellent productions of Becket's *Waiting for Godot* (in Urdu) and of Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme.* Later, he moved to Karachi, and wrote and produced a number of politically significant plays of which his *Qissa Sotey Jagtey Ka* was the most successful. He has been running a theatre academy now for several years.

Although attempts at writing original plays have continued, some attended by marked success, the greater part of theatre productions is based on scripts translated and adapted from European drama, especially in the comic, even farcical, mode.

Of the producers who emerged in the Sixties, the most successful have been Kamal Ahmed Rizvi and Farrukh Nigar Aziz. The former had concentrated on producing comedies and farce, mostly translated by himself, from Goldoni's *A Servant of Two Masters* and Molière's *Scapin.* The latter, produced in English and also in Urdu, made the amateur theatre attain an almost professional competence. Her successful productions include Forster's *A Passage to India,* Chekhov's *The Seagull,* Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* and Sartre's *Respectable Prostitute* and *Nekrassov.*

The theatre movement received a fillip from the emergence of television in 1964, which enabled playwrights, actors and directors to make a living from their artistic and creative talent. They could find time from their engagements in television to produce and act in stage plays. This has now become a continuous form of activity, and a number of professional players have emerged as a consequence. So have a number of former fiction writers who have turned their attention to writing for the stage, a steady income assured from television assignments. Of these, Intizar Hussain's *Khwabon Ke Musafir* and Bano Qudsia's *Ik Terey Aney Se,* are the most notable, as contributors of significant stage plays.

The National Council of the Arts, established in 1972, has in hand a number of projects to build play houses in all major cities. The work on a cultural complex, housing a theatre, is under way in Lahore. With the completion of these and other new play houses, the theatre in Pakistan should cease to be a homeless wanderer and play its legitimate role in the life of the people.

M.S.M.

Cinema

Pakistan's film industry is affected by a complex combination of historical, economic and cultural factors. It is also in many ways a curious paradox. Blessed with one of the most vivid and distinctive folk art traditions in South Asia, Pakistan has as yet been unable to evolve a national cinema immune, or even fundamentally distinguishable, from that of the Bombay tradition.

Cinema came to this area much later than to many other regions of the subcontinent. It was in and around Bombay, where the influence of European languages and arts was strongest, and where Parsi theatre had put down roots in the 1880s, that the first imported films were exhibited – and the first indigenous films made.

In due course, films (both imported and locally-made) found their way to Lahore – and almost instantly inspired remarkable creative activity in the Muslim community. Half a century later, the creative presence of Muslim talent in the Indian cinema of Bombay is strikingly evident – and Urdu is essentially also the language of Bombay films.

The Lahore silent films of the Twenties and Thirties, deploying hand-operated cameras and producing nine or ten reelers, at a cost of Rs 15,000, owe a great deal to two men who can legitimately be called the forefathers of Pakistani cinema – A. R. Kardar and M. Esmail. They gathered around them a stock company of players; names such as Gul Hamid, Nazir, Gulzar, Ahmad Din and Mumtaz became the domestic counterparts of the Hollywood Barrymores, Valentinos and Fairbanks. A separate study could be devoted to the titles alone – from *Mysterious Eagle* to *Masked Rider,* from *The Golden Dagger* to *Passion Flower.*

With the Thirties came sound, and a burst of new talent in Lahore – Rafiq Ghaznavi, Anwari, Bibbo, Saleem Raza, Najmul Hassan, Ragni, and music director, Ghulam Haider. The names of Muslim performers like Master Nisar and Kajan, though working in Bombay or Calcutta, became legendary throughout the subcontinent. Writers, painters and dramatists were attracted to the medium, and casually made use of it. Agha Hashr Kashmiri, Hakim Ahmad Shuja, Imtiaz Ali Taj and Abdur Rahman Chughtai were all associated with film ventures – some abortive, some notably successful. A Punjab Cinema Art Society was formed, and a Northern India Film Conference took place, presided over by Sir Abdul Qadir, a judge of the High Court. Cinema, it seemed,

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might then have moved to the fringes of social respectability. These hopes were not to be realised. With the forties came the strong impetus of the Pakistan movement – attracting the energies of virtually every mind of consequence. The movement was pervaded by a flavour of Muslim revivalism, tending to relegate performing arts and artists to a position beyond the social pale. The perception of the artist as court jester and brothel-keeper once more came to the fore: only writers were partially exempt. While directors like W. Z. Ahmad and Shaukat Hussain Rizvi worked and were respected in Bombay, cinema in Lahore in 1947 was a profit-orientated industry, untouched by the social realism in Calcutta films.

The inheritance was therefore a meagre one. Of the six Lahore studios, four were burnt or looted. A mass exodus of producers, directors, actors and technicians meant that the small Lahore industry ground to a halt.

The crisis was worsened by the indifference of successive governments to the problems and potential importance of cinema. Distinguished film-makers like A. R. Kardar and Mehboob Khan returned disappointed to Bombay. Some, such as W. Z. Ahmad and Shaukat Hussain Rizvi, determined to stay and persevere.

The intervening twenty-eight years have seen dramatic progress in some fields and stagnation in others.

The bare bones of statistics delineate graphically the problems and the possibilities of the future for cinema in Pakistan. There are no more than 550 cinemas for a population of over 65 million, with TV, the only other visual mass medium, confined to no more than 300,000 relatively affluent families. Despite this, the quantitative output of over a hundred feature films annually (over sixty per cent in colour) places Pakistan in the top ten per cent of the world league. A dozen stars dominate the industry, their presence being the prerequisite for the financial support necessary to launch a production; they command fees of up to a quarter of the production budget for a full-length colour feature. What is popularly known as "the formula" throughout South Asia also holds the Pakistani film producer in its firm grip: an obligatory quota of songs and dances, a generous proportion of melodrama and a convoluted plot with an unequivocal ending – heart-rending tragedy or euphoric bliss.

This should not be allowed to obscure the potential of the medium in Pakistan, or the country's ability to produce artists and technicians of skill and integrity. The contributions of these talented individuals give cause for hope, even excitement, and justify the Government's committed support for the development of the cinema as an art form. This commitment has rallied all those with a sympathetic belief in the cinema's potential as an agent of social and cultural change and has coincided with a new sense of creative pluralism in Pakistan.

A National Film Policy was announced in 1974 – twenty-seven years after Independence. This was after a period when official attitudes to cinema varied from benign neglect to austere reproof, with the occasional White Paper and exhortation to quality thrown in for good measure. The profit motive was allowed to reign supreme, and the deep psychological distrust of visual expression as a relevant, even central aspect of the national personality, continued to persist.

Despite this, a few film-makers attempted historical and socio-political themes of some importance. Khalil Qaiser and Riaz Shahid even succeeded in attracting considerable audiences to films of this genre. More

"The formula" still influences the Pakistani producer – songs, dances, melodrama, a convoluted plot and an unequivocal ending.

A. J. Kardar's Of Human Happiness *was financed by NAFDEC, the governmental body for promoting films.*

distinctive and rebellious artists who refused to compromise with the essential banality of the operetta tradition were effectively silenced after a single film each: Zia Sarhady's *Rahguzar* and A. R. Kardar's *Jago Hua Savera* sank almost without a ripple on the domestic market.

It is in this context that the present Government, by proclaiming a new-found commitment to the importance of developing and sustaining a national cinema, revived hopes and rekindled dwindling enthusiasms. The National Film Policy affirmed "the potency of the cinema as an instrument for disseminating culture and suggesting patterns of behaviour (as) a characteristic phenomenon of the twentieth century". Deploring existing conditions, it pointed out that "this state of affairs concerns an aspect of national activity which directly affects the minds and hearts of our people," and added emphatically that "reform is clearly needed."

The policy has brought into existence two state-sponsored institutions. The State Film Authority (SFA), which guides and sustains the private film industry, and The National Film Development Corporation (NAFDEC) which works to stimulate change, set new trends and seeks to alter the climate of entertainment.

The beginnings of change can already be discerned. Directors like A. R. Kardar (from the older generation) and Jamil Dehlvi (in his twenties) are at work on films which are radical departures from existing modes. A spate of international film festivals has fascinated audiences, hitherto isolated from the achievements of world cinema. International production companies see a great potential in Pakistan as a location offering the additional advantage of low costs. There are good prospects of co-production with foreign entrepreneurs. Cinema is no longer regarded as a peripheral or socially distasteful activity. Regional cinema (films in Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushtu) is gaining new life, together with Urdu cinema's continuing popularity. The possibilities of creative traffic between TV and cinema have begun to grow. Real change may therefore be imminent – with profound implications for the cultural life of the nation.

Hopefully, the story of the Seventh Art in Pakistan has only just begun to unfold.

S.H.

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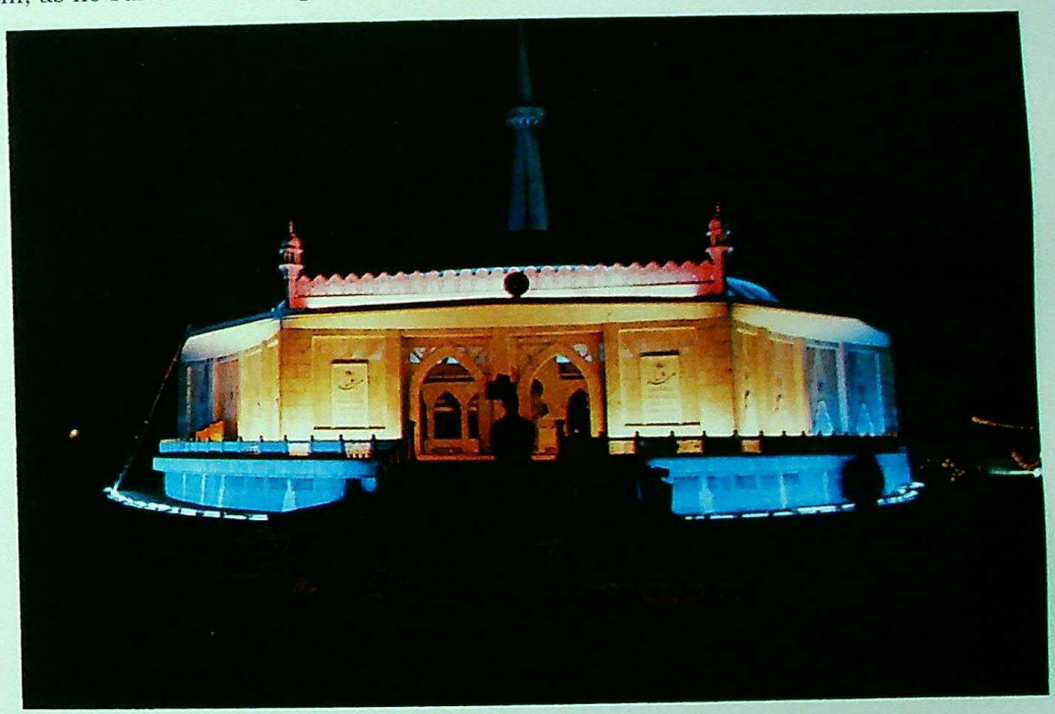
Modern Architecture and its Heritage

The evolution of contemporary architecture in Pakistan has to be viewed in the historical perspective of a rich cultural heritage of Muslim architecture brought to the subcontinent by the Mughals. The long tradition of Muslim architecture had been broken by two hundred years of British rule, which resulted in a colonial style of architecture with occasional attempts made to reflect Muslim forms in some buildings, such as those at New Delhi.

At Independence, the administrative machinery of government had to be accommodated in hurriedly built barracks in the city of Karachi, as no suitable buildings were available. Even today, some government offices are still functioning in temporary buildings built by the British. The few early plans for building a permanent Secretariat to accommodate a part of the Federal Government offices in Karachi – the interim capital – came to nothing.



The Shaheed mosque was built as a memorial to those who died in the 1965 war with India. It combines a traditional mosque style with the use of modern materials.

In 1947, Pakistan had no more than half a dozen qualified architects, perhaps one of the lowest figures in proportion to population of any country. The contribution of this handful of architects, both in the public and the private sectors, was not very significant. The early years may, therefore, be considered a period of transition, in the light of a continuing conflict between the desire of the general public to reflect the traditions of Muslim architecture in new public buildings, and the anxiety of architects to utilize the latest building techniques. Meanwhile, cities such as Karachi continued to grow at a phenomenal rate, with vulgar buildings designed and built by nondescript draughtsmen or inept architects.

The only few exceptions were certain private residential houses designed in the modern idiom by one of Pakistan's most outstanding architects, the late M. A. Mirza, whose two houses – one earlier in Karachi and another subsequently in Lahore – provide a refreshing contrast to other residential buildings of that period. The clear expression of fair-faced reinforced concrete-framed structure, and spatial treatment of interiors, was introduced to Pakistan for the first time by him, and these houses may therefore be regarded as pacesetters, and an inspiration to younger architects. The removal of the dividing line between the exterior and the interior of buildings, and the consequent closer integration of the garden with the house, were the special features of his designs, and Mirza can truly be considered a pioneer of contemporary architecture in Pakistan.

The breakthrough in architecture came in 1961, with the decision to build a new capital, Islamabad, in the north of Pakistan. A golden opportunity was provided to contribute outstanding monumental buildings commemorating the great occasion, and at the same time "reflecting the aspirations of the people". But the question immediately arose as to what "the aspirations" of the general population and the so-called intelligentsia were, and how they could be given concrete shape.

A galaxy of international architects was selected for the design of the capital, including Sir Robert Matthew, Gio Ponti, Alberto Rosselli and Edward Stone. Unlike other capital cities, Islamabad was not designed by a *prima donna*, as was the case in Le Corbusier's Chandigarh, Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia, and Louis I. Khan's capital at Dacca. There is no overpowering personality in Islamabad. A certain anonymity of design offers wide scope for free expression to Pakistani architects in the years to come.

A large body of public opinion began to clamour for the adoption of the "Muslim style" for all public buildings.

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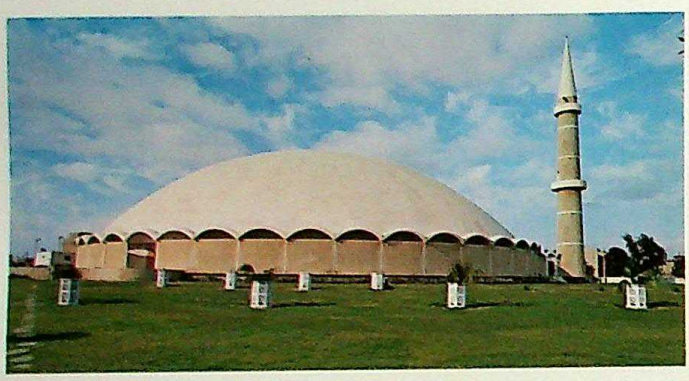
Recognizing these sentiments, the Government took the important step of forming a committee to approve and oversee all major buildings designed for and to be constructed in the capital. At the same time, seminars were held in East and West Pakistan, under the auspices of the Pakistan Council, at which the subject of Muslim architecture and its correct interpretation was discussed at length by architects, archaeologists, art historians, and senior civil servants. The issue that clearly emerged from these seminars and discussions was that, whilst people sympathized with the nation's desire to reflect the cultural heritage in the new capital, they differed as to how to achieve it. For example, while one school of thought looked for the obvious imitation of superficial forms and symbols of Muslim architecture, which could only be anachronistic and uneconomic in conjunction with modern materials and methods of construction, others advocated a more rational approach to the best traditions in Muslim architecture, which included the sensitive integration of the garden and landscaping with the principal buildings as in the Shalimar Gardens, the variety of textural decoration as in Jehangir's Tomb, and the expert use of scale as exemplified in the Badshahi Mosque. Most critical students of Muslim architecture are aware that Muslim settlers are reputed to have adopted the use of indigenous materials and local methods of construction and craftsmanship in their buildings within the subcontinent as elsewhere.



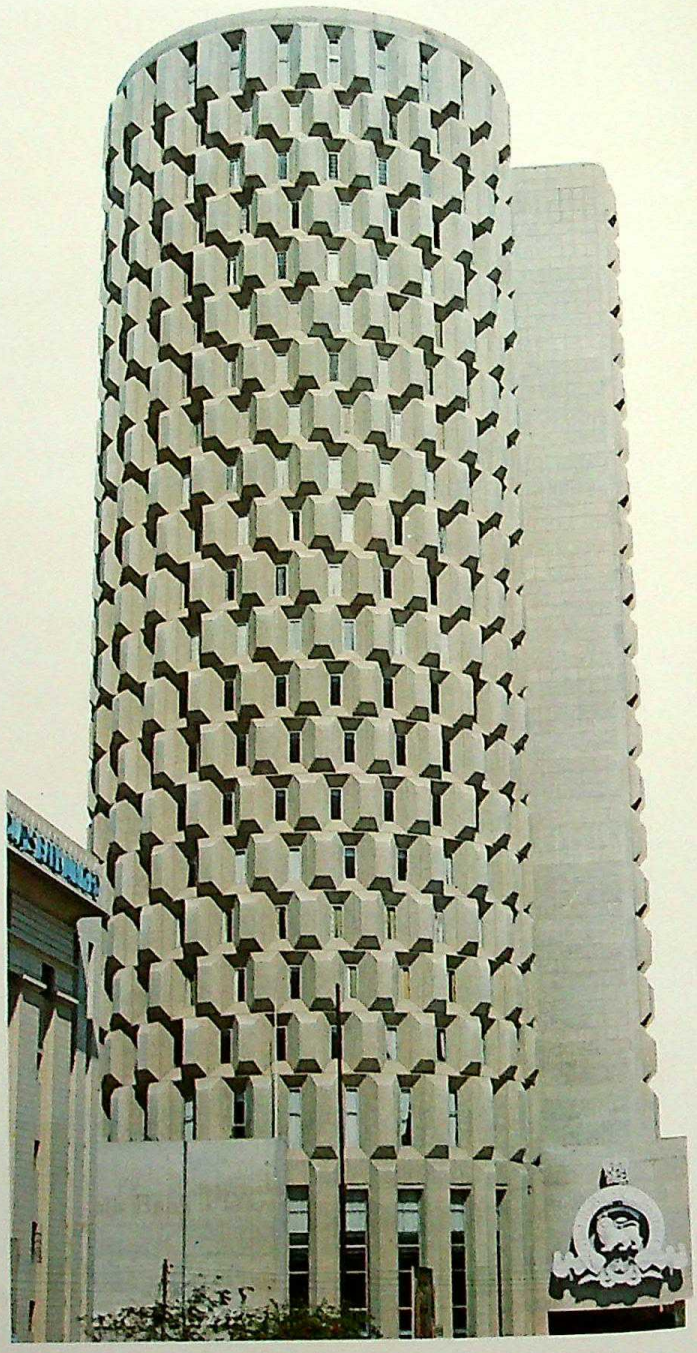
Above. *The Defence Housing Society mosque was built in the late 1960s in Karachi. It has one of the largest unsupported domes in the country.*

Right. *The tallest structure in Karachi is the 16-storey Habib Bank building.*
Opposite. *The Water and Power Development Association in Lahore.*

With such strong and clear traditions, nostalgia for the external forms of Muslim architecture without close attention to modern methods of construction and advances in technology was pointless. The controversy on the subject continued to rage within the country, with a resulting conflict and confusion in the minds of architects. As evidence of this, one has to record, with regret, the popular rejection of the design for the Quaid-e-Azam's mausoleum at Karachi, selected through an international architectural competition and judged to be the best by architects of world renown, such as Pier Luigi Nervi, Sir Robert Matthew, Eugene Baudouin and Georges Candilis. It was clear that, as late as 1957, the nation was as yet unprepared to accept the implications of contemporary architecture, which the winning design of a hyperbolic paraboloid sought to represent. However, the building of the new capital in Islamabad, and the entrusting of the design of the second capital at Dacca to a maestro, Professor Louis I. Khan, gave tremendous impetus to a younger group of architects who, by this time, had received the benefit of architectural training abroad.

In the field of public buildings, one of the finest examples of a contemporary building which has succeeded in capturing the spirit rather than the form of Muslim architecture, is represented by the Government Officers' Hostel at Islamabad. The use of traditional building materials, construction methods and pierced *jalis* or screens, in a building planned around a beautifully landscaped courtyard in the Mughal tradition, gives this building special distinction.

A group of buildings at Islamabad, which merits special attention, is the Secretariat complex, which has no pretensions to reflect traditionalism, but is purely functional architecture. Its simplicity of design, and economy of structure, coupled with interesting visual effects created by varying heights of buildings lined by bridges, has provided the capital with efficiently designed office buildings, and comfortable, air-conditioned accom-



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modation for the administrative part of the Government. The buildings respect the landscape around them, taking careful cognizance of the varying contours, and creating interesting compositions of scale, mass and heights.

Almost around the same period, in the early Sixties, an interesting building in the field of industrial architecture was designed and built in Lahore for the Wyeth Laboratories. In its functional simplicity and freshness of approach, it remains a landmark amongst industrial buildings in Pakistan.

The Seventies have, however, introduced new direction to contemporary architecture. The number of qualified architects in Pakistan is growing, many of them have been trained abroad and exposed to new ideas and are thus uninhibited by the constraints of traditionalism. An interesting group of multi-storeyed flats for naval officers in Karachi, with receding terraces, represents an advance in the design of mass housing. Among buildings for public assembly, the National College of Arts' auditorium is forceful and bold in its use of exposed board-marked reinforced concrete, and is of a style rarely attempted earlier by architects in Pakistan.

The pressure of urbanization and escalating prices of urban property is forcing architects to build higher and higher, a considerable departure from the traditional style of low buildings with large spaces around them. These high-rise apartments and offices are still largely confined to Karachi where the economics of single-unit construction are rapidly becoming prohibitive. Unfortunately, the majority of these modern edifices are devoid of aesthetic appeal as well as functional solutions to climatic and environmental problems. However, certain architects have managed to strike a balance between economics and harmony, and have produced some striking housing complexes such as those in Hassan Square, Karachi. The headquarters of the National Shipping Corporation are housed in a modern, white building whose clean functional lines stand in sharp contrast to its jumbled backdrop of funnels and cranes at the harbour.

The Shah Faisal Masjid, designed by Vedat Dalokay, a Turkish architect, and to be built in Islamabad, represents a total departure from the traditional concept of mosque architecture. Its structure, internal and external expression, consists of exposed fair-faced concrete with a minimum of applied finishes. The beauty of the building is in its elegant proportions, scale and geometry. It may be considered a pointer to the architecture of the Pakistan of tomorrow.

Taking a broad perspective of the future of contemporary architecture in Pakistan, it is heartening that the conflict between traditionalism and modernism in architecture has largely been resolved. Architects in Pakistan today are prepared to experiment, not merely to copy Western trends, but to achieve a separate identity relevant to the various factors endemic in Pakistan – climatic, environmental and social – which will lead to a fresh approach.

Z.-ud-D.

Architectural Heritage

Although Pakistan's architectural heritage dates back to the Mughal period, this proud pedigree is virtually non-existent in the hybrid of styles which prevail today. Even older influences are, however, still evident in the fine dressed-stone buildings of North-West Frontier and the age-old mud-plaster construction in Sind and Punjab. The latter two evolved as the common man's still valid

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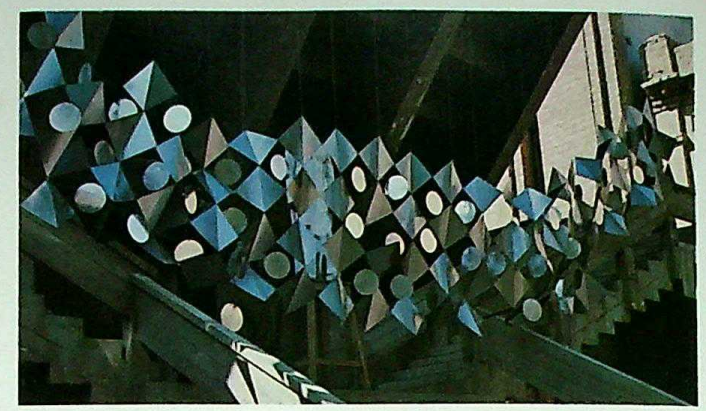
responses to harsh environmental conditions. The British imposed a uniformity of design and techniques on the construction methods they found in the subcontinent and left behind a distinct "colonial style". The religion of a house's owner was proclaimed by its facade: Hindus and Sikhs preferred carved birds, animals and flowers, while Muslims embellished their houses with geometric and curvilinear motifs.

Architecturally, the Mughal period is characterized by the integration of landscape and buildings. Landscape designing was itself a highly developed discipline which aimed at using both running and still water, formal gardens and tiered terraces to achieve a fusion of textures and colours. The Mughal gardens in Kashmir and the unsurpassed Shalimar Gardens in Lahore are fine examples of this unique attention to open spaces. Mughal buildings are especially striking because of the deep understanding of mass and scale inherent in them. This feature is best exemplified by the magnificent *Buland Darwaza* at Fatehpur Sikri where the enormous size of the gate is heightened by creating an optical illusion – it is placed in close juxtaposition to smaller archways which are in scale with the human figure. A similar treatment is evident in the scale of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore.



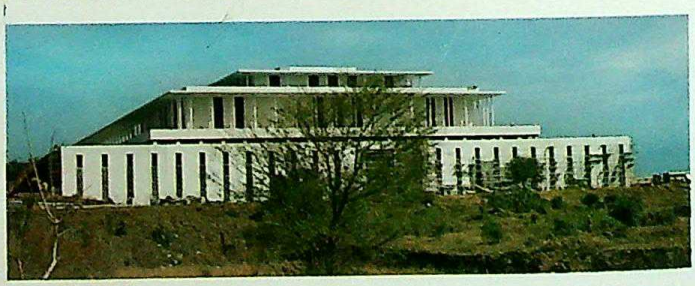
The new auditorium (above) *at the National College of Arts in Lahore was constructed in exposed, board-marked, concrete.*

Originally built for the State Bank, the structure (below) *in Islamabad, provisionally functions as the National Assembly.*

Examples of the adaptation of interesting structural forms may be seen in the domes of various shapes, interlacing arches, stalactite pendentives and squinch arches. Each of these structural forms was strictly functional in character but used to create interesting decorative effects. As evidenced in Mughal buildings, perhaps the finest contribution to the Pakistani architectural heritage was in the vast field of surface treatment and decoration. Surface decoration emphasized and heightened the sculptural qualities of the form of the building.

Brilliant enamelled tile work, exquisite geometric marble lattice work and arabesques form decorative motifs on many buildings, combining Mughal lattice work with existing modes, such as calligraphic inscriptions and geometric relief panel treatments. Finding a rich store of coloured marble and onyx, the Mughal craftsmen of Central Asia were inspired to embellish monuments with magnificent inlaid stone panels. Many remarkable buildings, from Jehangir's tomb in Lahore to the Taj Mahal in Agra, have inlaid stone panels.

In the *Shish Mahal* in Lahore, built as a retreat from



Top. *Islamabad's President's House accommodates his Secretariat and visiting Heads of State. Edward Stone designed it.*

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earthly cares, the ceiling is an inspired amalgam of tiny fragments of mirror set in a faceted ceiling. An old story has it that on many occasions sheets of mirrors would arrive broken, and this may have inspired craftsmen to set the pieces into minutely constructed designs.

Apart from the aesthetic considerations governing their architecture generally, there were usually sound and logical reasons for the forms adapted by the Mughals. They especially emphasized the regional expression of architecture on the subcontinent, and this among other factors was moderated by the climatic conditions and available building material.

For example, the form commonly known as the Bengal roof, used in the Naulakha Pavilion at Lahore, was evolved from the use of local bamboo arranged in the form of a curved cornice to drain excessive rainfall. Similarly, there was a predominant use of local materials in other parts of the subcontinent, bricks in Punjab, stone and marble in Delhi, Agra and Lahore. Another characteristic of Mughal architecture was the incorporation of the special traditions of local craftsmanship and the indigenous arts of the area.

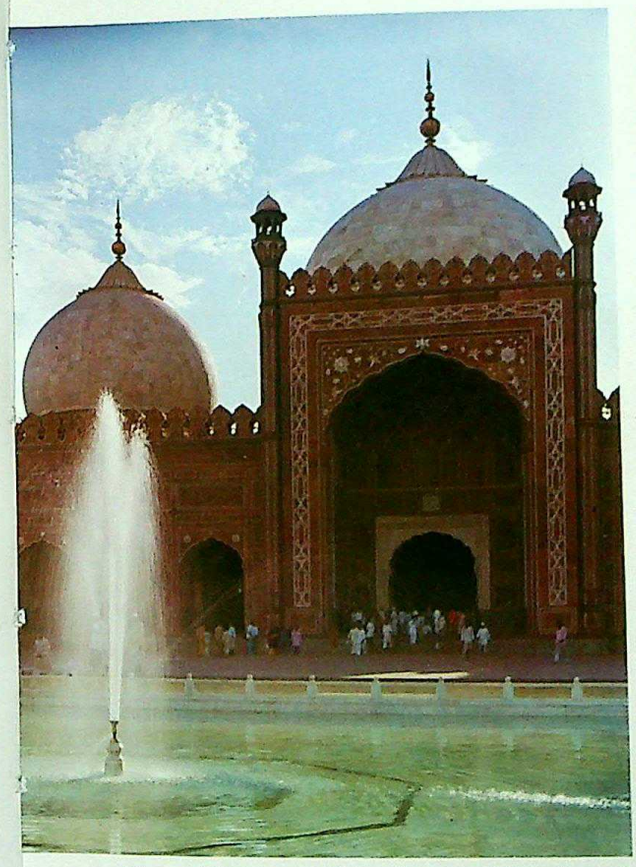
From the pre-historic period onwards, the indigenous architecture in Pakistan was dictated by the climate. The fierce sun and devastating night cold of the desert, the hot Punjab plains frequently swept by swollen floods of its five rivers, and the harsh rocky mountainous environment of the north influenced the planning and building of communities.

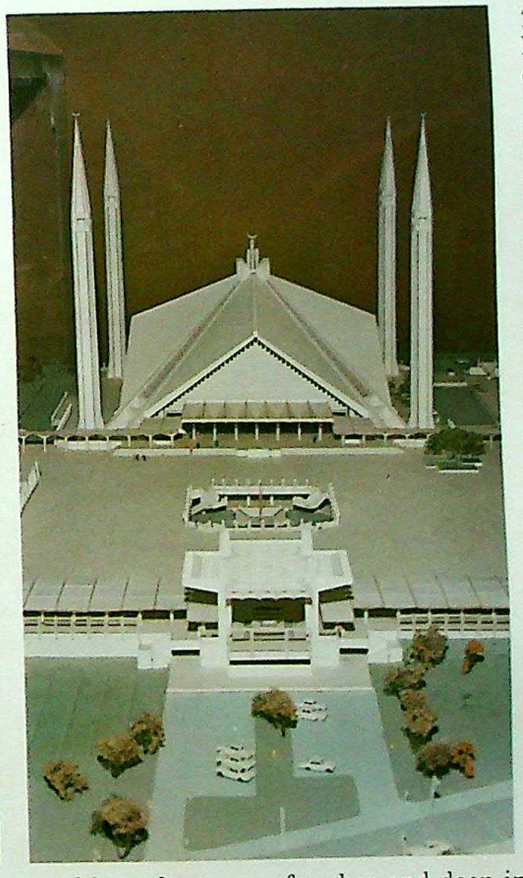
At Mohenjodaro in Sind, water systems channelled streamlets around perfectly straight walls. Water, which may have had a religious significance, coursed around dwellings, carrying away refuse to the fields. In the centre of the town was a man-made communal bathing pool. Tall round structures attached to town dwellings may indicate an early attempt to store grain.

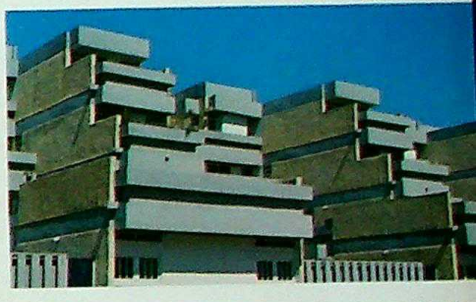
In the southern desert area of Sind, round huts are built of brush to act as protection from the intense sun. In more substantial buildings, five-foot-thick unbaked brick walls provide further insulation. As an added measure in the hottest areas, where temperatures can rise to 130°F, water tanks pour water on the exterior bricks to cool the dwellings. Windcatchers, chimney-like structures with an added bend, also appear in Sind's hot areas. When a cooling breeze blows, the air is funnelled down the centre of the roof into an otherwise still interior.

In Punjab and Baluchistan and southern areas of the North-West Frontier, mud plaster houses are a natural response to environment. Clay is plentiful and a house can be erected cheaply and rebuilt after a flood. Mud is cool in the summer, for it is a natural insulating material. If a house is damaged, it is pulled down, wood ceiling beams are salvaged, and it can be reconstructed easily. Indoors, smooth mud plaster forms the walls and niches. A wooden shelf supports household effects. Warm natural tones of amber and deep indigo blue are applied to the plaster and the floor is smoothed and hand-packed. Happily, a mud house can be kept clean with a whisk broom and easily maintained with a little mud plaster and natural pigments. A Punjab village blends into its environment, hugging the ground, and rising with the gentle contours of the hills.

In the mountainous area of the north, many challenges must be met, for houses must be built on ground which first has to be levelled and cleared of rocks. Land is terraced in many places in extremely steep mountain tracts and, because the mountains are sparsely settled, walled houses with look-out towers are common. Dressed-stone and wood construction is the response to the environment. Flat roofs are tamped down and cleared of snow during the winter. Sloping roofs are also to be







The Badshahi Mosque (far left) *is a continuing influence, as are such ancient forts as* (above), *near Muzaffarabad. The still-to-be-built Faisal Mosque* (left), *Islamabad, has been designed by Vedat Dalokay.*

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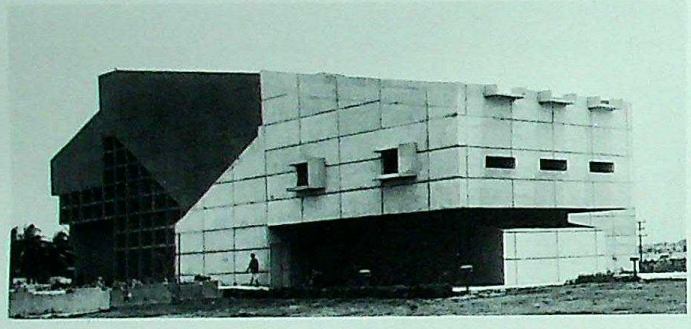
found in some mountainous areas. A central fire pit in the house is used for cooling and for warmth, and cattle may occupy an adjoining section.

Centuries ago, in the Frontier, rivers were crossed by means of rope bridges lined with wood boards, or occasionally by a bridge of boats, a method first recorded during the invasion of Alexander of Macedonia. Boat bridges are still in use at Nowshera and Dera Ismail Khan.

Old sections of Pakistan's cities have multi-storeyed mud brick buildings, reinforced with wooden beams, rising over winding streets. Centre courtyards are often features of city houses and tenements. Wood lattice porches serve as cooling sun-screens and assure privacy. Geometric designs, reminiscent of those found on the finest monuments, embellish humble wood doorways.

Finally, the *shamiana* is found all over Pakistan. A *shamiana* is simply a tent of any size which can be put up quickly. It incorporates approximately eight-foot-square panels, and tent poles or ropes are run vertically through side pockets. The panels are attached to provide the desired enclosed space. A roof is made in the same fashion, with strong rope running through the pockets and attached at the corners. Outside tent ropes protect the structure from the wind. The panels are a riot of geometric cloth appliquéd in reds, blues and yellows. Brilliant red tribal carpets are laid end to end inside and the tent provides an instant enclosure, anywhere it is needed, for a range of activities from weddings to rural conventions.



Montgomery Hall (above) *stands in the Bagh-e-Jinnah in Lahore, a confident sample of the British Imperial style. PIA's squash complex* (top) *in Karachi, by Hasan-uddin Khan and Navaid Husain, consists of a series of "activity spaces." Above. English neo-Gothic is typified by Frere Hall.*

An intelligent and critical study of this rich and varied architectural heritage will, hopefully, inspire young architects to work towards a synthesis of new building techniques and traditional styles, thus arriving at a modern Pakistani architectural style, free from today's blind and jarring imitation of foreign forms unsuited to the needs of the inhabitants.

Z.-ud-D. and A.Me.

Painting and Sculpture

Painting in Pakistan has been deeply influenced by two very different and often opposing influences: the Chinese-Persian school which flourished in Iran and Central Asia until the nineteenth century and gave birth to the Mughal school of painting, and that of Western Europe which started prevailing when the English established themselves in Punjab and Sind in the middle of the last century.

While painters like Haji Muhammad Shariff, of Lahore, have been producing watercolour renditions of Mughal paintings, in keeping with the old Eastern tradition wherein copying of masters has always been considered an honoured artistic preoccupation, others have sought to create a new style, yet deriving their inspiration from Iranian and Mughal traditions. Among them was Chughtai, of subcontinental and international fame. Abdur Rahman Chughtai (1897-1975) came from a family that for generations had produced architects, engineers, house-painters and decorators. He visited Europe in the Thirties, seeing for himself the work of contemporary European painters as well as the Old Masters, sketch-book always at the ready to take notes as well as to draw and paint, and always bringing an open mind to contemporary techniques and mediums while remaining faithful to his own tried and tested watercolourist technique. Once he had decided to become an artist, he took his work very seriously and more or less shut himself off from the world in order to feed off his own rich imagination. Thus he managed to ignore the prevalent trends among his fellow artists – of the search for new forms of expression and the general inclination to copy Western art. His early paintings show him to have had a romantic and rather passive view of life, with the stylized figures he portrayed somehow arrested and lost in thought. Although his style changed very little during his long life and he remained a "traditionalist", he developed his interest in composition and the use of colour. One result of his travels abroad was his increasing interest in the techniques of etching. He became a master of subtle line-drawing and remains one of the few Pakistani artists to have used this technique. Some of the conventions of Eastern painting, such as the absence of shadows, a disregard for perspective, and a deliberate exaggeration in the size of one object in comparison with another in the same plane, have remained characteristic of Chughtai's work.

The symbolism in Chughtai's paintings is worthy of note. Near a very old decrepit beggar in rags, a spray of flowers is in full bloom; a tiny bird is chirping happily near a woman broken with grief; the trunk of a dead tree lies near the feet of a robust, youthful prince. This symbolism expresses the traditional Eastern serene acceptance of the complexities of life.

Another artist, in the old tradition, is Ustad Allah Bukhsh. His early watercolours depicted Hindu gods and goddesses and were very popular. Later, in the Thirties, he painted large canvases on Hindu mythological themes with a lyrical realism, and this attracted a large clientele, principally made up of the princes to whom oil painting had been introduced by European artists. He

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Above. *"Woman and Child" by Shahid Sajjad.* Right. *"On the beach", by Sadequain.*

also paints realistic rural scenes.

Surprisingly enough, it was a young woman painter, Zubeida Agha, who led the revolt against the old traditions. This was backed by her exposure at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts and during other travels abroad, to the works of the Cubists, the Fauves and the Surrealists. She made an eclectic use of what she gathered from their works. The first exhibition of her work, soon after Independence, caused a storm of protest from reviewers and public alike. Her style has developed considerably under a very rigid artistic discipline in which she is a firm believer. She is seen at her best in paintings like "Self Portrait", "The Red Vase" and "Manhattan". She is one of the best colourists in Pakistan.

Another hardworking and highly regarded painter was Shakir Ali, who died in 1976. Also influenced by the Cubists and the Fauves, and inspired by Rainer Maria Rilke, whose work he read throughout his life, Shakir Ali trained at the Slade School in London, and later worked with André Lhote in Paris, returning to Pakistan in 1952 where he helped to give new impetus to the Modernist Movement. He became Principal of the National College of Arts in Lahore, where Kipling's father had promoted the teaching of native crafts. Shakir Ali launched his hieroglyphic depictions of birds and women, which were the vehicles for his perception of being and non-being. His early works display a penchant for Cubistic articulation as well as a Fauvist inclination for colouring. He was preoccupied with the essence of objects, the sheer miracle of their materiality in the face of threatened absorption in, and annihilation by, external forces. Shakir Ali is seen at his best in paintings like "Leda and the Swan", a painting of very great beauty and power where the strange love of a woman for a bird takes on a mystic meaning in terms of *yin* and *yang*.

Chughtai had already elevated the painter from the status of a craftsman to that of an artist. Shakir Ali was to place him with the leaders of perception and thought. Painters like Ahmed Pervez, Shamza, Mueen Najmi, Ali Imam, Sheikh Safdar and others chose to serve an apprenticeship in creative disciplines under influences derived from European and American sources, because their creative needs could no longer be satisfied with models available in the country.

Ahmed Pervez's own progress is symptomatic. Starting as a mannerist who copied from Michelangelo, he broke new ground under Shakir Ali's influence and was influenced by early Picasso. He is now one of Pakistan's finest and most subtle colourists, a painter of "lyrical fantasies". Although he has often called himself "the last of the Mughal painters", he has done much to merge the dichotomous influences of East and West, relying on technical discipline and a mastery of design and composition.

Ali Imam, another student of Shakir Ali's at Lahore, and attracted by his teacher's fine grasp of technique, became an accomplished painter, using as his themes the countryside and people of the villages. He first cultivated the native in his work. Later he too was to spend some years in London, studying the work of Marino Marini and de Staël, before returning to Pakistan to found the Indus Gallery in Karachi. He painted disfigured and burnt-out human figures in off-white, but the final effect in these works is not of horror but of power. His people look like autochthons risen from a pigmented soil.

Space plays a pictorial role in the paintings of Gulgee, an engineer by training, who first turned to photography as a hobby, gave up his profession, and ended up as a versatile artist. He has painted portraits, camels and polo players; but his serious works are in the abstract idiom. Cultivating the movements of action painters, he has filled vast canvases with meteoric paths and stellar bodies, swathes of colour and exploding daubs of paint.

Sadequain stands apart. He represents a school of thought in himself. He takes pride in the fact that his work betrays no influences since he refuses even to look at the work of other artists, but he remains nonetheless true to the strong graphic tradition. The diversity of Sadequain's works makes him a difficult artist to categorize. His drawings show a virtuosity and skill that only hint at the painstaking work that all good drawing requires. He studied in Paris, returning to Pakistan in 1965 to become one of the country's most eminent painters, and now enjoys a sound reputation at home and abroad through his many exhibitions. He began painting and sketching his monumental women in the graphic manner of Picasso and Matisse, at the same time infusing into them his own aversion to the flesh. His figures possess a pneumatic opulence, and act as totems of denial of the warm reality of the feminine body.

Sadequain also likes to work on public themes on a monumental scale and has created a number of murals. The outstanding ones are to be seen at Karachi airport, the powerhouse at Mangla Dam, and on the ceiling at

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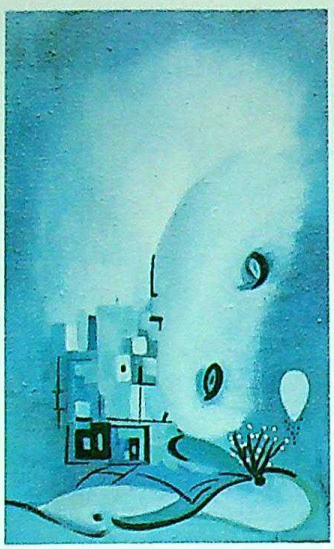
Lahore Museum. This passion for the forum has also led him to undertake painting of the Quranic verses, using the alphabetic grandeur of the Kufic script. In this way the painter has come back to the craft of his people, acquiring a public image acceptable to the *élite* as well as to the masses. Occasional controversies apart, Sadequain is a national figure of international stature.

Shimza's early work, inspired by the beauty of Muslim calligraphy, also deserves a mention, although he was later to abandon this, leaving Pakistan to become a teacher in England. Rashid Ahmed Arshad and Zahoorul Akhlaque also use calligraphic elements in their works, but, in their case, Arabic letters are used as a means to textural design and composition.

Khalid Iqbal paints the Punjab countryside in an impressionistic manner, his works suffused with the pale daylight after a monsoon shower. Colin David draws upon the resources of Pop Art and Surrealism to paint his nudes against empty spaces. Ejazul Hassan uses the strengths of poster design and colouring for his social protests. Ahmed Khan combines high reliefs with plastic dolls and superimposed painted planes as academic exercises in architectonics, himself an architect by profession. Naz Ikramullah's collages are created from tissue paper, glossy magazines, plaster of Paris and paint. Maqsood Ali paints Klee's geometric vision – as he has seen in the *rilli* work of the Sind village-craft. Mansoor Rahi, with his disembodied imagery, has also made useful contributions to the corpus of modern Pakistani painting.

A peripatetic restlessness, evident among Pakistani painters, makes their works interesting. Bashir Mirza has sketched and painted his "Portraits of Pakistan" and the "Lonely Girls" with feeling for the subject and the medium, deriving strength from the representation of human privation seen in the denial of the flesh. The blend of the commercial and the fine art is also to be found in the works of Ejazul Hassan. Both painters protest, Bashir in a Freudian and Ejazul Hassan in a Marxian context. Jamil Naqsh, on the other hand, has dissociated his images from suggestions of protest. He applies grains of pigment onto the surface with the same care with which a miniature painter would render every detail of a bird, plant, or human being. Among the younger promising painters, mention must be made of Aftab Ahmad, Nahid Ali, Anwar Maqsood and Lubna Latif. Less travelled than the previous generation, more "home grown", they nevertheless achieve a high degree of artistic skill and all are concerned that artists in Pakistan should be given every chance to establish their identities and be made fully aware of current trends and development. A new generation is now working alongside them–taught and influenced by them–now mostly in their twenties and thirties, and together they form the most prolific group of artists in Pakistan today.

Painters outnumber sculptors in Pakistan. Sculptors like Ozzir Zuby, Rabia Zuberi, Shahid Sajjad and Sagheer, have confined themselves to teaching at art schools. The works of Zuby and Zuberi, correct as pedagogic models, lack the magic of vitality. Shahid Sajjad carves strange animistic icons from wood which carry with them in exhibitions the orchidaceous magic of their natural habitat. He also casts bronze images, similar to the Japanese art of paper sculpting. Sagheer, who works in metal, has produced flowers, cacti and plants in a manner which has affinity with the works of Gonzales.



"Peacocks", by Zubeida Agha. Oils.

"Red Seal", by Safdar. Oils.

"Zarah", by Colin David. Oils.

"Echoes from September 1965", by Raheel. Oils.

Zahoorul Akhlaque has also exhibited a number of works in bronze. His solid cast figures are a reminder of human creatures from Mexican antiquity locked in an adamantine mass.

Ceramic art, on the other hand, is flourishing. The outstanding figure in this field is Kohari, whose delicately conceived "fire-paintings" put him in the forefront of artists working in this medium. Kohari defies the traditional measurements of the tile form to create ceramics of normal canvas size, making his tiles into richly textured collages–incorporating pieces of glass, wire-netting and metal.

The strong influence of the past, and the equally powerful forces that had to be faced from the time of Independence have kept new art in Pakistan in a constant state of flux. This has led both to abrupt breaks from the past and a dismissal of all that the past has to offer, with a consequent break in continuity and growth. Although in terms of sheer energy and vitality, individual artists in Pakistan have never been lacking, the establishment of any one movement has been difficult, and in spite of the collective support of the National Colleges of Arts, Art

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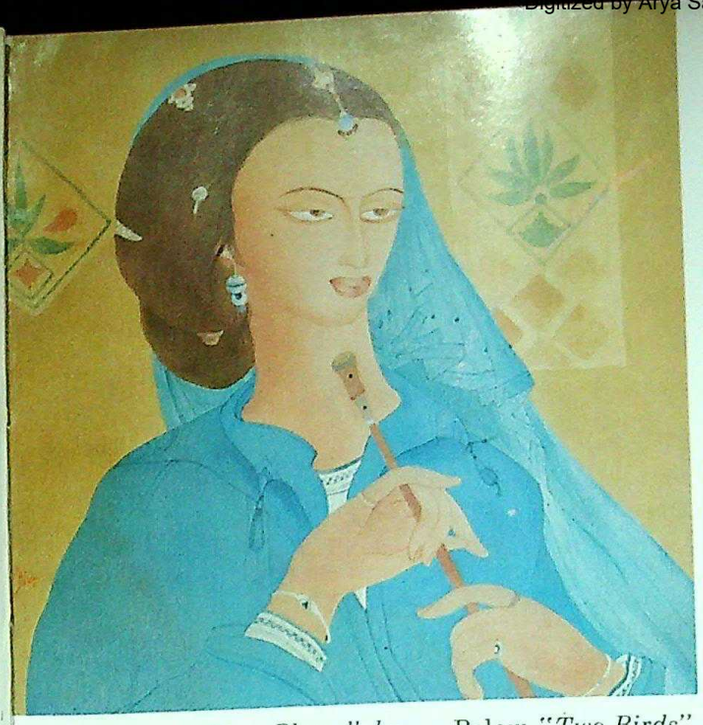


Above. *"Flute Player", by Chughtai. Oils.*

Below. *"Two Birds", by Shakir Ali. Oils.*

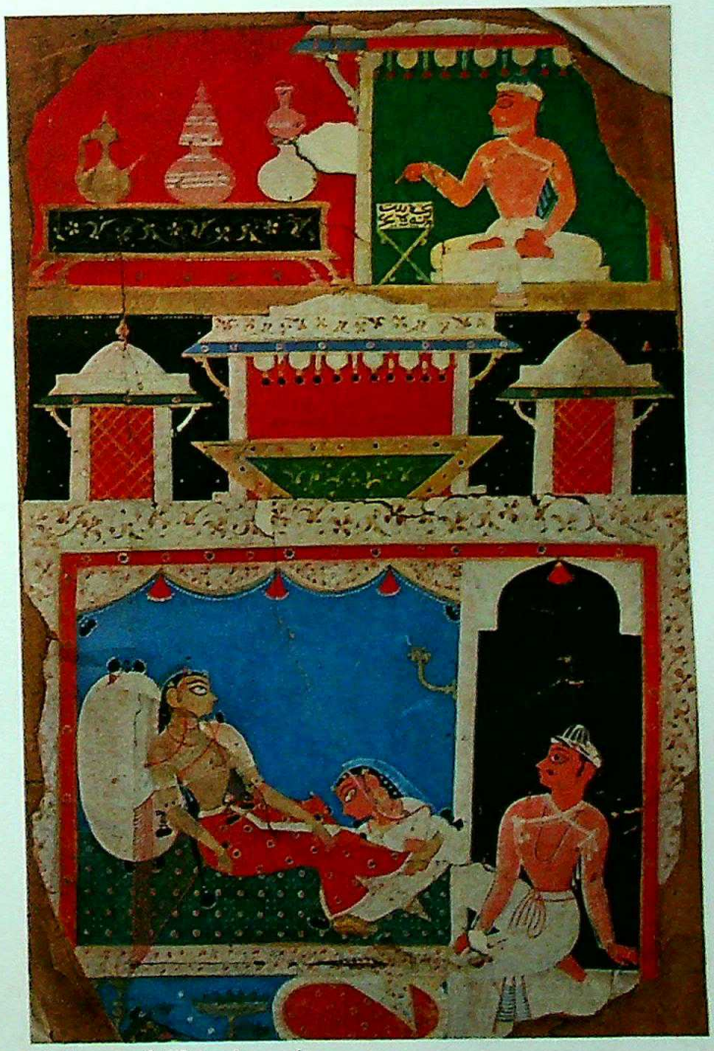
Galleries and Art Councils, there has so far been very little sign of a recognizable movement or school.

Women artists have pioneered art education – perhaps because painting, more than any other art, has been made available to women, both at women's colleges and at Arts Council classes, attracting women of talent and determination.

There is now a climate far more conducive to the growth of interest in painting and the fine arts than in the past. The Pakistan Council of the Arts and the National Institute for Preservation and Projection of Folk and Traditional Heritage have been created to preserve and promote the visual arts throughout the subcontinent. Art galleries, many of them under the directorship of artists such as the Indus Gallery in Karachi run by Ali Imam, and the Gallery of Contemporary Arts in Rawalpindi – are active both in encouraging artists, and in presenting them with a wide selection of the work of foreign artists through frequent exhibitions and seminars.

Art in Pakistan today – as elsewhere – is multi-directional, with more use of experimentation, giving birth to a bolder, freer style, and the emergence of a new awareness and confidence.

A.A.H. and A.N.



A Lor and Chanda series folio. Jaunpur, c. 1550.

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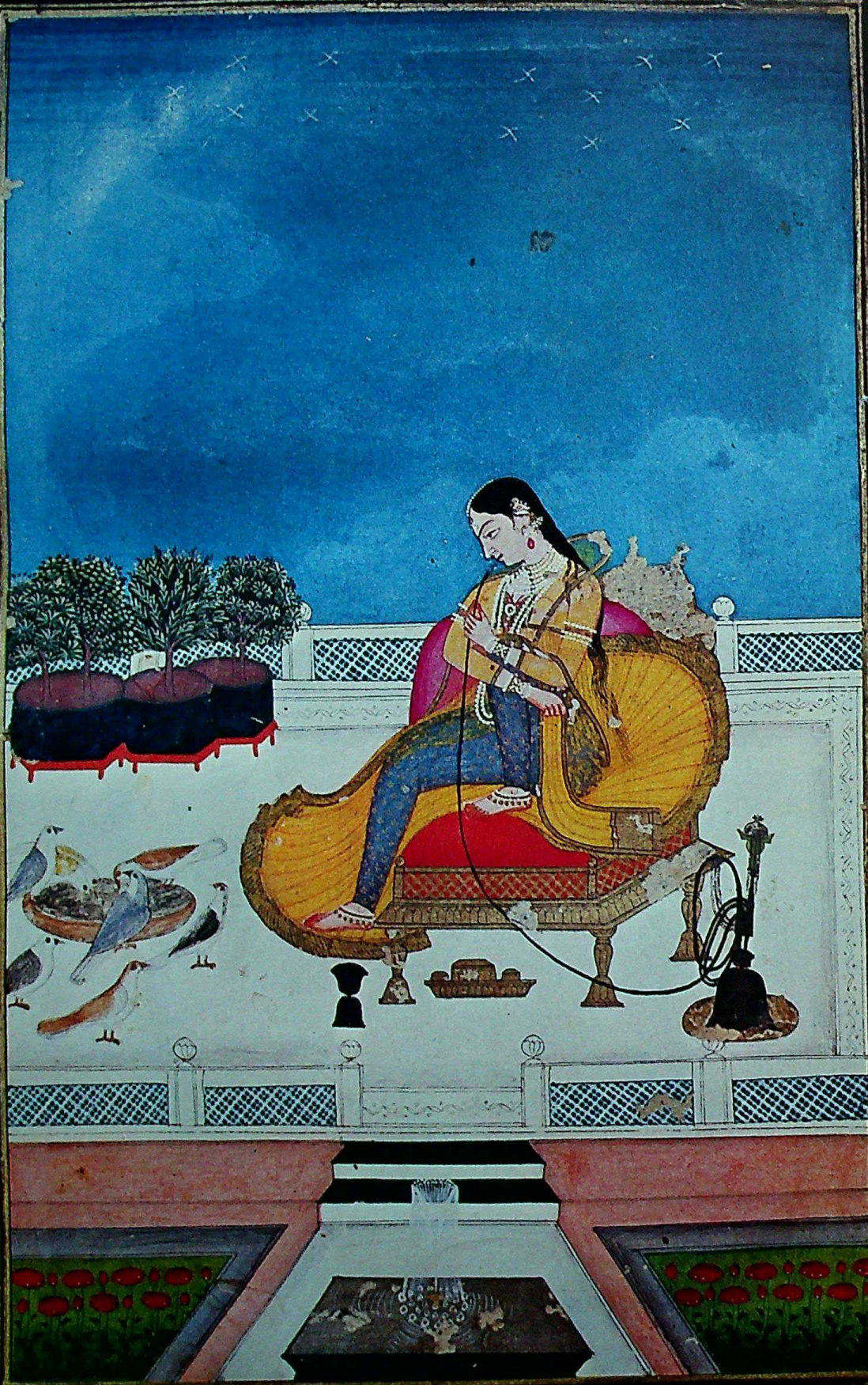

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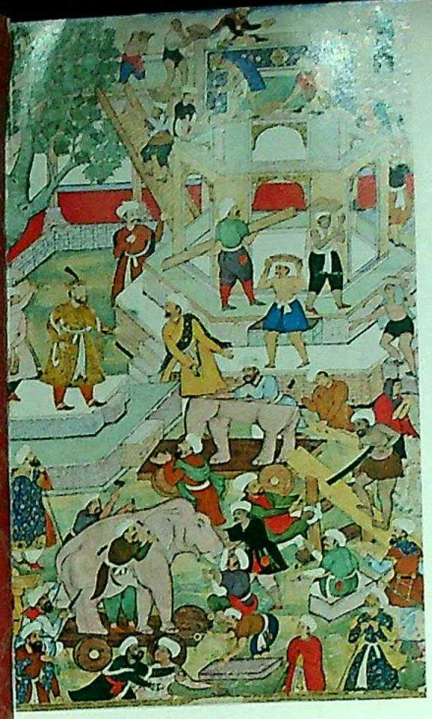


Left. *"The construction of a palace" is depicted in this Mughal miniature of the early eighteenth century.*

Opposite. *A woman with a* huqqa. *Deccan, eighteenth century.*

Miniature Painting

Miniature painting was a peacock in the aviary of Muslim arts. Exuberant, iridescent, it invariably overshadowed its more articulate companions in literature and calligraphy, needing the conceit of kings to guarantee its existence.

Before the advent of the Mughals in the sixteenth century, miniature painting was already being practised in the subcontinent, in the main as illustrations to religious texts. The arrival with Emperor Humayun in 1558 of two Tabriz painters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd-as-Samad, and the subsequent development of an *atelier* under their supervision during the reign of Akbar, brought about a detachment of painting from the binding strictures of religious dictates. Secular themes, often romantic ballads and legends, became popular subjects. A folio from the Lor and Chanda poem, prepared during this transitional phase, shows the author-poet Mulla Daud as the story-teller reciting from an alcove above the dramatic action.

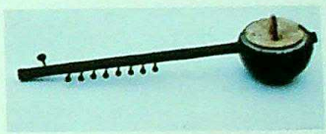
The Emperor Akbar built sumptuous palaces at Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore, and had them decorated with paintings. He commissioned important works of literature to be translated and copied for his library, the most ambitious of which was the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza,* containing 1,400 illustrations painted on linen.

His heir, Jehangir, inherited both trained artists and a trained eye. An avowed naturalism stemming from the new Emperor's own response permeated artistic work during his reign, continuing under his successor Shah Jehan, when the art of formal portraiture achieved an added dimension of expression. This euphuistic style in miniature painting continued into the reign of Aurangzeb, as an early portrait of him indicates. Most of Aurangzeb's later years were spent in subjugating the Deccan and paintings of this period in his life depict an aged monarch outside the walls of Golkunda.

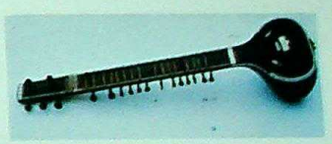
The gradual decline of the Mughal Empire released provincial aspirations. Smaller courts at Murshidabad, Lucknow and the Deccan attracted minor artists who relied upon gaudy effect and technique. Some artists moved to Rajasthani courts, others were attracted to the secluded Rajput principalities in the Punjab Hills where many distinct substyles, the most famous of which were *Basohli, Ghuler* and *Kangra,* were to emerge with vigorous flamboyance throughout the eighteenth century.

In Sind, an interesting illustrated manuscript of the *Saiful Muluk* written and completed in Thatta in 1775 provides confirmation that by the late eighteenth century Muslim miniature painting had lost momentum. Relying as it did upon courtly patronage, it responded weakly to diminishing support. Revival by the British in the nineteenth century, first to suit their own taste, and later to reactivate an indigenous craft, resulted in the gaunt mannerist hybrids of the Bengal neo-classical school. The significant illustrative function of the miniature painter was no longer required; the decorative value of the peacock no longer essential.

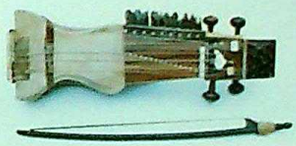
F.S.A.



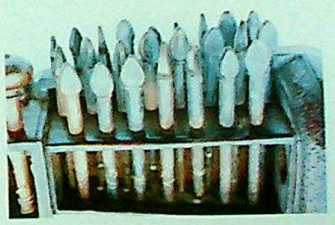
The single-string iktara, *introduced by Sain Marna.*



The sitar *was developed by Hazrat Amir Khusrau. Music is everywhere in Pakistan, and for every performer of folk music, vocal or instrumental, who has become famous there are a hundred more of similar talents and skills known locally and in the villages.*



The sarangi *is a classical bowed instrument.*



This close-up shows the sarangi's *multiple strings.*

The suroze *is popular in Sind and Baluchistan.*

Music

Pakistan has inherited musical traditions that go far back into history. The foundation of classical music was solidly laid by Amir Khusrau in the thirteenth century who introduced the *qawwali* tradition. Since then this art has almost exclusively been in the hands of Muslim musicians. In the past three centuries there have been legions of Muslim masters, and all the prominent *gharanas* or schools of classical music were founded by them; the few Hindu musicians of note received their training there. In the ancient civilization of the land that now comprises Pakistan all the permutations and combinations of the twelve semi-tones, which form the universal basis of music, have been sifted, given individ-

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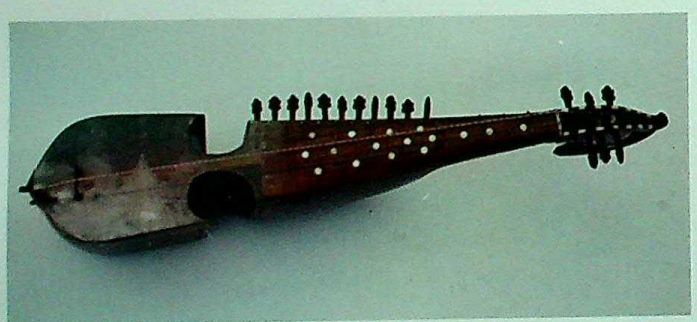
ual names and identified with their appropriate times, seasons and emotions, hundreds of years before Palestrina showed the way to Western music.

Broadly, music in Pakistan can be classified as traditional or modern. Traditional music includes classical and semi-classical music, folk music and mystic music composed by the great saints of Pakistan, among them Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Sachal Sarmast, Khwaja Ghulam Farid, Shah Hussain, Bullhe Shah and many others. A poet-saint who was also a versatile musician (like Abdul Latif Bhitai or Shah Hussain) may use various classical *ragas* (melody modes or leit motifs) in his compositions, but the bulk of such music is in *bhairvi* and *kafi*. These two *ragas* have been preferred for their simplicity, tunefulness and mass appeal. The compositions emanating from different regions of Pakistan are collectively known as *kafis* (from the *raga kafi)* with slight stylistic variations depending on their place of origin.

Above. *A folk musician plays the* shahnai *at the* Awami Mela *(People's Festival) in Lahore.* Right. *The* dam dama *is a percussion instrument popular in the northern areas.*



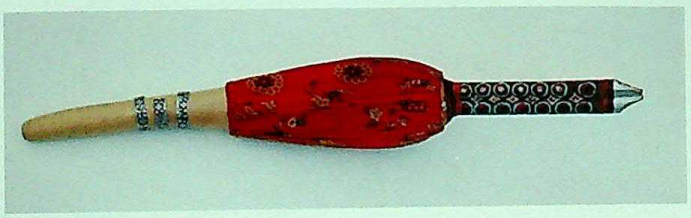
Above and right. *The* rabab *is a stringed instrument widely played throughout the North-West of the country.*

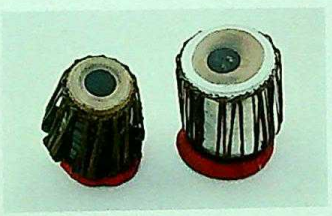
Themes of *qawwali* are mystical and moral, based on a deep love of the Prophet Muhammad and the Saints and a desire to be one with the Infinite. The rhythmic pattern of hypnotically persistent beats is successfully employed to create a climax of hysterical ecstasy. The great success of a European and American tour by the Sabri Brothers *(qawwals)* introduced this to the West and created an enthusiasm for this mystic music. Among other notable *qawwals* are Aziz Mian and party, and Bakhshi Salamat and party.

Classical music in the subcontinent has always stood in need of financial patronage for its survival because the audience who can appreciate its intricacies are too few to pay the performing musicians. In Pakistan, this patronage suddenly came to an end after the departure of the rajas and nawabs after Partition. The result was almost catastrophic. Great masters like Ustad Ashiq Ali Khan, Ustad Abdul Waheed Khan and Ustad Tawakkal Hussain Khan died within a decade and the most famous classical singer, Ustad Barey Ghulam Ali Khan, migrated to India.

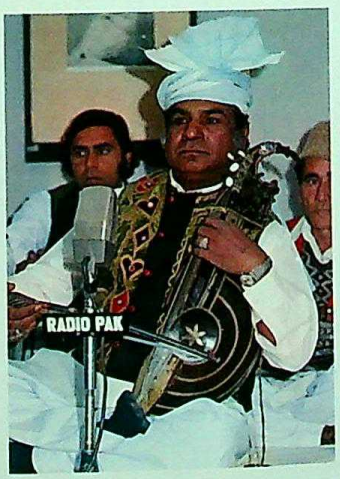
In the late Sixties classical music in Pakistan was at a low ebb. In 1972 the Pakistan National Council of the Arts was established to promote cultural activities and it was only then that the revival of classical music was made possible. A classical music research cell was established for research on and documentation of classical music. Work began on an exhaustive collection of classical *ragas* on tape and long-playing records.

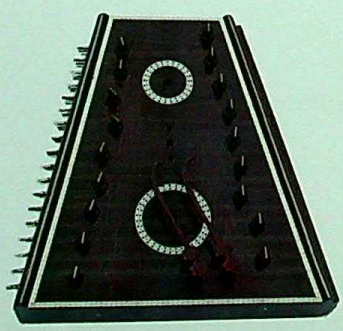
The accredited representatives of the recognized *gharanas* of classical music – Roshan Ara Begum *(Kairana),* Ustad Salamat Ali Khan *(sham chorasi),* Ustad Fateh Ali Khan *(Patiala),* Ustad Ramzan Khan





Munir Sarhadi (right) *is a famous* sarinda *player.* Below. *The* santoor *from Kashmir.*





(Delhi), Ustad Asad Ali Khan *(Agra)* – are all now preserved in these forms.

Traditional light classical music includes *thumri, dadra,* and *ghazal.* Of these, *thumri* and *dadra,* being products of the times of the nawabs of Oudh, no longer enjoy their former popularity in Pakistan. Farida Khanum and Iqbal Bano, two notable exponents of this art, are struggling to keep it alive. But the signs are that these two forms of music will finally merge with the modern *geet* or song, a medium that has become the vehicle of modern Pakistani music. Since Farida Khanum and Iqbal Bano excel also at *ghazal* singing, this form of musical composition has been brought to perfection. Ghulam Ali and Mehdi Hassan are two other *ghazal*

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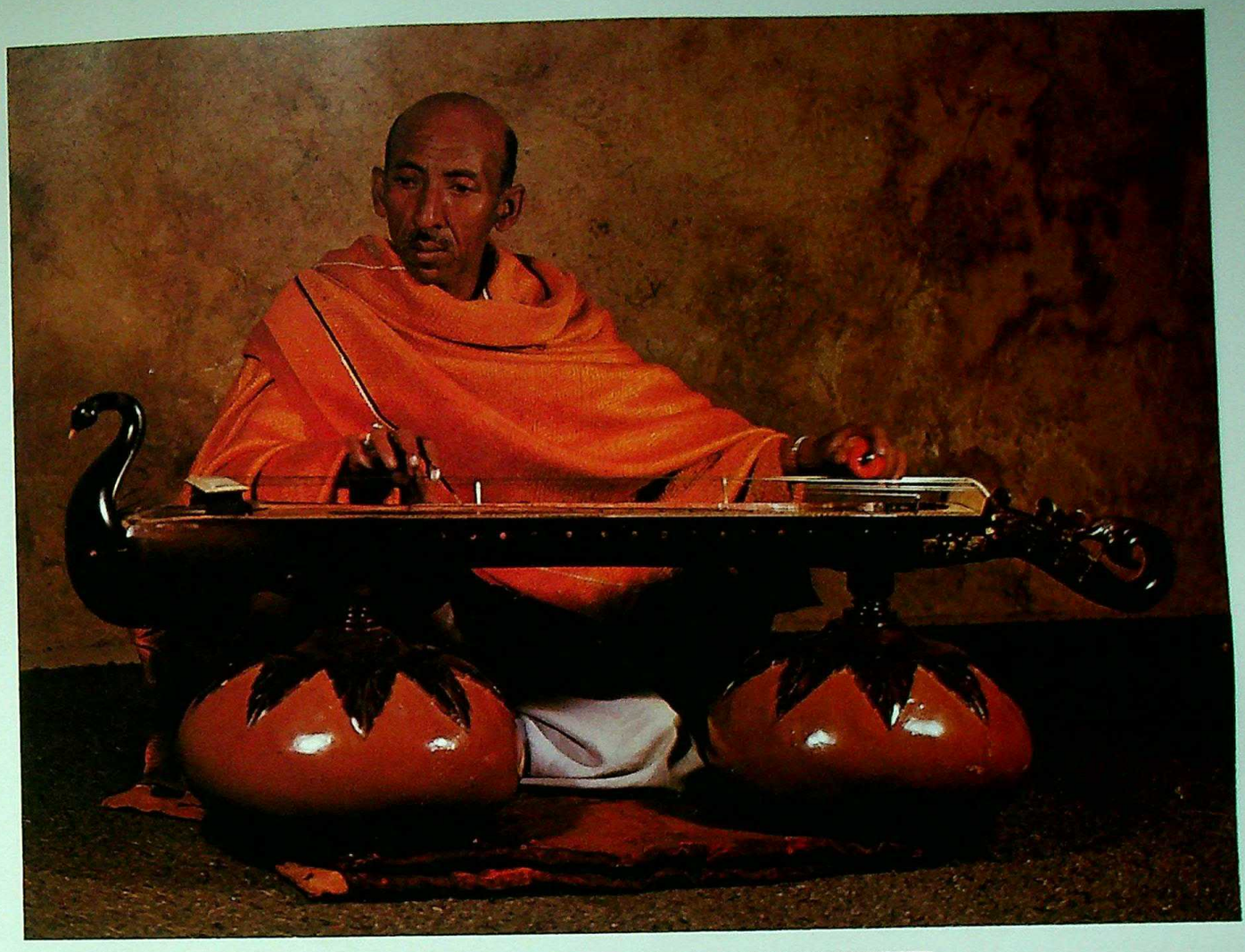

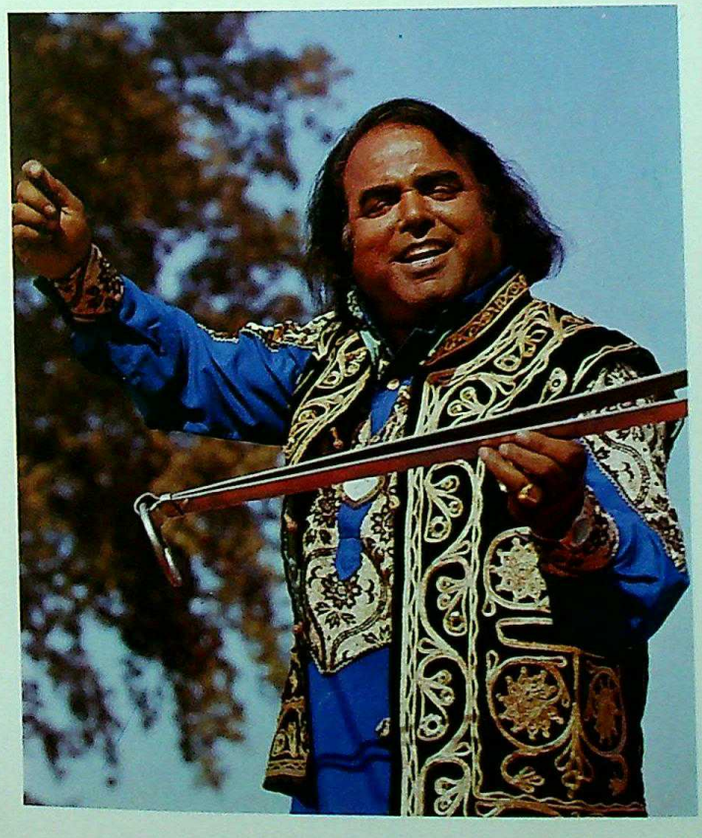

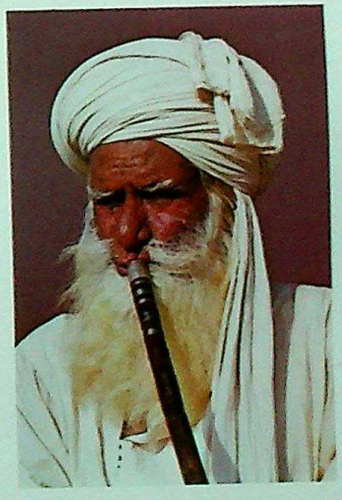

Many Pakistani musicians have become known internationally – for example, Ustad Rashid Ali Khan Beenkar (above) *as a sitarist.* Left. *A Baluchi plays the flute – an ubiquitous instrument upon which a skilled flautist will improvise his thoughts.*

Alam Lohar is an outstanding folk-singer from Punjab.

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singers whose styles have captivated listeners the world over. Currently Mehdi Hassan's style is being adopted throughout the subcontinent.

Sarangi is a string instrument perfectly adaptable to all the nuances of Eastern music. In Pakistan, the late Ustad Bundu Khan was a consummate exponent of both the theory and practice of *sarangi* playing. It is universally acknowledged that a *sarangi* player of his calibre has not appeared on the musical scene of the subcontinent for centuries. It now appears that the art of *sarangi* playing is slowly disappearing, a great loss to the instrumental classical heritage of Pakistan.

In Ustad Sharif Khan of Poonch, Pakistan has an outstanding *sitar* player – he ranks among the finest *sitar* players of the subcontinent with Ravi Shankar and Vilayat Hussain. Outstanding among the folk instrumentalists of Pakistan are Munir Sarhadi *(sarinda)*, Misri Khan Jamali and his disciple Khamisoo Khan *(alghoza)*, Sain Allah Ditta Qadri (flute) and the late Sain Marna (*iktara)*. They have all performed with distinction abroad.

The folk music of Pakistan, together with *qawwali* and mystic music, represents the real culture of the masses, their loves and hates, their joys and sorrows, their colourful ceremonies and festivities, and above all their spiritual entity. It includes all the songs and dances spontaneously originating among the common people of the different regions of the country. Like folksongs all over the world, these songs too are predominantly strophic in pattern – the same music is repeated for each stanza. This pattern is most suitable for simple lyrical pieces with regular metre and uniform stanzas. *Pushtu, tappa, sammi, mahiya, gidda, jugni* and *jamalo* are but a few of them.

Similarly, the epic love poems of Heer Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sohni Meha Sorath and Rai Dach, Umer Marvi, Momal and Rano are sung in specific mode *(sur)* and have their own distinct style of presentation. In Sind, this mode of presentation has given rise to "thematic" or *sur* music, perfected by Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, affectionately called *Shah-Jo-Rago* (Shah's music) it is a synthesis of Sindhi classical and folk traditions.

Present folk artists like Alam Lohar, Sain Akhtar, Reshman, Munir Sarhadi, Khamisoo Khan, Faiz Muhammad Baluch and Misri Khan Jamali have performed all over the world. A national institute has been established in Islamabad for the promotion and preservation of folklore and folk music.

Modern music in Pakistan is characterized by the use of Western instruments and is wholly confined to light music. There have been no modern trends in classical music. Lately, electronic instruments have also come into vogue.

Because of the extemporaneous nature of classical music and the improvisation freely employed in the exposition of classical *ragas,* the need for a notation system was never felt by the masters. The teaching of music was oral. Recently, however, composers have acutely felt the need for notation. Instead of evolving an indigenous system, however, the Western notational system was introduced and is now being widely used, even though it has proved inadequate for classical music. Ustad Muhammad Sharif Khan has now evolved a system that could transcribe all the peculiarities and niceties of classical music, but this is still at an experimental stage.

K.A.

Dance

The contemporary dances of Pakistan have graduated to the stage from the marble floors of the Mughal courts, on the one hand, and the green and golden fields on the other: the genre of the one is classical, that of the other, folk.

Classical dance acquired a wider appeal when the Mughals opened the gates of their palaces to the dancers from the temples. The transition from the skill of appeasing inanimate gods to the art of pleasing a live audience led to modification, adaptation and, eventually, to standardization.

Among the classical dances, *kathak* is highly prized in Pakistan. *Katha* means story, and *kathak* having its root in this word, evolved from a simple dance form of telling a story to a complicated series of rhythmic patterns, brilliant variations heightened by flawless timing. With the development of the technique, the pauses of silence began to be used to enhance the exciting movements of lightning pirouettes. The *boles* (rhythmic syllables) which are spoken during the dance have become a highly technical series of word patterns. Intricate hand movements and footwork, facial expression, use of the eyes and the language of gesture took many years of study with learned masters, and thus the technique survives today.

The impact of the Mughals on *kathak* was so pervasive that the costumes of the royal courts even provided patterns and styles for its dancers. The dress, donned to this day, consists of brightly-coloured, tight-fitting trousers under a diaphanous costume called *angrakha.* The soft, flowing, bell-shaped shirt is full length and, like the sleeves, is unlined. Women wear an embroidered waistcoat to emphasize their natural contours.

The musical accompaniment to *kathak* is provided by a singer and one, two or occasionally more instrumentalists. One provides the melody, the other the rhythm. The most essential instrument is the *tabla* (a pair of small upright drums). The refrain is the repetition of a musical phrase within a given time-scale called *taal.*

Folk-dances generally follow the cycle of the seasons, portraying the mood and emotions of the people tending the soil, harvesting the yield and winnowing or processing it through machinery. In all its varied forms of exultation, folk dancing in the different regions of Pakistan reflects the element of organic oneness and ethnic continuity characteristic of the country. *Jhoomar* and *luddi* for instance are popular throughout Pakistan,

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slight variations in formation providing local colour.

Jhoomar (meaning spinning, or going round and round) is danced in a circle accompanied by clapping synchronized with the movement of the feet, the swirl of the body and the beat of the rhythm. As the dance progresses, the participants break into different forms of patterns until a crescendo is reached and the circle is re-formed through a graduated process of reversal. *Jhoomar* is popular with women, but it is danced with equal facility and greater vigour by men. It is popular in both Sind and Baluchistan.

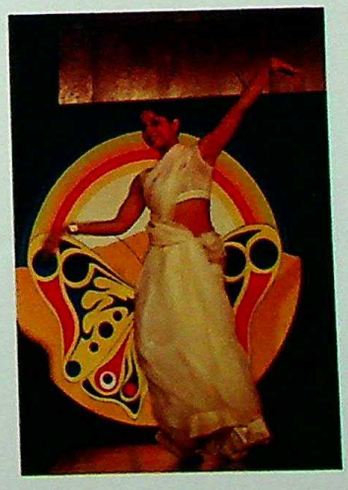
Luddi is danced by both men and women, but separately. Any kind of celebration, whether it be a wedding or a victory in a wrestling match, is occasion enough for *luddi*. It is danced most frequently when the fields have been prepared for sowing. While the men's version is fast, the women's is slower and more graceful. The women, positioned in a circle, click their fingers and clap their hands, moving by short jumps and half-turns, accelerating their rhythms according to the beat of the drummer playing on the *dholok* (oblong drum).

Another popular dance, mostly for women, is *sammi*. It has a slow movement accompanied by a sad song associated with the tragic love story of Princess Sammi and Prince Dhola. To the beat of a somewhat subdued drum, the dancer's hand and foot movements follow a well-drilled routine involving periodic clapping and, for variation, at times the clicking of sticks held in each hand.

Khattak is particular to the Pathans, deriving its name from the Khattak tribe of the Frontier. It is a dance in which only men participate. Originally it was a part of the diligent preparations made before war against rival tribesmen and for the subsequent celebration of victory. Today any joyous event is the occasion for this virile and dynamic dance. Dressed in baggy *shalwars* and embroidered waistcoats, a big handkerchief and, occasionally, a sword, each performer moves in a circle with the larger circular formation, jerking his head in a swift movement, his long shoulder-length hair rising and falling with each jerk, flourishing his handkerchief and the sword. In a frenzy the dancers turn, somersault, float and swirl with energetic swordplay, to the accompaniment of pipes and drums. There are regional variations of *khattak;* in another version the dancers carry wooden clappers similar to Spanish castanets, keep time with bells, and dance in a circle, chanting songs.

Bhangra is another remarkable folk-dance. Usually

Above. Hey Jamalo, *from Sind, derived from the fabled Jamalo, who, returning home victorious, was greeted joyously: "Hey, Jamalo!"*



Opposite. *In* Kakli, *from Punjab, two girls whirl, hands crossed, till one gets dizzy and falls out. "The Fishermen's Dance"* (above) *is improvisation based on the dance of the fishing region of the Makran Coast.* Left. Kathak *is a classical folk dance of the Mughals derived from* "kathak" *meaning story-telling. It is a balletic interpretation of human drama. Nahid Siddique is the finest exponent of* kathak *in Pakistan.*

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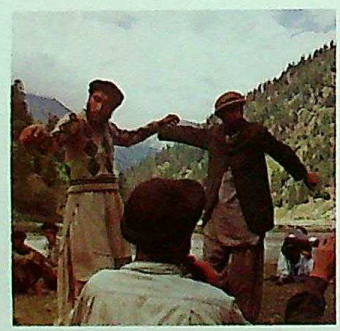
Left. *This Makrani dance involves a kind of acrobatic feat. Performed by Sheedis, a coastal people, to the rhythm of the music, a pitcher of water is placed on a pole and balanced on the head.*

Left. Khattak *from N-WF, developed from the basic movements of sword-play.* Luddi (below left) *a dance of Punjab performed to the beat of large drums, is connected with harvest and festivities. In the Gilgit dance* (below), *the dancer mimes to the music.*



danced at the onset of Spring to celebrate the harvesting season, it is a favourite of the Punjabi peasant. It is punctuated by a song and at the end of every line the drum thunders. The last line of the song is taken up by all the dancers and repeated in a chorus. *Bhangra* varies from one village to another and is more of a spontaneous expression of joy than a dance with formalized steps. Dancers surround the drummer in a circle, each with his own individual steps, shout, wriggle their shoulders, and swirl on one foot, often holding a piece of cloth with both hands over their heads. The *dhol* (a huge drum hung from the neck and shoulders), the *jori* (a pair of flutes) and a *chimta* (a pair of iron-tongs), combine with the joyous yells of dancers to provide spectacular entertainment.

Hey Jamalo is a Sindhi dance which interprets the battle and folk legends of the province. It is danced on occasions of festivity and celebration. The dancers circle the drummer, chanting and miming.

Pakistani dances are not merely entertainments, but are rather to be understood as attempts by the dancers to express a fusion of their ethos and environment with their zest for beauty.

Z.M. and M.N.M.

Crafts

Even among the developing countries where crafts are fast turning into mechanised cottage industries, Pakistan remains one of the last citadels of a hand-wrought heritage. More than architecture or painting, handicrafts are the easiest and closest source of a people's identification – their passion for tradition, their patience with intricate techniques and their pride in beautiful results, even when rewards are low.

Pakistan's early history is moulded in ceramics, welded in metals and woven in textiles. The bronze-caster of the famed dancing girl unveils a high level of artistic expression from Mohenjodaro, even when its script remains undeciphered. Gandharan jewellery and ivory carvings reveal cosmopolitan influences. The Hindu craftsman seems to have been a wizard in weaving, carving in the round and metal-moulding; to this land rich in grains, gold and gods, Muslims then contributed entirely different aesthetics. Craft historians of the West have recorded a unique ferment in the Muslim world spilling over in phases into the subcontinent.

The pre-Mughal period witnessed not only the imperial centre but regional kingdoms as glittering nuclei of arts and crafts excelling in textiles and tiled ensembles. Graphically recorded renaissance in crafts begins with the Mughals, who perfected many crafts and introduced new highly developed ones. The royal *ateliers* gave designs to the workshops which were supervised by technical experts from abroad. After the sun set on the Mughal empire, the British could not sustain an ardent patronage of crafts, which found their last asylum in the wealth of the princely states. Since Independence, craftsmen have at last found a stable market reinforced by immigrant Muslim artisans from India.

Within the vast and diverse landscape of Pakistan, they have their characteristic provincial profiles. Sind is the richest in colour and range of crafts, particularly in the folk tradition. Punjab, with Lahore as one of the three Mughal capitals, continues to carry the notes and strokes of a wider culture. The North-West Frontier maintains sturdiness of materials with eclectic echoes in folk carvings, ceramics and jewellery. Baluchistan crafts draw on tribal talents for embroidery, leather accoutrements, decorated weaponry and rug weaving.

Carpets remain the *chef d'oeuvres* of Pakistan's heritage. During Akbar's reign the establishment of workshops in Lahore is recorded, but some existed much earlier during the Sultanate. This craft is a total transplant, proudly retaining its classical designs and hallmarks named after the celebrated production centres of Iran. Originally confined to court-looms, carpet weaving today has proliferated into nearly all the major cities and towns, with Karachi and Lahore as the leading emporia drawing on the mass production of the hinterland, selecting the choicest for export.

The North-West Frontier area, Sind and Baluchistan have their own local versions of folk rugs. Small goat hair rugs, *farasis,* are made all over Sind but particularly fine quality ones; a mixture of sheep wool and camel hair are woven into striking patterns near Thatta, Tharparkar and Sanghar. Weaving centres are active in Thana Bula Khan, Mithi, Dadu, Naudero, Tajal Naro, Dipli, Salehpat. From Gilgit and Hunza come *sharmas,* goat hair rugs in natural colours. The Frontier *taghar* and *nakhai,* flamboyant rugs with twisted knots, are a speciality of

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Dera Ismail Khan, Mardan, Bannu and Kohat. The sturdiest mixtures of wool and hair rugs are woven by Badinzai women in Jhalawan, but weaving is widespread in Sarawan, Makran and Las Bela (Baluchistan). *Namdas*, felt floor-spreads, are crewel-embroidered in chain-stitch by Kashmiris. Less ornate *namdas* are available in Ziarat, Zhob, Sibi, Peshawar, Kohat and most of the Frontier regions.

Metalcraft is a tradition encompassing centuries of hereditary expertise in casting, chasing, incising, *repoussé*, cut-work, filigree and inlay. Jewellery, the most ravishing form of feminine capitalism, is a legacy from the fabled past. Gem-inlaid *kundan* and *jarao* have always been the preference of the affluent, while solid gold ornaments are an investment of the middle class. Enamelled ornaments are in vogue again (the best made in Hyderabad and Lahore) and silver jewellery is fashionable now in the cities, but has long been the standby of the masses. Apart from folk motifs, almost any design in gold jewellery is copied in silver by city shops. Fine Kashmiri silverwork and parcel gilt *(ganga-jamni)* decoration pieces are of the highest quality in Rawalpindi and Karachi. Bidri-silver inlay on a black metal amalgam is an exquisite survival from the seventeenth century in all forms, decorative and functional, from *aftaaba* to paper knives and studs. Damascene, perhaps an Arab import and later known as *koftgari*, is gold or silver wire inlay on steel for arms, armour, astrolabes, mirror frames, jewel caskets and pencases. Sialkot and Lahore were the famous centres of damasceners, who switched over from weaponry to cutlery in the nineteenth century.

The illustrations above give a sample of the variety and vigour of decorative jewellery and other crafts throughout the country. (Top row, left) *Gypsy women of the Od tribes wear these silver necklaces in Sind.* (Right) *A Baluchi hair clip.* (Second row, left) *A Sindhi hair clip.* (Middle) *A Baluchi amulet containing Quranic verses.* (Right) *A silver necklace from Tharparkar in Sind.* (Third row, left) *Decorative silver hair ornaments.* (Middle left) *One of a pair of gold, enamelled ear ornaments, set with pearls, turquoise and jargoons. Delhi eighteenth century.* (Middle right) *A* moodi *adorns these Baluchi hair clips.* (Right) Peerah *is a common chair made in Dera Ismail Khan and Punjab.* (Bottom row, left and middle) *A* khusa *or man's shoe worn on festive occasions by Gujjar tribes of the northern areas.* (Right) *A* sindhani *is embroidered and worn by Sindhi women.*

Copper and brass are fashionable again, supplying domestic demands for lamps, coffee tables, flowerpots and door knockers. Apart from Persian and Turkish traditions, Gandharan forms and motifs have recently added to the metal repertoire; chic combinations of these glowing metals are worked with wood, marble and ceramics. Peshawar leads in chased and engraved copper work with fine arabesques. Multan, Karachi and Lahore abound in unequalled talent in cut-work and *repoussé*.

Textiles can be categorized since Vedic times into brocading, embroidering, hand-painting and tie-dyeing. The medium was invariably cotton, the finest ever woven, as transparent as water. Several varieties of silk from wild, raw and Chinese yarn were reeled off by the nimble hands of the seasoned weaver.

Textiles reached their apex under the Sultanate; the imperial workshop of the Tughlaqs in Delhi with four thousand weavers, and those of provincial kingdoms such as Gujrat, Malwa and Bengal, had samples of fabrics imported from the textile centres of the Islamic world. Sophisticated patterns under Makshabands, with mechanical contrivances for woven figurals are recorded during this period. Damasks, satins, mixed weaves like *himru* (Gulbadan and Shah Muhammad), *mashru, shirinbaf, tabrizi, shusteri, shinbaf, atlas, bairami, aksun, deogiri, bihari, gul-bakavali, harir, juzz* and *diba* were shuttled back and forth as court presents and diplomatic overtures. The contemporaries of the Mughals, the Ottomans and the Safavids, set a high standard for them to imitate. Mughal looms added figured silks and personage-velvets.

What we have today is a continuation of past tradition. Hyderabad, Khairpur, Karachi, Lahore and Multan produce costly and comely brocades, raw silks and a variety of floral and patterned silks under the generic name of *banarsi*. Sind, which has been exporting hand-spun fabrics to the Roman and west Asian world since ancient times, continues to produce *soosi, mothra* and *gharbi*. Silk and cotton looms are active in Jacobabad, Thatta, Sukkur, Ranipur and Tando Muhammad Khan.

With gem-like brilliance the silken *khes* of Gambat and Nasserpur has to be touched to be believed. Mixtures of cottons with other yarns emerge in boldly conceived *kheses* from Multan, Sahiwal, Pind Dadan, Jhelum, Mianwali and Dera Ghazi. The patterned hand-spun *khaddar* makes attractive upholstery. The *lachcha* and *lungis* of the Punjab and *dastaars* from the Frontier add to the gay variety from the handloom. Narrow strips of woolly *pattus* from Kaghan, Kashmir, Gilgit, Chitral, Dir and Hunza are tailored into *chugas* and overcoats. Coarse striped woollen shawls from Swat regain popularity every winter.

Kashmiri shawls (of soft wool, from the underbelly of the Central Asian goat) originate from the enlightened reign of Zain-ul-Abedin, who is supposed to have brought

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the skills and twill-tapestry technique to Kashmir from Samarkand in the fifteenth century. The loom-woven pieces called *tilli* shawls, are now collectors' acquisitions. Sometimes as many as 1,500 bits were woven – each with a separate design – and stitched together so remarkably well that the naked eye could not detect the joins. Loom-woven *pashimina* is still embroidered throughout Kashmir.

The history of ceramics leaves much to the imagination, despite innumerable archaeological finds. Glazed tilework, *kashigari,* is recorded in thirteenth-century Multan in the pure Iranian tradition, leading to a long succession of tiled frescoes and mosaics in mosques and mausoleums until the nineteenth century. Three known centres of ceramics now, each with a distinctive colour-scheme and pattern, are Hala, Peshawar and Multan. The fertile alluvial soil of the lower Indus provides excellent clay for the glazed ware of Hala and Sehwan. Jugs, jars, vases, bowls, dinner sets, mugs, in all shades of chocolate and brown are enlivened with yellow and touches of green. Multan's distinctive colours are blue and white, like its enamels and architecture. These are reproduced mechanically in Gujranwala and Gujrat. Peshawar has maintained the most durable glaze in functional pottery in addition to the merely ornamental. Its refreshing colours – jade green, lemon, rust, blue and black – add sparkle to any home. Paper-thin pottery, *kaghzi,* is the glory of Bahawalpur, whose potters turn out delicate amphoras, goblets, vases, candleholders and platters in natural terracotta colours. Unglazed folk pottery used in rural hinterlands is to be found in every village household.

The ancient carver made good use of rich timber reserves, but the finest reliefs, chiselled on temples, did not survive climate and vandalism. The Arabs brought with them the exquisite genre, *mashrabiya,* a kind of geometric wood-joinery avidly adopted by the North Western regions and re-christened *pinjra.* These *pinjra* lattices inspired a new trend throughout Mughal, Rajput and later Sikh spheres of influence.

The *tarkhans* of Punjab are not mere carpenters but real artists, shaping furniture and daily utilities in forms old and new, with both classical and folk motifs in almost every wood from *shisham* to teak. Shahpur, Bhera and Sialkot have become legends, but Lahore, Multan and Karachi are living centres, with Chiniot leading in brass-inlay on wood. Tea trolleys, teapots, cigar boxes, egg-cups, salad bowls – almost anything is wire-inlaid. Peshawar and Rawalpindi specialize in finely carved and inlaid furniture, as the best Kashmiri carvers have gravitated there, creating marvels of cut-work and reliefs mainly in walnut. Ivory-inlay in geometric and semi-floral layout, historically linked with the Muslim period, comes naturally to Pakistani craftsmen.

Dyeing is as old as the first civilization, but block-printing too was exported to China a little before the Christian era and later to Egypt. The earliest samples extant, however, are from fifteenth century Fustat (old Cairo) of low grade cotton with indigo prints. The centuries under the Mughals marked the glowing peak of printed and painted fabrics, a specialised genre of which *qalamkari* was initiated by the Persianised dynasty of Golkunda. The designs to this day seen all over India and Pakistan are of the same inspiration – cypresses, paisleys, carpet-cartouches, arches, niches, floral creepers and all the vernal variety romanticized by Persian literature. Block-printing, however, in folk tradition is almost universal. Tie-dyeing is one of the oldest skills on record in the desert regions of Sind.

The renowned *ajraks* of Sind (favourite combination being indigo and maroon) are best done in Muttiari and Hyderabad. Cotton bed and table covers along with wraps are mass-blocked in all the leading towns of the Punjab. Those outstanding are *karore-pakka* printers of Multan and *chappey-walas* of Lahore, secretive masters of their trade in floor coverings, table-linen, curtains, canopy-liners, and the latest sartorial trends. The finest block-printing is now being done on silk *kaftans* and *saris* in Karachi, where the effect is enhanced by embroidered trimmings of gold and silver.

Lacquer-work is potentially a thriving industry in Pakistan. Once the wooden objects have been lathe-

Above, left. *Such coats are made and embroidered in Dera Ismail Khan, the intricacy of this work being shown in detail.* Above. *An embroidered* kurta *from Punjab, worn at weddings and other celebrations.*

Top left. *An enamelled* huqqa *bowl from Lucknow, eighteenth century.* Top right. Huqqa *bowl from Bidri, eighteenth century.* Above left. *A brass box and cover, gadrooned with floral ornamental vertical bands and* lac *inlay.* Above right. *A leaf brooch in* koftgari, *of gold inlay on steel, from Punjab, nineteenth century.*

Top left. *An enamelled dish from Kashmir, nineteenth century.* Top right. *A glass rosewater sprinkler, Mughal period, eighteenth century.* Above left. *An enamel box and lid, also of Mughal origin, probably early nineteenth century.* Above right. *A dark green mirror-back made of nephrite and gold set with rubies.*

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turned and rounded, they are lac-layered in fast rotations and patterned by etching out one colour from beneath another. Lacquer-work is now used for furniture, swinging cots, beds and divans, not to mention old butter churns and spinning wheels in Sind where the *jhundi-waras* of Kashmir, Khairpur and Hala cater to all tastes. Coloured lacquer ware is produced in Sillanwali, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Multan and Pakpattan. The *kharadis* of Lahore employ contrasting colours, like black and white. Mirror-frames, tea-trolleys, hat-hangers, caskets and standard lamps are made in striking colour combinations. A style perfected by Dera Ismail Khan is *abri* (mottled) though coupled with *atishi* (from fiery tinsel paste), it is as endemic to Sind as to Punjab.

There are two distinct divisions of embroidery; metropolitan and folk. The former, previously a favourite with harems and the nobility, is only patronised by the rich today. *Zardozi, kaar-chob, jali, salma-sitara, kalabatoon, baadla* or *kaamdani, gota-kinari, gijai* and *dori* cover

Top row, left and middle. *An embroidered* kurta *from Baluchistan*. Right. *A specimen of the famous "blue" pottery of Multan*. Second row, left. *A mango-shaped box and lid in nephrite, Mughal, eighteenth century*. Middle. *A* huqqa *bowl, with gadrooned body inlaid with both silver wire and sheet metal. Mughal, late seventeenth century*. Right. *A clear-green glass and gilded* huqqa *bowl from Bidri. Mughal, late seventeenth century*. Above right, and right. *Mughal floral patterns are exquisitely woven in modern rugs made by folk artisans in Karachi.*

the entire range of stitchery. The finest masters of the craft are now employed by the leading shops of Lahore and Karachi which are back-logged with orders both local and foreign.

Chikankari – an echo from the nawabs of Murshidabad, Dacca and Lucknow – is made by Muslim immigrant embroiderers on transparent muslin shirts, *saris* and table cloths. It involves shadow-work, running-stitch *(tepchi)* for outlines, knotted-stitches *(murri* and *phanda)* and network. Though the multi-hued *rilli,* patchwork, one of the salvage crafts made from bits and pieces, is a speciality of Sind, its broader conception in appliqué is displayed by tent makers of Multan, Bahawalpur and Lahore.

The most sparkling is the mirror embroidery of Sind and Baluchistan. Thick-set with chain, buttonhole and stem stitches, *gajj*, of Lohana tribes and gypsy-women

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from the Tharparkar and Rajputana deserts, is a family heirloom. The Baluchi *pashk*, a woman's garment, with delicate cross and chain-stitch and Baluchi *lohris* with rows of chain-stitch roundels on silk or satin, are beautiful. In the north, particularly Kaghan, long *pugrees* in satin-stitch (magenta or maroon on black ground) are coveted, as are Swati *kurtas*, table and cushion covers.

Phulkari - rust home-spun cotton lozenges or rosettes worked in free hand from the reverse in darning stitch, mainly of white silken floss - is a lost craft. Its diluted versions hang in bazaars, but the classic Hazara *bagh* and *kakri* are only momentoes in a family chest.

Leather craftsmen were regarded as lowly untouchables in Hindu society, until the advent of Islam in the subcontinent gave them new status. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century gives details of Moorish mats portraying birds and beasts in silver and gold threads. After seven centuries Sind still exhibits *nats* of *sambar* leather with a central medallion, borders and corners appliquéd with different leather or embroidered in multi-hued silk, silver or gold threads. Handsome leather saddlery jackets, purses and shoes, embellished with colourful stitches, can be bought in Quetta, Kalat, Hyderabad and Thatta. The horse and camel gear with its accessories, poches, pommels, belts and bags are embroidered in Lehri, Makran, Las Bela and Kutch areas. Gold-worked shoes and sandals (*zari khussas* and *chaplis*) along with waistcoats are sold in all the leading towns of the Frontier and Punjab. Multan manufactures lamps of camel skin with transparent designs and colours reminiscent of glass mosque lamps from the Mamluk period of Syria and Egypt.

A few minor crafts like basketry, papier-mâché, doll-making, glass bangles, *moradabadi* inlay and lapidary skills also flourish in Pakistan. After agriculture and industry, handicrafts provide employment for a large proportion of the working population, hence its preservation is as much a commercial as a cultural imperative.

Ak.R.

Museums

Museums present a micro view of the evolution of civilizations, and Pakistan's past encompasses six millennia of civilizations which rose and fell along the banks of the Indus. Invaders came and left their imprints on the cultural matrix of various societies. Accordingly, the land is fertile in historic sites and relics which present a composite picture of how our ancestors lived and died.

Pakistan's wealth of the residue of the past is housed in a number of museums spread around the country. Lahore Museum is probably the richest, being especially well-endowed with a fine collection of miniatures which are displayed in a hall whose ceiling has been painted by Sadequain, one of Pakistan's best-known artists. There is also a unique collection of Gandhara art, including the famous "Fasting Siddhartha".

The National Museum at Karachi, built in 1851, is now housed in a modern building with the latest aids for re-creating the past through lectures and slides. The old site, a magnificent Victorian building, is being renovated to house a library.

The other major museums are located in Peshawar and Hyderabad. Apart from these, there are museums located at excavation sites at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Taxila, Bhambore and Saidu Sharif in Swat. Each of these helps to give visitors a better idea of the pattern and flow of life at these sites when they were vibrant centres of civilization.

The Lahore Fort museum includes a Mughal section for miniatures, manuscripts and coins of the period. Apart from a special Sikh collection, it also exhibits types of weaponry used at various periods in the subcontinent.

Among small but famous museums is the one at Umarkot fort, near Emperor Akbar's birthplace. There are also many small, specialised museums attached to various universities and institutions. Probably the most famous private museum is at the Faqir Khana at Bhati gate in the walled city of Lahore. It contains objects from the late Sikh period, as well as unique curios such as a miniature of Emperor Akbar's Spanish wife and the prayer rug used by Emperor Aurangzeb to say the first prayers held in Badshahi Mosque.

Recognizing the need to preserve and encourage traditional art, the Government has established a small folk art museum in Islamabad. Shakir Ali, the famous artist, spent eight years designing and building his house in Lahore. After his death, the Government acquired this original and beautiful house and converted it into a museum for his paintings, as well as for those of other leading modern artists.

B.A.K. and F.S.H.

Top, far left. *Lahore Museum, established 1864, the oldest museum in Pakistan. Its eight galleries include Gandharan, Mughal and Chinese art.* Top left and right. *The museums at Peshawar and Karachi also house extensive collections of national treasures.* Bottom left. *At Harappa and Taxila small museums present a picture of life in ancient civilizations.*

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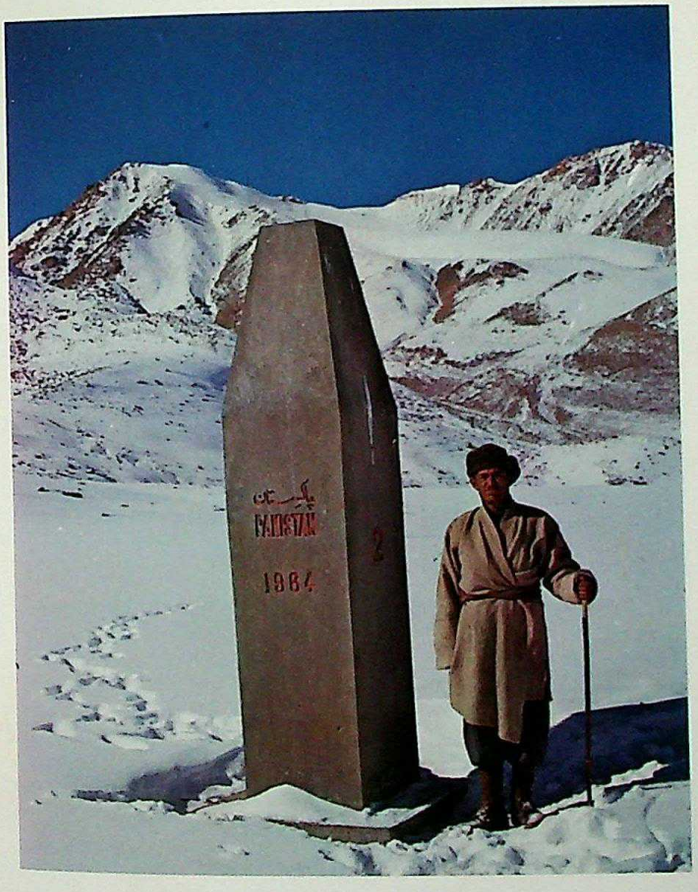
7
Pakistan's Place in the World



Pakistan, it may be said, has three places in the world. By virtue of itself, as a land and people. By virtue of its Islamic raison d'être, in the midst of Southern Asia. And by virtue of its stance in world affairs. Where the USSR, China, India and mid-Eastern Islam converge, there stands Pakistan — powerful, populous, determined and vigilant for peace.

China, Pakistan and Afghanistan meet at the Kilit Pass. The territory of the USSR is no more than a day's march away.

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National Identity

THE nationhood of Pakistan is the culminating expression of the South Asian Muslim community in response to the historical, political and cultural pressures and challenges of its thousand years of existence.

The seeds of the process were sown in the eighth and the eleventh centuries. It began when the Arabs invaded Sind and accelerated when the Turks invaded the northern plains of the subcontinent and chose to settle in their new home as rulers of the land. Around this nucleus there grew up, in course of time, the Muslim community composed of (a) the Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Mughals, Iranians and others who came in successive waves of incursions or brain-drain migrations down to the eighteenth century, (b) the descendants of the early settlers and (c) the converts from the indigenous population.

The native inhabitants of South Asia were the Hindus – a vast conglomeration of numerous soil-rooted communities with different languages, laws and customs, belonging to different races, united internally by an all-pervasive philosophy based on certain assumptions of myth and cosmology and proliferating in innumerable expressions of religious belief; held together externally by an ubiquitous caste system, rigid and tyrannical in its demands yet having both the strength to withstand threats to its solidarity and the resilience to accommodate alien elements of thought and life through a subtle process of metamorphosis.

The Muslim community, as it developed in South Asia, was neither compact nor organic. The Muslims were scattered all over South Asia, more numerous in the western and eastern regions of the northern plains, less so in the central region which was the citadel of Hinduism, and in the Deccan peninsula which was rather remote from their early settlements. Everywhere they developed a culture of their own. Yet there were cohesive forces that were working to weld them into a community.

In the first place, Islam, which does not recognize the distinctions of birth or place or race and of which the *Shariah,* the divine code of law and ethics, is the main operative part, is itself a great organizing force. To become a Muslim convert is not only to adopt a creed or subscribe to certain articles of faith but to be integrated into a new community. The fact that everywhere in social intercourse they came up against the formidable caste system, and were treated by the Hindus as untouchables, further cemented the ties that bound them together.

In the second place, centuries after the Empire of Asoka, it was the Muslim Empire which gave the subcontinent a semblance of political unity. The court was not only a centre of political power, it was also the fountainhead and focus of culture. The provincial capitals were political and cultural replicas of the central court. The new civilization was city-oriented and, in the beginning, many Muslim habitations were like colonies planted in a hostile land. Thus the same influences, emanating from the central court, spread to the distant parts of the subcontinent, trickling down from the upper to the lower strata of society.

In the third place, the Muslim divines and saints, the former by deepening the Muslim consciousness and the latter with their impregnating spirit of humanism, acted not only as a golden link between the scattered Muslim communities but also made the Indo-Muslim community firmly established on the soil of South Asia.

Arabic was the language of religion and philosophy, as in the rest of the Muslim world, and Persian the language of culture, serving as an intellectual background to the different local languages used in Muslim communities.

But the Muslims, as a world community, assimilating, acculturing and integrating people of diverse races and socio-cultural temperaments, developed different patterns of cultural identity in different situations, determined to a large extent by their special position in the new society. In South Asia their cultural identity acquired its characteristic features under the impress of a number of factors.

The first of these was that, though almost all the regions of the subcontinent, at one time or another, passed under the political sway of the Muslims, the majority of the population was not converted to Islam. The Muslim community expanded geographically and numerically in most regions but, on the whole, it remained a minority surrounded by the vast Hindu majority. This majority was in possession of the cultural traditions of this ancient subcontinent. Moreover, until the advent of the Muslims, it had shown a wonderful genius for accommodating alien races in some category of its caste system and placing foreign saints and gods in its own pantheon. The fact that Islam jealously guards the frontiers of its faith, and the historical phenomenon of the Muslims living as a minority community, explains why the Indo-Muslim community could not inherit the cultural traditions of this land and why they retained an almost passionate, nostalgic attachment to the Muslim peoples living in West and Central Asia.

Secondly, immigration into South Asia, in large or small numbers, of soldiers and administrators, scholars and artists, poets and saints from Iran and Central Asia continued unbroken until the eighteenth century. They came to this land sometimes to conquer or propagate, sometimes as to a refuge and asylum, at other times as to a place of promise and patronage. There was practically no movement in the reverse direction. Thus the Indo-Muslim community, throughout the greater part of its history, remained exposed to socio-cultural influences of the Turko-Iranian lands.

Thirdly, as the ruling dynasties and the bulk of nobility belonged to it, the Muslim minority was a dominant one. But this dominance did not conform to the classical colonial pattern. Those who had migrated from West or Central Asia had finally turned their back on their original home. Even the *émigrés* of the first generation, like the Arabs in Sind and the Turks in the northern plains, looked upon this land not as their second but as their only home. This factor, joined to the indigenous component of converts, made the Muslims as much an element of the South Asian or Indian population as the Hindus. The policy of the Muslim rule was based on toleration, allowing freedom of worship and co-opting local leadership in the government. In their social and economic intercourse, the Muslims had to deal hourly with the Hindus and live with them. A peculiar kind of relationship, at once of friends and rivals, neighbours and strangers, grew between the Muslims and the Hindus. As the time-committed civilization of the

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Muslims and the place-bound civilization of the Hindus were juxtaposed, there were bound to be mutual influences, modifying and even moulding each of them. Such influences are manifest in every field of life and activity, from the arts to dress and social manners. Yet, as their religions were different and their historical consciousness ran in contrary directions, the two civilizations remained distinct and apart.

While these factors sharpened the silhouette of the Indo-Muslim community against the subcontinental background, there was also the fact that, despite a shared faith and similarity in culture with other Muslim peoples living to the west, the community lived in a different environment following a different course of history. Thus it discovered its identity by distinguishing itself, on the one hand, from other Muslim peoples, and, on the other, from the Hindu community. History and environment distinguished it from other Muslim peoples. Religion and historical consciousness distinguished it from the Hindu community. Religion, history and environment constitute the cultural self or identity of a people.

This process of discovery, however, was alternately halted and quickened, confused and clarified by the experience of the British domination from the late eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries.

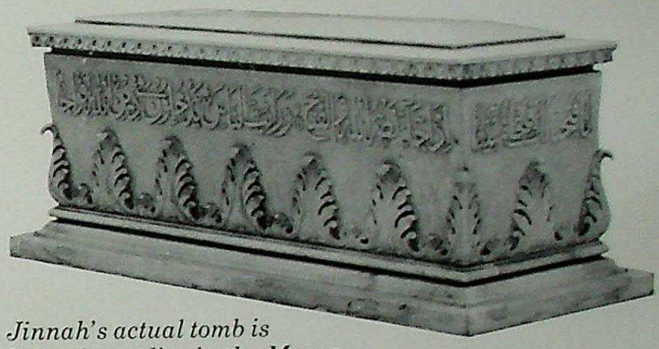
The British rule made a deep impression on the social, economic, political and cultural lives of both the Muslim and the Hindu communities. Posing the challenge of modernism to the two traditional societies, it changed the terms of equation between them. At the time of the Western impact both these communities lived within their own world, no doubt involved with each other but unmindful of the nature and sweep of forces unleashed by the rising capitalism, industrialization and imperialism of the West. Since, however, within this world the Muslims were declining and the Hindus were ascending as a political force, the impact of the West on each community was very different.

For the Hindus, it was a change of masters. The professions which they traditionally followed – trade and business, money-lending, tax-collecting, clerical posts in civil administration – were as much in demand under the colonial power as before. The rising ambitions of the ruling class and the aristocracy among the Hindus, no doubt, had received a setback and they did vent their resentment by joining the Muslims in the so-called mutiny of 1857. But, on the whole, they could more easily adapt themselves to changed conditions and continue their recovery after the initial shock along the lines indicated by the new regime. The patronage which was extended to them as a counterpoise to the intransigence of the Muslim community became their opportunity for political, economic and educational advancement.

For the Muslims, the advent of foreign rule did not mean only loss of status and dignity, but also economic ruin. They were ousted from high positions in administration, the army and courts of justice. Their endowments disappeared; their poets and artists were left without patrons and their artisans and craftsmen were ruined by the dumping of machine-made goods. The new education meant for the Hindus the replacement of one official language, Persian, by another official language, English. For the Muslims it meant a complete break with their classical tradition. The proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries and their antagonism towards Islam provoked the question whether Muslims, as Muslims, could be loyal to the Christian masters.

As long as the British looked upon themselves as traders, they mixed with the Indians, adopted Indian dress and manners and even wrote Urdu poetry. But when they became rulers, they pursued the colonialist policy of holding themselves aloof and keeping the natives in their place. They westernized the Indians only as far as it served their imperialist aims. Otherwise, they would look down upon everything "native" with disdain, be it language, culture or religion, judging everything by their own standards which alone they thought valid. Such habitual treatment warped and distorted the collective personality of the subject peoples, making it difficult for them to look straight into the mirror of time. It produced very unhealthy mental traits, some of the evil effects of which, like a sneaking adulation of everything Western and paranoiac notions about their own past and alternating moods of diffidence and resentment, are visible even today.

The introduction of a totally strange system of education created a split in the psychology of the Muslims which has not yet been fully healed. When, very tardily, they



Jinnah's actual tomb is below its replica in the Mazar.

accepted the new education, they spawned a new middle class which was enabled to play the role of leadership in the new pattern of urban political activity. Attached though they were to the communal welfare of the Muslims and emotionally involved in the international politics of the Muslim countries, they symbolized essentially the culture of colonialism by overlaying the traditional mores of life with a veneer of the sophisticated ways and manners of the West.

Otherwise, apart from the prominent Muslim landowning families of Bengal who had been ruined by the British and replaced by the Hindu landlords, the Muslim *élite* was composed of landlords. As a class, they were reactionary in their outlook, retained by the British as supportive to their rule. But they were fast losing in power and prestige to the rising industrial and capitalist class among the Hindus.

The industrial revolution of England created a subsidiary industrialization in South Asia. Since the Hindus had traditionally monopolized such professions as money-lending and middleman business (while the Muslims were engaged in minor trades and cottage industries), they promptly availed themselves of this opportunity. There were practically no industrialists among the Muslims.

The rise of the institutions of representative government made the Muslims very conscious of the predicament which, as a less numerous community, they had to encounter.

Even in the eighteenth century, when the Mughal power was declining, Shah Waliullah started a rethinking and a reassessment of religious teachings, diverting the focus from the court and the nobility to the populace

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and emphasizing the socio-economic values of Islam.

In the nineteenth century, Syed Ahmad Khan created a stir among the despondent Muslims by interpreting the Islamic beliefs and dogmas in a far too liberal and inauthentic way. Making an effective plea for rational inquiry and analysis, he persuaded the Muslims to accept Western education and founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which, later as a university, became a workshop to forge a Muslim identity and shape its culture and politics. His was the pioneer role in dragging the Muslim community out of a state of futile resentment and infusing the spirit of self-confidence in them. Under his aegis and inspiration, the Muslim community of South Asia took its first steps into the modern world.

Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, though not belonging to the Indo-Muslim community, was a powerful international personality reviving the passion for world Muslim brotherhood and for reform within the Muslim political societies. The Muslims of South Asia, deprived of power in their own land, became more and more passionately involved with the destinies of the Muslim nations which were reeling under the impact of western imperialism.

Finally, Muhammad Iqbal proved to be an almost elemental force in lifting that sense of inferiority towards the West which was sitting like an incubus on the thoughts and attitudes of the Muslims. So far, Islam had been in the dock, apologetically defending itself before the tribunal of the Modern Age. Iqbal rehabilitated Islam to its proper place as the standard and criterion to judge all ages. He built up the Muslim consciousness by fusing the past and the future into an eternal present. He inspired the Muslims with a new vision and gave them a new voice.

These four thinkers can rightly be said to have furnished spiritual and intellectual substance to the cultural life and values of Pakistani nationhood.

As the political and administrative reforms introduced by the British rulers were based on numbers, which was not the strongpoint of the Muslims, and the Muslims had remained comparatively backward in educational and economic fields as the political awakening of both the Hindus and the Muslims was religion-originated, and as the spirit of western nationalism was transforming all the eastern communities, and the Muslims were groping in confusion without a goal, Mohamed Ali Jinnah at the opportune moment formulated the mute but deep urge of the Muslims and uttered the immanent truth that the Muslims were a nation, by any definition of the term, separate and distinct from the Hindus and as such entitled to a distinct sovereignty, territorially defined. The truth was uttered and the truth made Muslims breathe freedom. Since this urge of the Muslim nation was thwarted and frustrated with a united India, their demand for a separate homeland became, under the charismatic leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam, not only the political expression but the biological urge for survival of the entire Muslim society; so insistent and imperative indeed that it had to be conceded by the British rulers as well as the leaders of the Hindu community.

The Pakistani nation had suffered a century-long experience of colonialism. Colonialism is a phenomenon essentially different from the one in which an invading army, conquering a land, establishes a new ruling dynasty, settles down in the conquered land as its only home and, along with other immigrants of diverse callings, progressively becomes an integral element of the population. Colonialism connotes a systematic, effective and continuous exploitation, both material and spiritual, of a people by an alien nation which persists in its alienism for the sake of its own survival and glory. Whatever benefit could be derived from contact with a comparatively modern and progressive society is vitiated by the fact that this contact is brought about in an unnatural state of psychological antagonism, political inhibition and economic exploitation. Colonialism splits the personality of the subject people by causing a deep rupture in the continuity of the traditions of their collective life. Cultural activity in Pakistan is in the nature of a voyage of self-discovery impelled by an urge to restore and repair the lost or fractured identity.

The Pakistani nation is faced with a peculiar problem. Pakistan is the home for which the South Asian Muslim community strove and struggled so that it could release itself from warping pressures and inhibitions and evolve and develop according to its own genius. The Pakistani nation is that part of the Indo-Muslim community which is committed to the realization of that ideal, but as a nation-state and in a very different geopolitical environment.

The Indo-Muslim community was scattered all over the subcontinent and there was no land which it could call exclusively its own. The Pakistani nation has a home, a country, which it can call its own and in which it is the sole master.

The Indo-Muslim community could not inherit, nor own the pre-Muslim culture or cultures because the Hindus were in full and exclusive possession of them. In Pakistan today the non-Muslim minorities are as much Pakistanis as the Muslims and they do not contest the past heritage of the land.

The land which constitutes Pakistan – the Indus Valley with hills and plateaux on the one side, and the low-lying plains on the other – has retained an identity of its own throughout history. It has witnessed the formation and flourishing of many civilizations. It has been the home of the oldest civilization of the world, the Mohenjodaro-Harappa civilization; it has seen the first formation of the Indic society; it has been the irradiating centre of the Mahayana Buddhism. The rise of the modern Hindu society in the ninth century, which was marked by the triumph of Brahmanism over Buddhism, was exerting its influence on this land when, before long, the incursions of the Muslims began and transformed the complexion of society. The majority of the people inhabiting this land became Muslims and, when the Muslim rule extended to the northern plains of India, they became an important element of the emerging Indo-Muslim community, participating in its collective life and sharing its destiny.

The Pakistanis are, of course, legitimate heirs primarily to the Indo-Muslim culture. Nevertheless, they are turning, with a more than archaeological interest and an attitude warmer than that of an antiquarian, to the study of pre-Muslim civilizations of their land. Though the living culture of Pakistanis cannot be affiliated to these dead and distinct civilizations, a conscious realization of their residual elements, surviving in the ways and manners and the arts and crafts of the country, may add a new dimension to the culture of Pakistan. As a two-fold movement in the process of nation-building, this ancient land is exerting the pressure of its past on the attention of the present generation, and the present generation is attempting to become more fully acclimatized and firmly established on this soil.

At the same time, Pakistan is reviving old relations

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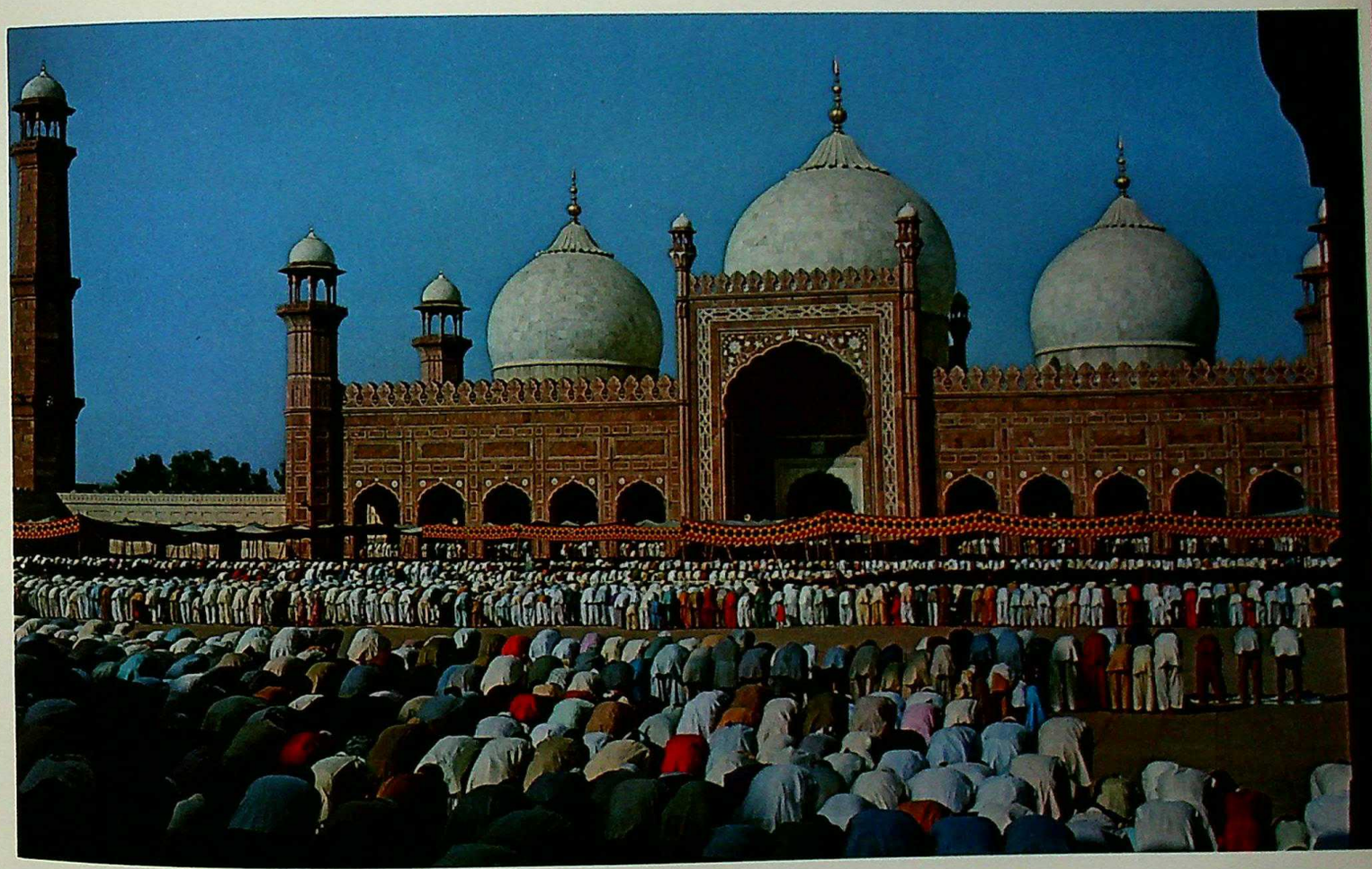
and restoring the links that were broken by alien intrusion. It is strengthening the bonds of fraternity among the Muslim nations and promoting relations of goodwill and understanding with the neighbouring cultures, the Iranian and the Chinese.

Cultural awareness involves a recollection of the past in meeting the problems of the present. The most pressing and challenging problem faced today by the developing nations and traditional societies is that of modernization. If we look upon modernization in its entirety with all its assumptions and values, this challenge can only have a deleterious and disruptive impact on traditional cultures. There is a real danger of traditional cultures, passively and unwittingly losing themselves in a welter of global "cultureless culture". The attempt to build and fortify the cultural identity is part of the strategy for meeting the inescapable problem of modernization with a greater freedom of choice and a better sense of direction.

This is the essence of Pakistan's national enterprise. In the course of modernization, it will have to assimilate Western science and technology. At the same time, the fact and consciousness of its location in South Asia, its commitment to the Islamic way of life, its contacts with West and Central Asia and the kinship of interest with the African-Asian world guarantee that Pakistan will not let its individuality be submerged in the modernizing process. Pakistan's geographical position, its historical tradition, the genius of the land and the spirit of Islam, all countenance the hope that, in the fullness of time Pakistan will be able to develop a pattern of culture which will not be without value and meaning for the whole of humanity. K.H.

The Islamic Imperative



Eid prayer at Badshahi Mosque is joined by thousands of the faithful, reasserting their commitment to Islam.

The idea of a radical reform of Islamic society in the light of the two fundamental sources of Islam – the Quran and the *Sunnah* (example) of the Prophet of Islam – had seized the minds of certain Muslim thinkers in the eighteenth century, as a result of which two major reform-phenomena got under way: the movement of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab in Arabia and the school of Shah Wali-ullah in Delhi. The major emphases of these movements and those influenced by them in the pre-modernist period were the two allied and powerful notions of responsible effort at original thought on all religious issues *(ijitihad)* and a consequent rejection of the absolute validity of traditional authority *(taqlid)*, that is, of mediaeval schools of thought. The liberating effect of the slow but steady spread of these notions on the minds of the educated Muslims has been incalculable. It was on these foundations that the modernist Muslims subsequently built their interpretation of Islam and their efforts to integrate fundamental Islamic values with modern ideas and embody them in new institutions.

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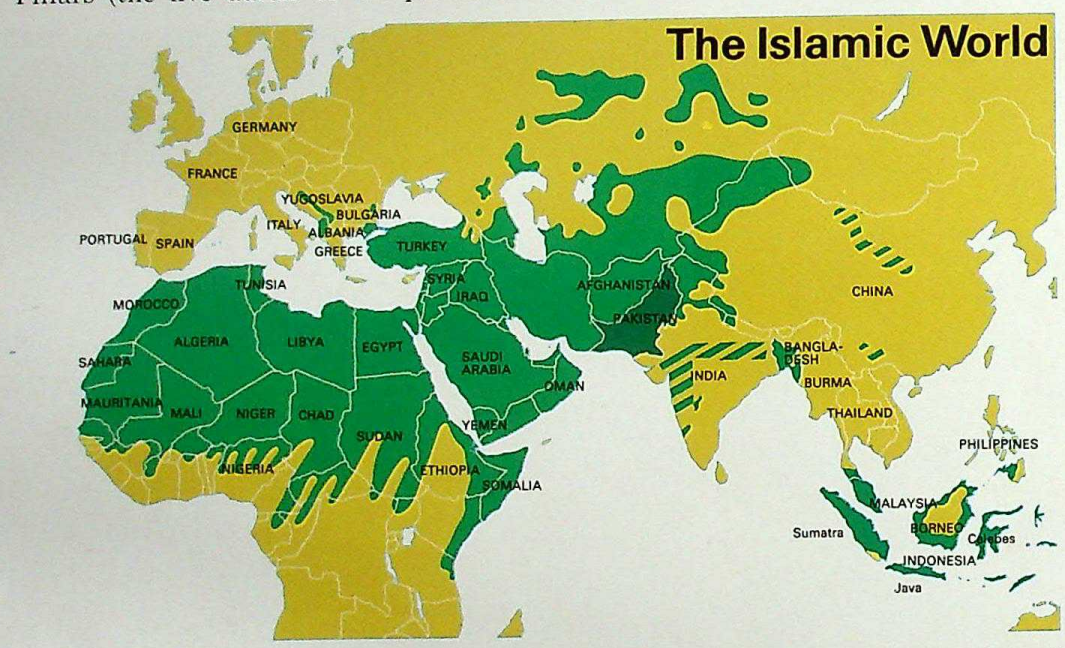
Pakistan represents a classic case of this continuous, chequered and momentous effort. It was in the subcontinent, more than anywhere else, that Islam came into intimate contact with modern ideas as a result of direct British rule (a phenomenon that resulted in the monumental Islamic formulation by Muhammad Iqbal). Moreover, it was here that the Muslims of the subcontinent as a whole decided in the Forties to invest Islam, not just Muslims, with statehood in this region under the name of Pakistan. Those who struggled for the independent statehood of Islam belonged mostly to that segment of society which had assimilated modern education but felt a strong attachment to Islam and believed in its practicality in the modern context. In contrast, the majority of the traditionalist *ulema* opposed the creation of Pakistan. This striking phenomenon demonstrates the important fact that while the traditionalist *ulema* had, over centuries, practically acquiesced in the progressive narrowing down of the operation of Islam to the Five Pillars (the five duties of the profession of the faith, prayer, fasting, *zakat* levy and the pilgrimage to Mecca) and the law of personal status – thanks to the gradual encroachment of state-law (ruler-made law) upon the classical Islamic law – and had thus become largely "secularized", it was the modernist who rediscovered, with fresh vigour and vitality, the truth that Islam, in its genesis, was an integral way of life, private and collective, and was not restricted to certain ritual practices.

It would be hard for an outsider to appreciate the liberating and vitalizing effect upon the younger generation of this rediscovery. It brought a host of realizations in its train: Islam not only is not against science and reason but demands them and requires man to harness the forces of nature for his benefit; by ordering even the Prophet not to issue commands without prior consultation of the people, the Quran had endorsed the essentials of democracy; Islam demanded from all Muslims – men and women – to acquire knowledge; the Quran, through several of its pronouncements in different contexts, had proclaimed the due parity of the sexes in all relevant contexts.

Even before the creation of Pakistan, a new movement had started as a result of the growing reaction of conservative Muslims to modernism. Such reaction was natural and represented a kind of soul-searching on the part of those members of the community who were fearful of basic values being sacrificed in rapid social change and who, therefore, acted as censors of change. Their anxiety was accentuated by the difficulty of distinguishing, in the modernizing camp, a genuine Islamic modernist from a pure secularist. Such movements were spearheaded by fundamentalist parties or groups in the early Forties (a more or less parallel development to the Muslim Brotherhood of the Arab world). The leading group among them, the Jamaat-i-Islami, it must be noted, was not originally envisaged as a primarily political party but as an Islamic-reformist one with a political bent, its reformist and critical stance being directed at both the traditionalist *ulema* and to those seeking to Westernize the Muslims. This movement had opposed the idea of the establishment of Pakistan on the same grounds that the majority of the conservative *ulema* had done; after the creation of Pakistan it actively involved itself in politics so that politics became its main preoccupation. Indeed, in such a situation, it not only gravitated towards the conservative *ulema* but became so deeply politicized that its reform aspect has almost vanished out of existence.



The map of the Islamic world demonstrates Pakistan's central position amid the community of states adhering to the Faith, linking the Middle and Further East. Within its borders are combined very many of the ethnic strands that comprise the whole religious fellowship of Islam. From its territories have come several of Islam's greatest teachers. Today it is frequently visited by the most honoured of its co-religionists, as, for example, the Imam *from Medina, Saudi Arabia* (opposite) *leading prayers at Karachi.*

The modernist has had to face a series of problems sometimes resulting in crises. But, on the whole, modernism has been vindicated in Pakistan. The first problem posed by the conservative Muslims was whether democracy itself was compatible with Islam. For nearly a century, modernist thought had espoused institutional democracy as perfectly Islamic. But the *ulema* have generally been opposed to the participation of the public in law-making, claiming that the latter do not have sufficient knowledge of Islam. To this was added a new, but highly dubious, argument according to which, while in a democracy laws are made (and unmade) by the people (the example was given of the anti-alcoholic legislation of the US and its subsequent repeal), in Islam God is the law-maker. The corollary to the argument was that the Muslims should have an elected head of state who should interpret the Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet with the help of a council whose function, however, would be purely advisory. Thus, ironically, while the whole community did not have the capacity to legislate, one individual at the helm of the state had!

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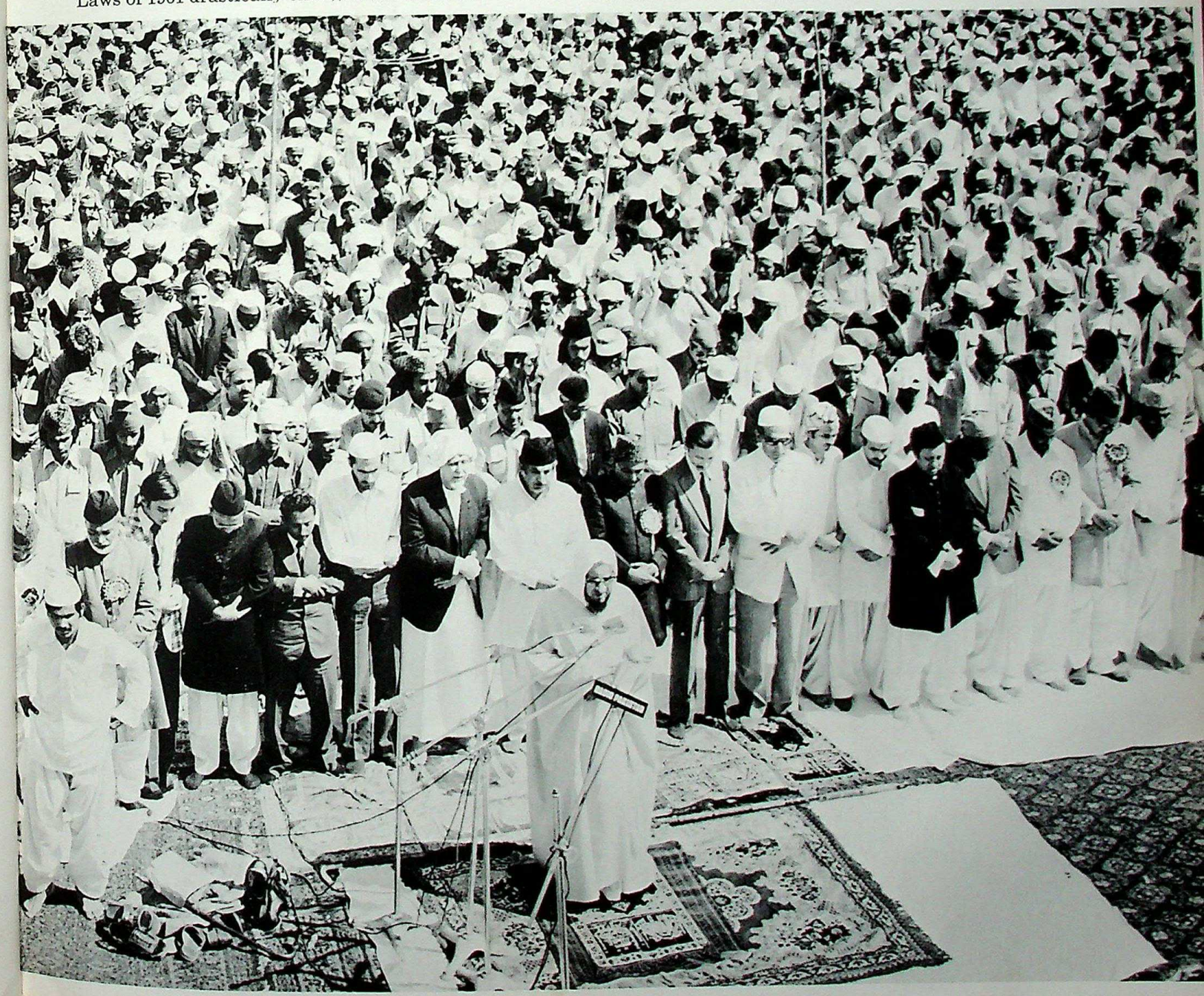
Later, this school changed its strategy and accepted democracy on the assumption that, since the masses were conservative, they were likely to legislate conservative laws in Parliaments and thus thwart the modernists' efforts.

The modernist, however, went ahead and explicitly stated all the fundamental human rights to be equally enjoyed by all citizens "irrespective of colour, creed and sex". This put at rest the anxiety of those who feared, and dashed the hopes of those who desired, that the Constitution, being Islamic, would make certain important distinctions, as did the mediaeval Islamic law, between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of an Islamic state. Social bias apart (which changes at its own pace along with the spread of education and industrial modernization), the acceptance of the equality of sexes, more in tune with the original teaching of the Quran than with later mediaeval developments in Muslim society, was highly encouraging. The Muslim Family Laws of 1961 drastically changed the age-old institutions of polygamy and the arbitrary repudiation of a wife by a husband.

The pace of education and employment of women has accelerated during the recent decade and a half. Mr. Bhutto's government has appointed a woman-member of the Islamic Advisory Council which is charged with the important task of advising the Government of the Islamization of society and law in Pakistan. This is proof enough that social modernization (which does not necessarily mean Westernization) is a basically irreversible trend in Pakistan. Probably the most compelling and curious evidence of this trend is the fact that the leadership of the fundamentalist religious party, which had earlier tried to prove that according to Islamic tenets no woman may hold a public office, found itself supporting the candidacy for the presidentship of Pakistan of Miss Fatimah Jinnah against Ayub Khan in 1964.

When we come to the economic and commercial field, we meet with similar phenomena. While the Quran had



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sternly banned a highly abused and oppressive system of usury called *riba*, practiced in the Arabia of the Prophet's days, the overwhelming majority of mediaeval lawyers of Islam interpreted this as being a ban "on any increment on a loaned sum". As a result most *ulema* prohibit bank interest. In 1963, a public controversy arose over this issue. The Islamic Research Institute expressed the view that the modern banking system was radically different from the *riba* of Quranic prohibition for several reasons, the most basic being that present-day banking is an institution functioning within the framework of a modern "development economy", as distinct from the consumption economy of the days of *riba*. This issue has become complicated because not only the traditionalist *ulema* but also certain modern economists oppose bank interest. Some of the latter may have been influenced by the purist Communist doctrine; others by misunderstandings of the views of economists like Keynes. The succession of international Muslim conferences since 1967 in Egypt, Pakistan, Malaysia and, most recently, in Saudi Arabia, demonstrates beyond doubt, not that there will be found a practical alternative to interest (which if successful at all entails a wholesale nationalization of wealth), but that Muslims are – and rightly so – searching for certain distinctive features that will give them a distinct identity from the rest of the world communities on an Islamic basis.

But if the search for interestless banking may be banking on something without any real moral interest or economic import, the new demands and promises for social and economic justice upon which Mr. Bhutto's sweeping success in the last elections (1970) was solidly premised, are an eye-opening reality of today for which much real justification can be found in the Quran and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. The problem of grave imbalances in the distribution of wealth has acquired new dimensions in the modern world, thanks to the big commercial large-scale industrial production on the one hand, and the rising tide of poor population on the other. But its nature is the same as had underlain the genesis of the Islamic movement in Mecca nearly fourteen centuries ago, when the Meccan commercial society was characterized by similar imbalances with the utter misery of the poor, on the one hand, and the big hoardings of wealth and conspicuous consumption, on the other – a situation treated in the Quran with a powerful sense of urgency. Yet, in the elections of 1970, most of the professedly religious parties took up an uncompromisingly conservative position. One of their leaders once again displayed his characteristic capacity for sudden and unexplained change on basic issues. While in the early Fifties he had "Islamically" advocated unlimited individual ownership of land and in the late Fifties had condemned reforms aimed at a more equitable distribution of land, in 1970 he sanctioned, in an election manifesto, a new policy of limiting agricultural land holdings to 150 acres.

Democratic rule imposes its own limitations on the extent to which it can counter fanaticism and obscurantism. Its pace is necessarily a function of the slow spread of general enlightenment and tolerance, and it is well known that conservatism, when unenlightened, quickly degenerates into dogmatic frenzy. Islam in Pakistan is variegated and rich, sometimes bewilderingly so; for the most part it is also very intense and highly-charged, at times explosively so. The Sufi spiritual centre, the mosque and its traditional *madrassah* (school), the neo-Islamic revivalism, the secular colleges and universities (albeit with a strong emotional attachment to Islam), the liberal modernist, all are certainly alive. Pakistan has, therefore, to play her truly Islamic role and liberal modernism appears to be the only way she can do so. Liberal modernism has undoubtedly come a long way through its vicissitudinous career and there seems no doubt that it is destined to lead the country, if it eschews illiberal means to suppress even illiberalism. For Pakistan it is a race against time.

F.-ur-R.

External Relations

A Review

Two considerations, both rooted in the circumstances of its birth as an independent nation, have dominated the making of Pakistan's foreign policy: first, security against India, its much larger neighbour, and second, an ardent wish for fraternal ties with Muslim countries.

The Hindu leaders of the Indian National Congress had acquiesced in the bisection of imperial India not only because Britain had firmly laid it down as a prerequisite for an early transfer of power but also because they believed Pakistan would be compelled before long, under the combined pressures of Indian coercion and her own infirmity, to beg union with Mother India. The very resolution by which the All-India Congress Committee signified its consent to partition makes this quite clear: "The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts. The All-India Congress Committee earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided . . . the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all."

Pakistan's affiliation to the Muslim world arises from the concept of Islamic solidarity which inspired the struggle for its independence. The Islamic loyalty overrides divisions based on land, nation or race.

The history of the development of Pakistan's external relations falls into four distinct phases.

Phase I (1947-1953) – At birth Pakistan's problems were gigantic, her resources pitifully small. The entire foreign office possessed but one typewriter. India having withheld Pakistan's share of military equipment, Pakistan's soldiers, in Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's words, were little better than "tin soldiers". In East Pakistan the Officer Commanding had only 600 soldiers under his command. His headquarters literally had no table, no chair, no stationery and no maps of East Pakistan. Outside its own borders Pakistan had not a single sure friend. Since Islam is not in danger within their own homelands, even some Muslim countries found it easier to admire the Indian National Congress which, like themselves, was struggling against Western supremacy than to comprehend the standpoint of the Muslim League.

In the opening years, when the wounds of the sanguinary partition were still inflamed, Pakistan was in constant dread of invasion by its more powerful neighbour. An undeclared war between the two countries in Kashmir ended in a ceasefire in 1949, with the Indian assurance to the United Nations that the final disposition of the State would be determined by a vote of the people of Kashmir, through a plebiscite under the impartial auspices of the United Nations. To Pakistan's abiding

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chagrin the promise of a plebiscite was never honoured and India continues to occupy the best part of that Muslim state by force of arms. Tension over Kashmir and numerous other issues all but led to full scale war in 1950 and again in 1951.

It needed no strong imagination for weaker Pakistan to realize that she must find a powerful friend if she hoped to survive as an independent nation. As between the two post-war rivals for world supremacy, the USA and the USSR, her leadership considered the former as the obvious choice. America's own soil having escaped the ravages of war, it alone at the time was in a position to extend substantial assistance to others.

Phase II (1954-1962) – Pakistani-US negotiations, which had been afoot since 1951, bore visible fruit on 19 May 1954 in the form of a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement under which the USA undertook to furnish arms to Pakistan. Not long afterwards Pakistan joined SEATO and the Baghdad Pact (now CENTO).

In the vital matter of security Pakistan could at last breathe easier. As an Indian writer picturesquely put it, "India held the pistol at the head of Pakistan until, in 1954, the American alliance delivered the country from that nightmare." Greatly increased American assistance bolstered up Pakistan's sagging economy and a timely gift of wheat turned away the spectre of famine.

These advantages, however, involved a political cost. Pakistan had the mortification of being castigated by important Muslim countries. They alleged that Pakistan was a party to Western machinations to breach Arab solidarity by enticing Iraq into the Baghdad Pact. Relations with Afghanistan deteriorated and India, pleading a "changed situation", sought to annul its commitments on Kashmir.

Though the Soviet Union and China both expressed displeasure at Pakistan's policies, China's criticism was notably milder. Unlike the Soviet Union, the Chinese never endorsed India's claim to Kashmir nor did they ever support Afghanistan on "Pakhtunistan". In fact the Premiers of Pakistan and China exchanged cordial visits and publicly affirmed that there was no conflict of interests between their two countries.

At home, after the tragic assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first premier, in 1951, the country was badly shaken by dissensions and frequent changes of government. Only when the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Ayub Khan, assumed dictatorial powers in 1958, was the drift toward anarchy seemingly halted but, in reality, not reversed.

The phase under review had commenced in 1954 when Pakistan signed up with the USA. It ended in 1962 when that accord lost its meaning and Pakistan had to look around for other friends. The change was not occasioned by anything that Pakistan did; it was caused by the actions of others, stronger than Pakistan. After the Dalai Lama's warm reception in India in 1959, the much vaunted Sino-Indian "Bhai Bhai" (brotherly) friendship rapidly turned sour and, after their Himalayan skirmishes in 1962, India and China became declared enemies. Pakistan's principal allies, the USA and the UK, rushed arms to India unconditionally, despite Pakistan's vehement protestations that such assistance be made contingent upon a fair settlement of the Kashmir dispute. That the Soviet Union was already supplying military hardware to India deepened Pakistan's feeling of desperation. China and Pakistan thus became natural allies.

Phase III (1963-1971) – This period was marked by several further variations in big power behaviour.

Starting with a border agreement in March 1963, Sino-Pakistani relations registered a marked improvement and in 1964 China openly extended full support to Pakistan on Kashmir.

Pakistan's growing cordiality with China greatly offended the Johnson administration in the USA and it was not till 1969 that Pakistani-US relations became friendly once more. When the United States decided to mend its ties with China, it relied on Pakistan as the intermediary. This raised the bogey of a US-China-Pakistan axis in Indian eyes and caused India to abandon the path of non-alignment. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (August 1971) was a military pact in all but name.

After the Indian *débâcle* in the China war, the Soviet Union, whose own relations with China were fast worsening, began to court Pakistan, hoping that India and Pakistan together would counterbalance China more effectively than India alone had done. But Pakistan would not join an anti-China front. The Soviet Government thereupon reverted to its original position of a special relationship with India culminating in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two.

Meanwhile Indo-Pakistani tension was being fuelled by India's growing military might and resulting arrogance. The Indian government tried to pre-empt the Kashmir case by legislative measures towards that state's complete integration with the Indian Union and at the same time bolted the door to any negotiations on the subject with Pakistan.

During the India-Pakistan Kashmir war of 1965, the Johnson administration cut off the flow of military supplies to both combatants. This hurt Pakistan immeasurably more because America was Pakistan's sole source of those vital materials. The Soviet Union assumed a less partisan posture than before and, in a mediatory exercise, sponsored the Indo-Pakistan summit conference at Tashkent. China gave strong political support to Pakistan and addressed an ultimatum to India which caused the Security Council to obtain a cessation of the 23-day conflict.

The war had ended in a stalemate but, since military dictatorship can thrive only in a climate of success, Ayub's prestige in Pakistan was grievously damaged. Angry demonstrations erupted in West Pakistan and these emboldened the East Pakistani Awami League Leader, Mujib ur-Rahman, to put forward his "Six Points" which, if conceded, would split Pakistan into two or more virtually independent countries. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had been a brilliant Foreign Minister in Ayub's cabinet, parted company with his chief because of dissatisfaction at the settlement accepted by Ayub after the war with India and because of Ayub's reluctance to democratize the system of Government.

The internal developments between March 1969, when Ayub handed over the Presidency to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Yahya Khan, and March 1971, when Yahya ordered military intervention in East Pakistan, are described elsewhere. Here it is necessary to mention that, within a week of the declaration of independence by Mujib's followers on 25 March 1971, and before the much publicized flood of East Pakistani refugees into India, both houses of the Indian Parliament unanimously assured "East Bengal" of their whole-hearted support. When assistance, such as training and arming guerillas, did not suffice, India mounted a direct invasion of East Pakistan and declared a ceasefire only after the Pakistani forces had capitulated at Dacca on 16 December.

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The United States Government made clear to Pakistan that in its view "a lasting political solution could be found only on the basis of some form of autonomy for East Pakistan", but also criticized India for invading East Pakistan. The USA, further, extracted a promise from Yahya that Mujib would not be executed. Nixon stated afterwards that the Indian assault on West Pakistan and Azad Kashmir would have continued had the USA not warned India that hostilities must cease after the fall of East Pakistan.

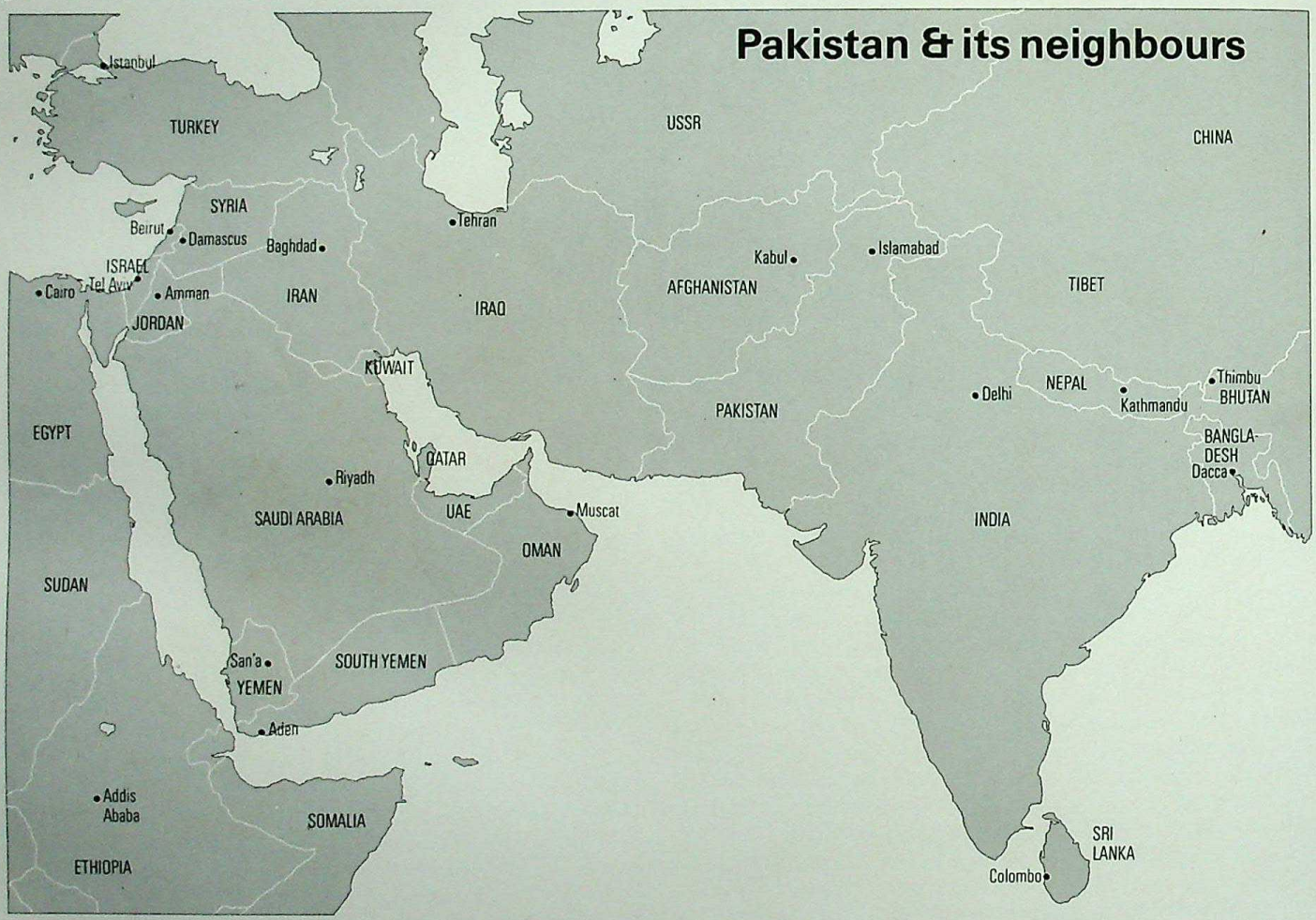
The Soviet Union rushed war material to India and supplemented this by using its veto in the Security Council to prevent that body from passing any effective resolution. After East Pakistan had gone down, however, the Soviet Union joined the USA in persuading India to desist from humiliating Pakistan in the West.

Phase IV (1972-1976) – The East Pakistani fiasco toppled the Yahya regime and the sceptre of authority passed on to Bhutto, the first popularly elected head of government in the history of Pakistan.

ary 1974 has paid dividends in increasingly cordial relations with that former part of Pakistan.

Pakistan's relations with the USA are good and with China they are cordial. Those with the Soviet Union have vastly improved though the Soviet Union's strong preference for India appears undiminished. Bhutto aims at a policy of "bilateralism" with the three great powers – the USA, the USSR and China – which means seeking friendship with each one of them without getting involved in their differences. Pakistan's basic stand on Kashmir is unchanged but the strategy of relying upon the United Nations has given way to that of seeking a direct settlement with India on just and honourable terms.

Pakistan's greater independence in foreign policy, after the alliance with the West had waned, and the consistent and vigorous support of its Government for Muslim causes has increasingly won the cherished friendship of Muslim countries. Since 1964 Pakistan has been linked with Iran and Turkey in the Regional Cooperation for



Bhutto has striven hard to put back on its feet the shattered country which he inherited from his two military predecessors. With masterly skill he has been able to negotiate the return of areas of West Pakistan which India had seized during the war and of the 93,000 prisoners of war. The Simla Agreement of 1972, which he negotiated with the Prime Minister of India, laid down a step-by-step process for the normalization of relations between Pakistan and India. Though somewhat tortuous and at times delayed, the process has not been discarded. Diplomatic and communication links between the two countries were re-established in June-July 1976. Bhutto's policy of extending recognition to Bangladesh in Febru-

Development. In the 1965 war with India, Pakistan enjoyed the sympathy of all Muslim states (except Malaysia). Iran, Turkey, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and Jordan sent material help as well. In the 1971 war almost the entire Asian-African world disapproved of India's invasion of East Pakistan. Saudi Arabia, Libya and Jordan sent Pakistan a number of military aircraft; Iran did the same and much more besides. In February 1974 Pakistan had the gratification of playing host to a glittering summit conference of Muslim states. With Afghanistan alone relations needed to be improved. Bhutto and President Daud of Afghanistan exchanged conciliatory visits in June and August 1976; these

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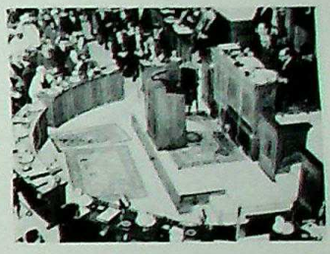
appeared to open a new chapter in relations between the two neighbouring countries and an end to Afghanistan's fruitless Pakhtunistan campaign. The economic and political power of the Muslim nations, especially that of the oil producing ones, is growing day by day. Pakistan's solidarity with them already is proving a source of strength.

S.M.B. et al.

An Evaluation

The basic foreign policy objectives of Pakistan are enshrined in Article 40 of the Constitution, which directs that,

> "the State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means."



Left. *Leaders of the Islamic world attend Friday prayer in the Badshahi Mosque before the start of the Summit Session presided over by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as host Prime Minister, in the Punjab Assembly Hall. That Islamic Summit was to become a landmark in the history of Islam.*

In pursuing these goals, however, the planners and executors of Pakistan's foreign policy are not only compelled to take into consideration permanent objective realities, such as the constant imperatives of economic development or the omnipresence of great power interest in a sensitive geopolitical region, but also to make rapid adjustment to unforeseen eventualities in one of the world's less stable political areas. One recent example may be cited. For Pakistan, there has always been a considerable pressure exerted by the massive body politic of neighbouring India, and in an earlier era the Indian emergency declared in June 1975 might have provoked highly emotional outbursts in Pakistan. On this occasion, however, the reaction was measured, and reflected the maturity of Pakistan's present international attitude and position.

This dynamic assurance is a characteristic of Pakistan's current foreign policy. It marks the completion of a phenomenal transformation that took place in the international stature of Pakistan from the time of the fall of Dacca in December 1971, to the time of the inauguration of the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in March 1974, and to the admission of Pakistan to membership of such important international organs as the Security Council and the Paris Conference in 1975. Several courses for simultaneous action have been identified and implemented, many of them in the face of considerable odds and difficulties. These include the stabilization of relationships with the super powers on an emphatically bilateral basis, the strengthening of links with Iran and Turkey, and with the Gulf States and the Arab lands beyond, and a delicate defusing of relations with India. Finally, the enormously complicated question of the recognition of Bangladesh, and of the establishment of normal relations with it, has been resolved with a remarkable combination of diplomatic sophistication and popular acclaim. It is impossible to conceive that the delicately balanced optimism, on which Pakistan's links with Bangladesh are currently poised, could have been achieved solely through action either in the market place or at a desk in the Foreign Office.

It is axiomatic that the conduct of the foreign policy of any country, even the super powers, is subject to a number of constraints. In this respect Pakistan is perhaps more encumbered than many other countries, and an impartial evaluation of these constraints is sobering for Pakistan's policy planners. Apart from the massive problems of economic development, faced by all developing nations, there are factors which are specific to Pakistan's situation. Although its population and agricultural productivity are somewhat balanced, Pakistan does not possess an abundance of a lucrative natural resource like oil. The mobilization of external resources for development, therefore, becomes a national necessity, for which foreign policy must provide the requisite framework. Furthermore, its geographic position, located on the borders of China and the Soviet Union, and also at the head of the important Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean waters, precludes Pakistan from relaxing in the luxury of great power disinterest. On the contrary, contemporary affairs have lent emphasis to the historical fact of Pakistan's strategic importance. Finally, there is the relationship with India, in which three wars during the present generation have been the destructive manifestation of an enormously complicated, emotional and frequently violent association that has stretched back over several centuries.

Added to these burdens was the catastrophic nature of the Bhutto regime's inheritance in December 1971. How the "small pieces, very small pieces", as Mr Bhutto

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described them at the time, were picked up and welded into a progressive nation state, within two years, is more remarkable, in many aspects, than the German and Japanese "miracles" of the post World War II period.

The Muslim world, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and encompassing a large part of the land mass of Africa and Asia, has always evoked the strongest responses in Pakistan, and support for the Muslim nations' struggle for independence, and the general Arab cause, is organic to Pakistan's aspirations. The Bhutto Government has actively initiated measures in this direction and thus effected a notable fusion of the popular urge with foreign policy directives. The Lahore Islamic Summit Conference in 1974, a diplomatic *tour de force*, was its crowning manifestation.

The solitary exception in Pakistan's closer ties with Muslim countries was Afghanistan, where internal turbulence was frequently directed through a provocative irredentism. However, Pakistan maintained relations with Kabul with quiet and firm scrupulousness in the anticipation of an eventful and most natural improvement. This anticipation was confirmed by the note of mutual cordiality struck during the reciprocal visits of Bhutto and Daud of Afghanistan to Kabul and Islamabad respectively in June and August 1976.

The Lahore Islamic Summit Conference of 1974 marked the point at which Pakistan advanced into a significant new pattern of relations with the Muslim world. Not only did this imply substantially increased contacts with other Muslim nations; it also betokened a wholly welcome gravitational shift for Pakistan, away from the obsessive compulsions of the subcontinent, and westwards into the challenging arena of the Muslim world, where a series of newly independent, friendly nations, diverse in their economies and their political institutions but unified in their religious, cultural and historical affinities, are, like Pakistan, striving to overcome centuries of deprivation. The intensification of this active cooperation with the Muslim countries will be increasingly important in the overall direction of Pakistan's foreign policy and significantly bear on Pakistan's relations with the superpowers, as well as on the evolution of the situation in the subcontinent. "A small or medium power's real bulwark against the pressures of the great powers", Bhutto has observed, "is its unwavering adherence to principles and its capacity to articulate them in a given contingency."

Pakistan's friendship with China has been fortified by a common outlook on many Asian and international problems and the conviction that Peking's attitude towards the subcontinent is entirely devoid of any hegemonous or disruptive intentions. Beginning with the Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement signed in 1963, this view has dominated the concept of the Sino-Pakistan relationship, with the result that good relations with China are fundamental to Pakistan's foreign policy and an important stabilizing influence on the Asian continent.

The United States of America has played a very important role in the history of Pakistan, particularly in the economic sector, as it has in the history of many other newly independent nations. Over the years, US-Pakistan relations have undergone a series of vicissitudes, which reflected the fluctuations of a great power's position. Recently, the American attitude towards Pakistan has been of such considerable warmth that, in September 1973, the President declared to Bhutto that "the independence and the integrity of Pakistan is a cornerstone of American foreign policy."

The conduct of Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union has been difficult, even though there are no problems of a bilateral nature between them. The stresses from time to time are entirely consequential to the differences that have arisen with regard to the various explosive situations in Asia. The most recent of these was over the Soviet-backed Indian intervention in East Pakistan in 1971. However, despite the trauma of that event, the consequences of which are still far from over, relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan did not completely break down. Immediately in the wake of that great turbulence, Bhutto flew to Moscow in March 1972 and in meetings with the Soviet leaders established a friendly relationship which is manifested in a certain cordiality and the current Soviet assistance in establishing Pakistan's first steel mill. Moreover, there is the vital factor of the Soviet Union's commitment towards detente in the subcontinent. Whilst some may regard the process of normalization in the subcontinent as still being slow, there is reason to believe that the enormous weight of the Soviet Union's influence has been used in a quiet but beneficent direction.

Aside from this, the conduct of Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union has been embarrassed, but by no means inhibited, by two factors which are clearly beyond Pakistan's control. The first is the Sino-Soviet dispute, which sometimes renders Pakistan's good relations with China suspect in Moscow's view, and the second is the Indo-Soviet friendship, formalized in a Treaty whose application was instrumental in the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. These are formidable impediments to the development of good relations, but fortunately for all concerned, international relations are not conducted purely in terms of negative factors; Bhutto's visits to Moscow have identified positive elements of cooperation and bilateralism has been expressly re-emphasized.

Indo-Pakistan relations have such deep, complicated roots that the difficult and implacable nature of the Indian hostility to Pakistan needs little reiteration. In recent years, however, there have been two political events which are likely to alter relationships in the subcontinent. The first is the emergence of Bangladesh, and the second is the Simla Agreement of 1972. In the torment that attended the creation of Bangladesh, it was maintained by some critics that the "two-nation theory" (the concept that Hindus and Muslims are historically two separate nations who live on the same continent), which was the genesis of Pakistan, had been destroyed. This view was never accepted in Pakistan, even during the most bruised moments following dismemberment in 1971. Subsequent events in Bangladesh in 1975/76 have served only to emphasize the validity of the Quaid-e-Azam's concept. The dramatic manner in which Islam re-emerged as a political force in Muslim Bengal so soon after 1971 is an unmistakable pointer and must necessarily be taken into consideration as the three states of the subcontinent, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, adjust their relations *inter se*. Failure to accept this basic premise would subject the peace of the subcontinent to the same stresses and insecurities that have devastated it during the past thirty years.

The Simla Agreement of July 1972 was a watershed in the political life of the South Asian subcontinent, and for the first time brought to its inhabitants the prospect of a durable peace, which they desperately needed and under which so much can be accomplished. The implementation of the Agreement, by which India and Pakistan undertook

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to solve disputes by negotiation instead of confrontation, also contained the important proviso that the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir "shall be respected without prejudice to the recognized position of either side," and "a final solution of Jammu and Kashmir" will be sought.

Since the Simla Agreement, relations between Pakistan and India have registered an unprecedented calm, in the midst of politically volatile events. The Indian nuclear explosion is a most portentous development for South Asian security. Whilst its wide-ranging consequences will remain under assessment, the measured response of Pakistan to the initial horror of the event, and Bhutto's statesmanlike reaffirmation of his commitment to the process of normalization, provide a modicum of optimism for the forces of peace.

Another hazard to the process of normalization has been the administrative arrangements under which India has tightened its grip over occupied Kashmir. Again, Pakistan's commitment to peace and detente in the subcontinent served to contain domestic public revulsion over this act of political chicanery, and an explosive situation was judiciously defused. The third major development is the Indian emergency. Again, Pakistan's reaction to it has been one of scrupulous non-involvement and rectitude. But Pakistan is not unmindful of the danger to its own security, and its carefully nurtured institutions, that can result from its proximity to the disconcerting internal problems of its huge neighbour. A heavily armed India, possessed of nuclear capability and yet involved in a massive internal emergency, does not present a sanguine prospect to any other South Asian country. Pakistan's response to the disruptive potential of these events has been governed by its commitment to the cause of subcontinental peace. But progress would obviously need, and optimism be justified by, a reciprocity of commitment.

In the centenary year of the birth of the Quaid-e-Azam, the State of Pakistan is an articulate member of some of the highest international councils. Viewed in the context of the disastrous events of 1971, Pakistan's resurgence appears to be especially impressive. Prime Minister Bhutto attributes the phenomenon primarily to the resilience of the Pakistani people. There can be little doubt about the justification of this view. But equally important is the sense of purpose which has been infused into the nation through a series of far reaching reforms in every aspect of national life; they have transformed the nation's institutions, some of which were a replica of colonial era establishments, into dynamic new organizations designed to meet the requirements of a forward-looking society. The articulation of long-term, even visionary, goals combined with a perception of realities, which is one of Bhutto's principal strengths, is bound to lend stability to Pakistan's external relations. His call in April 1976 for an association of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey which "constitute a single civilization" and need an organization geared to "the multi-dimensional challenge" of the times, and his appeal in May 1976 for a Third World Summit to help establish "a just system of international economic relations" are two outstanding indications of the sense of direction and balance which Pakistan has acquired and the role it may be destined to play in the future.

J.K.A.M.

Defending the Country

In the matter of defending itself, Pakistan has nad to shoulder a disproportionate burden because of a unique combination of circumstances, none of which admit a freedom of choice. These include the strategic importance of Pakistan's location and the pressures on the young state from its larger neighbour. As a result, Pakistan's military experience has been eventful. In less than three decades, it has known three wars and registered struggle and triumph, *débâcle* and recovery.

Even in an environment of external tranquillity, Pakistan's geographical position would have lent multiple dimension to its defence effort. But Pakistan has scarcely been allowed to enjoy a stable peace. On the very inception of its Independence, tension and conflict, not of Pakistan's choosing, attended the division of the armed forces of British India into those of India and Pakistan. While the problem of personnel was solved with relative ease when the Muslim elements (and some non-Muslims) opted to serve in Pakistan, the distribution of assets between the two so as to make the smaller of the two armies, that of Pakistan, a viable organization was a complicated affair. Military experts believed that the process would take years if it was to be fairly executed. But, in the incredible haste with which partition was effected under Mountbatten's direction, the process was squeezed into a period of forty-six days between 30 June 1947 when the Partition Council evolved a procedure, and 15 August. India had the majority of the armed forces, the vast bulk of stores, all the ordnance factories and most of the training institutions in its territory. It clearly stood to gain by obstructing a fair disposal. A Supreme Commander (Field Marshal Auchinleck), who was supposed to preside over the division, had little power to become an effective and impartial arbitrator. There was consequently a whittling down of the principles agreed by the Partition Council: Pakistan's share was reduced from 36 per cent to 33 in the army and about 20 per cent in the navy and the air force. Even these shares were not fully delivered to Pakistan.

Thus, in contrast to India's, Pakistan's armed forces were critically short of equipment when the two states became independent. Not to speak of a manufacturing capacity, Pakistan lacked even adequate repair facilities or a weapons procurement machinery. All it had was manpower, steeped in a martial tradition dating back to centuries before British rule. From a beginning characterized by deprivation, the rapid organization of the armed forces of Pakistan testified to the faith which imbued its officers and men in the early years of Independence.

This organization was accomplished in most turbulent circumstances. When nascent and still dispersed, the army was called upon to escort the vast number of Muslim refugees from India and evacuate and conduct to safety the non-Muslims from the outlying regions of Pakistan. These tasks were hardly over when, on 24 October 1947, India moved its troops into Jammu and Kashmir. As India developed its offensive in Kashmir, seeking to outflank Pakistan, units of Pakistan's ill-equipped army and its few transport planes had to be deployed in May 1948 to stop the Indian advance beyond the Uri-Poonch-Naushera line. In some sectors, the Pakistan contingent had to operate at altitudes between 2,000 and 20,000 feet above sea-level. It had inadequate logistical support.

By 1951, Pakistan's armed forces were fairly well established. But India posed recurrent threats by massing its troops on Pakistan's borders time and again. Equipment also remained a chronic problem. Financial constraints and an

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Comparative Strength of Armed Forces

POPULATION: 72,790,000
MILITARY SERVICE: 2 years selective
TOTAL ARMED FORCES: 428,000
ESTIMATED GNP 1975: $10·1 bn
DEFENCE EXPENDITURE 1976–77:
7,980 m rupees ($807 m)
$1 = 9·89 rupees (1976), 9·72 rupees (1975)

Army: 400,000 (including 29,000 *Azad Kashmir* troops)
2 armoured divisions
14 infantry divisions
2 independent armoured brigades
1 air defence brigade
5 army aviation squadrons
M-4, 250 M-47/48, 50 T-55, and 700 T-59 med,
50 M-24 lt tks; 400 M-113 APC; about 1,000 25-pdr,
100mm, 105mm, 122mm, 130mm and 155mm guns/how;
270 107mm, 120mm mor; 6-pdr ATk guns; 75mm,
106mm RCL; *Cobra* ATGW; 37mm, 40mm, 57mm,
3·7-in AA guns; 50 0-1E lt ac; 12 Mi-8, 20 *Alouette* III,
20 Bell 47G hel (9 btys *Crotale* SAM on order)

Reserves: 500,000

Navy: 11,000
3 submarines (*Daphne*-class, 3 more on order)
6 SX-404 midget submarines
1 light cruiser (training ship)
4 destroyers (ex-British *Battle*-, CH- and CR-classes)
4 frigates (ex-British Type 16, and *Whitby*-class)
17 patrol boats, including 4 ex-Chinese *Hu Chwan*-,
12 *Shanghai*-class
8 coastal minesweepers
2 UH-19, 2 *Sea King* hel (4 *Sea King* on order)

Reserves: 5,000

Air Force: 17,000, 217 combat aircraft
1 light bomber squadron with 15 B-57B
3 fighter sqns with 28 *Mirage* IIIEP/DP, 28 *Mirage* VPA
8 FGA sqns with 60 F-86, 80 MiG-19/F-6
1 recce sqn with 3 *Mirage* IIIRP
1 MR sqn with 3 *Atlantic*
Transports including 6 C-130B/E, 1 L-100, 1 *Falcon*
20, 1 F-27
10 HH-43B, 14 *Alouette* III, 1 *Puma* and 12 Bell 47 hel
Trainers including 50 Saab *Supporter*, 30 T-6, 12 T-33,
30 T-37
(10 *Mirage* IIIRP ac, 4 *Super Frelon* hel on order)

Reserves: 8,000

Para-Military Forces: 75,000: 33,000 Civil Armed Forces, 22,000 National Guard, 20,000 Federal Security Forces

SOURCE: International Institute for Strategic Studies, London

uncertain diplomatic situation precluded the purchase of arms necessary to modernize the fighting forces. This was the phase of great-power relations when the United States was building a network of alliances. In 1954, Pakistan's leadership decided to join the alliances (Baghdad Pact, later CENTO, and SEATO) on the assumption that the policy would bolster the country's defensive capacity and strengthen its economy. The scope of American aid was limited; it was not designed to invest Pakistan with the capacity for independent military action in an age of rapidly evolving military technology. Nevertheless, the US assistance brought new weapons and equipment and, through a number of training courses, familiarized the armed forces with modern techniques. Inevitably, American military thought influenced the organization and tactics of Pakistan's armed forces.

It was during this period of high confidence in the army, accompanied by confusion in the country's political life, that there grew a tendency in Pakistan to look to the armed forces for assistance in internal situations, whether warranted or not. In developing countries like Pakistan, the image of the army as a disciplined and efficient organization exerts a strong impact when a political vacuum occurs. This trend was encouraged from 1953 and it reached its climax in October 1958, when General Ayub Khan became virtually the country's dictator. Although, after the initial few weeks, the armed forces were not extensively used to enforce Martial Law, the development had two far-reaching results: it eroded the concept of public accountability in Pakistan and it diverted the country's armed forces from the pursuit of professionalism which rightly had been their pride. The depoliticization of the country which was Ayub Khan's aim proved quite unrealistic; what happened instead was the politicization of the army itself.

These results were eclipsed for a time by the experience of 1965. In June, a contingent of the army worsted a larger Indian force in skirmishes in the Rann of Kutch. In September, India attacked Pakistan. During all-out hostilities lasting seventeen days, the stubborn resistance of Pakistan's armed forces gave a striking demonstration of Pakistan's capability to repel aggression.

However, the war was fought without strategic planning or political preparation. The anti-climax which was provided by the Tashkent declaration in January 1966 exposed the inherent limitations of a military regime: its isolation from the people, its incomprehension of the social, economic and political context of an international engagement and its lack of the ability of self-criticism. At the same time, the placing of an embargo by the United States on arms supplies to Pakistan again confronted Pakistan with critical shortages in its military apparatus. China came to Pakistan's rescue at this juncture and provided weapons to repair in good measure the losses caused by the war of 1965. However, the search for weapons from various sources, involving different technologies, created its own problems which did not add to the efficiency of the armed forces. A situation of drift continued until well after Ayub Khan was replaced by General Yahya Khan as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator.

The reimposition of Martial Law in March 1969 was sullenly received by the people and it involved military officers in civil administration and political assignments. Nepotism became rampant; the number of higher ranks in the army was almost doubled overnight. The scramble for promotions debased the army's professional standards. When recruitment to the army had to be increased to meet the danger posed by the expansion of the Indian armed forces, the operation was conducted with such haste as to create imbalances in the army's heavy weapons and in its rank and service structure, training and equipment, the armed forces of 1971 were not comparable to those of 1965. The insurgency in East Pakistan led to the defection of Bengali personnel which constituted 20 to 25 per cent of the total strength of

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the army. Some East Pakistani officers were senior enough to have access to operational and deployment plans: when they defected, they passed on the secrets to India.

This was the backdrop of the war of November-December 1971. Political and economic chaos in the country, total lack of planning at the national level, quixotic military aims arising from an absence of political purpose or coherent strategy – all combined to make an invader's task extremely light. When the war came, the chain of command at the higher level had withered; there was no coordination between the services and the meticulously evolved individual services' plans were seldom implemented. Not even the best of armed forces in the world could fight a war successfully in such a situation. Individual units, both officers and men, fought with exemplary valour in East Pakistan, but courage could hardly overcome the defect of bumbling direction from the top. The inevitable consequences were a severe rebuff to Pakistan's offensive in the west and the fall of Dacca with the capture of tens of thousands of prisoners on 16 December 1971.

This was the nadir of Pakistan's military fortunes. Since then, the introduction of representative government has so modernized the outlook of the armed forces that they are second to none in upholding the concept of civilian supremacy and rejecting the adventurist stance of the Yahya years. There has been a drastic reorganization in defence flowing from the conviction that national defence is to be viewed as a totality. Under the constitution, control and command of the armed forces now vests in the Federal Government, with the Prime Minister as the Chief Executive. With an emphasis on integrated strategy and logistic plans and a coordination of industrial planning and defence requirements, Pakistan has developed a coherent defence organization leaving behind the disarray of former years.

By costly experience, Pakistan has found that a nation's dedication to peace provides no guarantee that it will be left unmolested in peaceful existence. While the dedication can in no way be abjured, its aim is to acquire a credible deterrence against aggression. Given an organized political life, an enlightened foreign policy and the necessary material, the aim is entirely achievable.

F.M.K. et al.

Defensive vigilance – not least by air – has played a vital role in survival.

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Anticipations and Prospects

The centenary of the birth of Mohamed Ali Jinnah in 1976 preceded by one year the completion of the first three decades of Pakistan's existence. Neither of these occasions, however, furnishes a vantage point to the observer from which he can perceive the contours of Pakistan's future development and confidently essay a forecast. What does provide a basis for anticipation is Pakistan's experience after the cataclysm of 1971. This experience has been revelatory; it has shown that Pakistan is no candidate for dissolution and internal fission and that, though it may not be a recipient of economic windfalls like some of its luckier neighbours, its organic composition is of a nature no different from any other nation's, including the strongest in the world today. While much in the world of the late Seventies may suggest a flux, here is one of the fixities that is to be reckoned with by anyone dealing with the affairs of South and West Asia, whether on the plane of theory or of statesmanship.

This has brought clarity to what was confusion as recently as the start of the 1970s. Then the South Asia scene appeared to be a miasma; the exhalations were those of a noxious secessionism inside Pakistan and hardly healthier hegomonic attitudes outside. Now, barring a nuclear Armageddon, no aggression on Pakistan can expect to dismantle its statehood or even tc bring it under subservience. This certainty is bound to yield an advantage, not only to Pakistan in mapping its future, but also to its neighbours and the great powers in formulating their policies towards it. Trends towards a new equilibrium in South Asian relations, howsoever hesitant, furnish significant pointers in this direction. To come to terms with its neighbours is no problem for Pakistan; the difficulty is felt solely by India because India has yet to identify its place in the world and adjust itself to the post-colonial order. Its holding on to Kashmir is an index of this failure.

But Pakistan has come to terms with its own nationhood. This may sound bizarre after one has witnessed the pertinacity of its self-defence in the brief but intense war of 1965 and its rapid recovery after the war of 1971. On the level of its biological reflexes and resilience, Pakistan is well integrated and no nation, just to be a nation, need ask for more from itself. The vitality of a nation's group-consciousness constitutes its *raison d'être;* no moral sanction linked to a cosmic destiny is required. This is instinctively realized by the vast bulk of Pakistanis as it is realized by other peoples. However, what has inhibited the translation of this feeling into a consciousness on the intellectual level is not any lack of a sense of tradition nor any vexations about future direction but the lingering influence of a messianic element that, understanding neither religion nor the state, gropes in darkness for a relation between the two. All that this element needs to register is what distinguishes a world faith like Islam from a creed like Judaism which is identified with a historical nation, or Hinduism which is exclusively owned by a territorial society. Being so distinguished, religion is universal while a state, *qua* a state, is an institution of limited scope. Spiritually, it is more limited than the individual because the individual is capable of self-transcendence. What is inherently limited cannot be a vehicle for what is inherently universal. Religion is a cultivation of benevolence, a promotion of grace; its social existence is denoted by the confessional solidarity of its believers and by the institutions, local or trans-national, which strengthen their fraternity.

The self-identification with Islam which was the most pronounced feature of the movement for Pakistan was something which did need to be proclaimed without qualification *vis-a-vis* the non-Muslim forces from whom freedom had to be wrested or a separate existence won. Its proclamation now needs to reflect the recognition that Pakistan is one of two score Muslim states and no single state among them by itself can promote those Islamic purposes which are translatable into political terms. The accompanying thought, sobering in its effect, that the life of a state depends on human decisions which divine ordinance specifically neither approves nor forbids but which have to be based on the social values of justice, compassion and concord which it stresses, seems to be dawning on Pakistanis as they gain the experience of an independent Muslim nationhood.

The correction of an earlier moral astigmatism is a slow process. But the prospect is of an unblurred vision of a Muslim nationalism being shared by the more thoughtful Pakistani minds. A certain humility in the quintessential spirit of Islam would serve the object of releasing Pakistan from that sense of burden which unsteadied its progress and indeed made it stagger and fall in 1971. There are signs that, under the influence of a perceptive leadership, the remnants of the quasi-Judaic idea of a chosen people are being progressively discarded.

This is the spiritual element of promise for Pakistan's future growth. Immediately related to it is the emphasis being placed on a rational disposition of social and economic power. Whatever be the tangled problems created by the pursuit of this goal through the techniques and processes of government in a still largely uneducated society, Pakistan is most unlikely ever to relapse into a social order which, by narrowing the base of privilege, debilitated its people's identification with the state and thus made it vulnerable. Democracy, not in the sense of any hallowed text but in that of government by consent, has now entered Pakistan's bloodstream; whatsoever element attempts to eject it will bring peril to itself and the nation alike.

With this mental, social and political consolidation, Pakistani society can look forward to a career which will reflect its ample heritage and also benefit from communication with diverse societies–Muslim, Western or Socialist – with which it feels a sense of contact through cultural and material interchange. Pakistan is a nation of large and intense sympathies. Xenophobia or indifferentism will never find a lodgment in this land. Participation in humane movements towards beneficence and peace is Pakistan's assured destiny.

M.Y.B.

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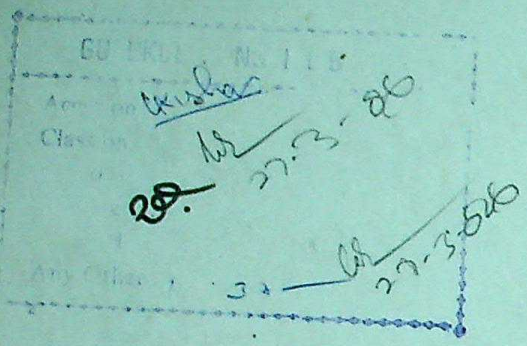

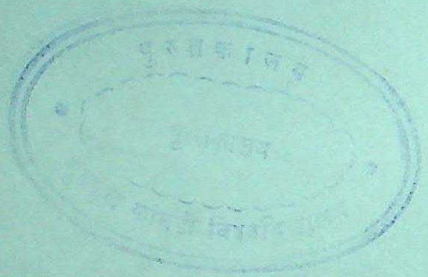

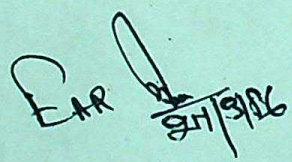

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